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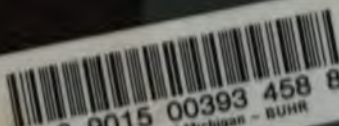
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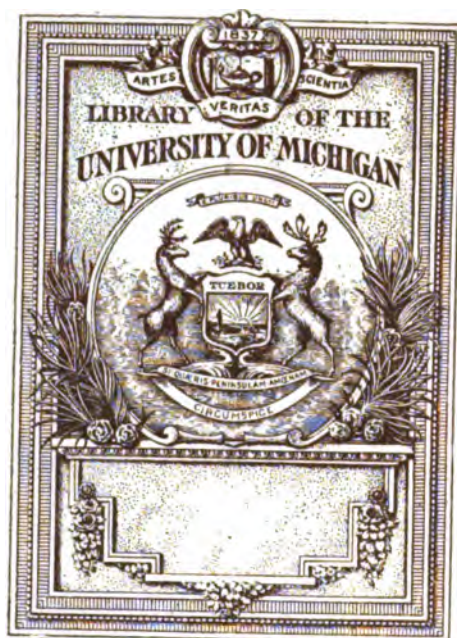
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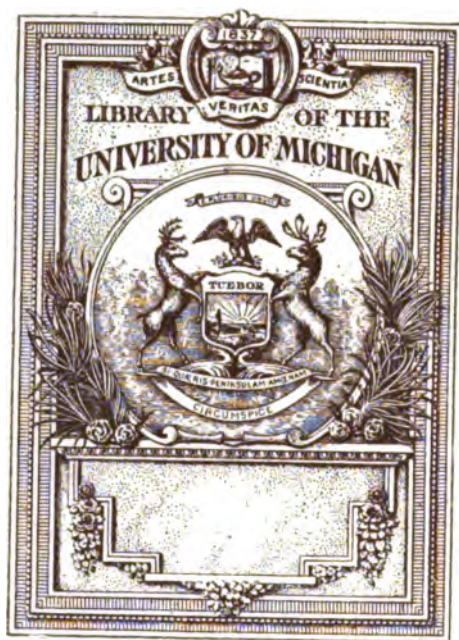
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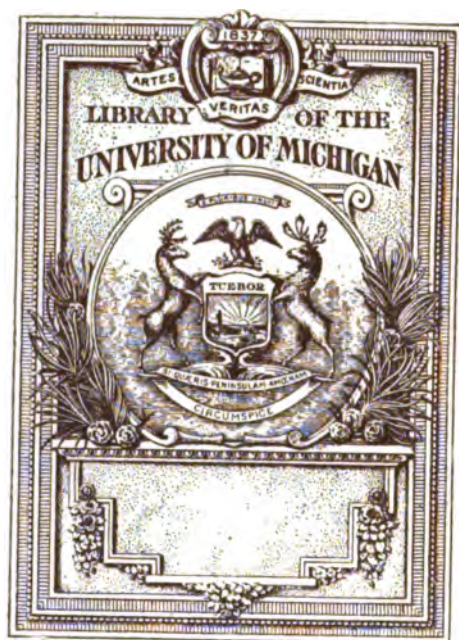
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THE
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VOLUME THE FOURTH.

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THE
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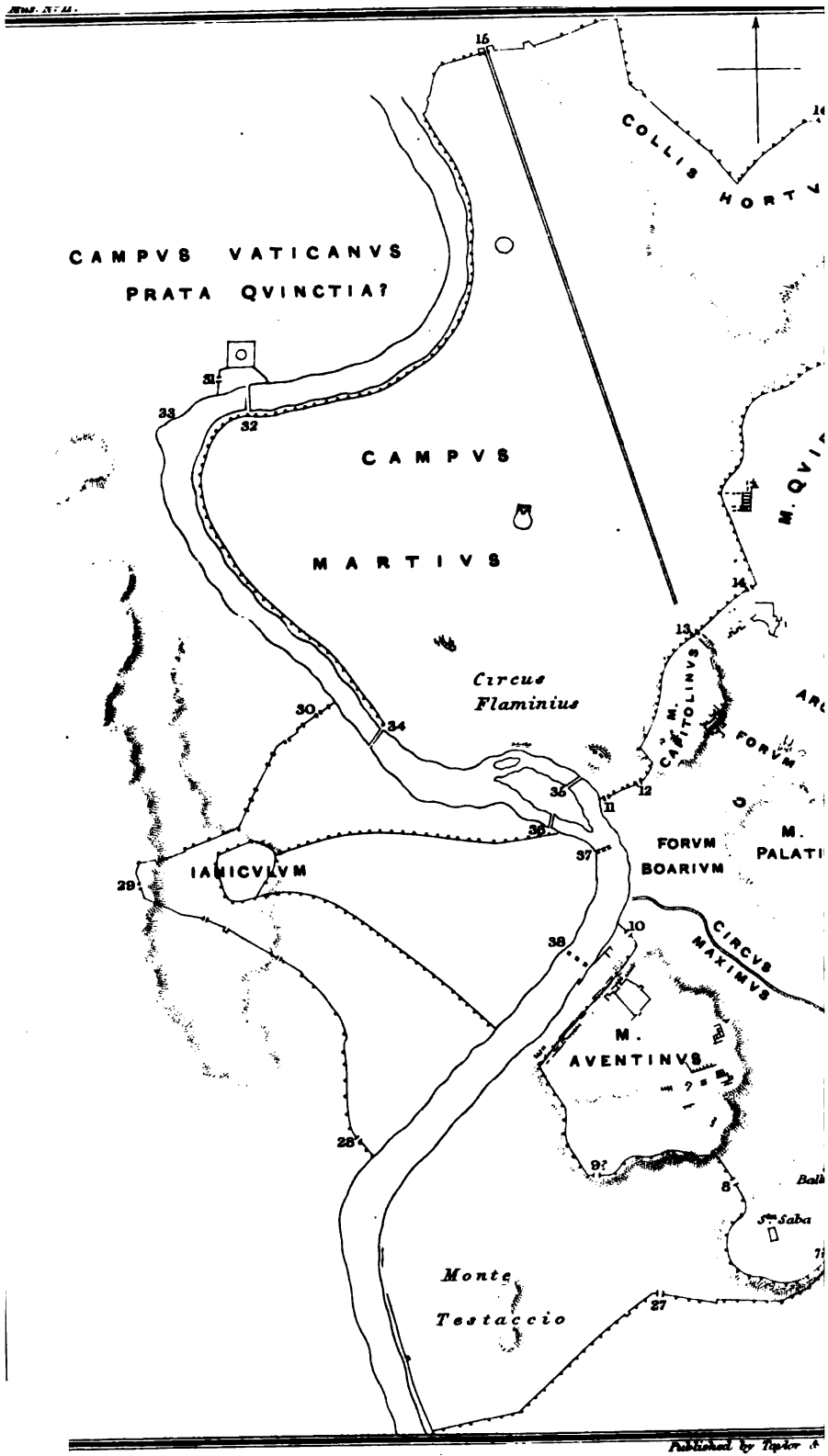
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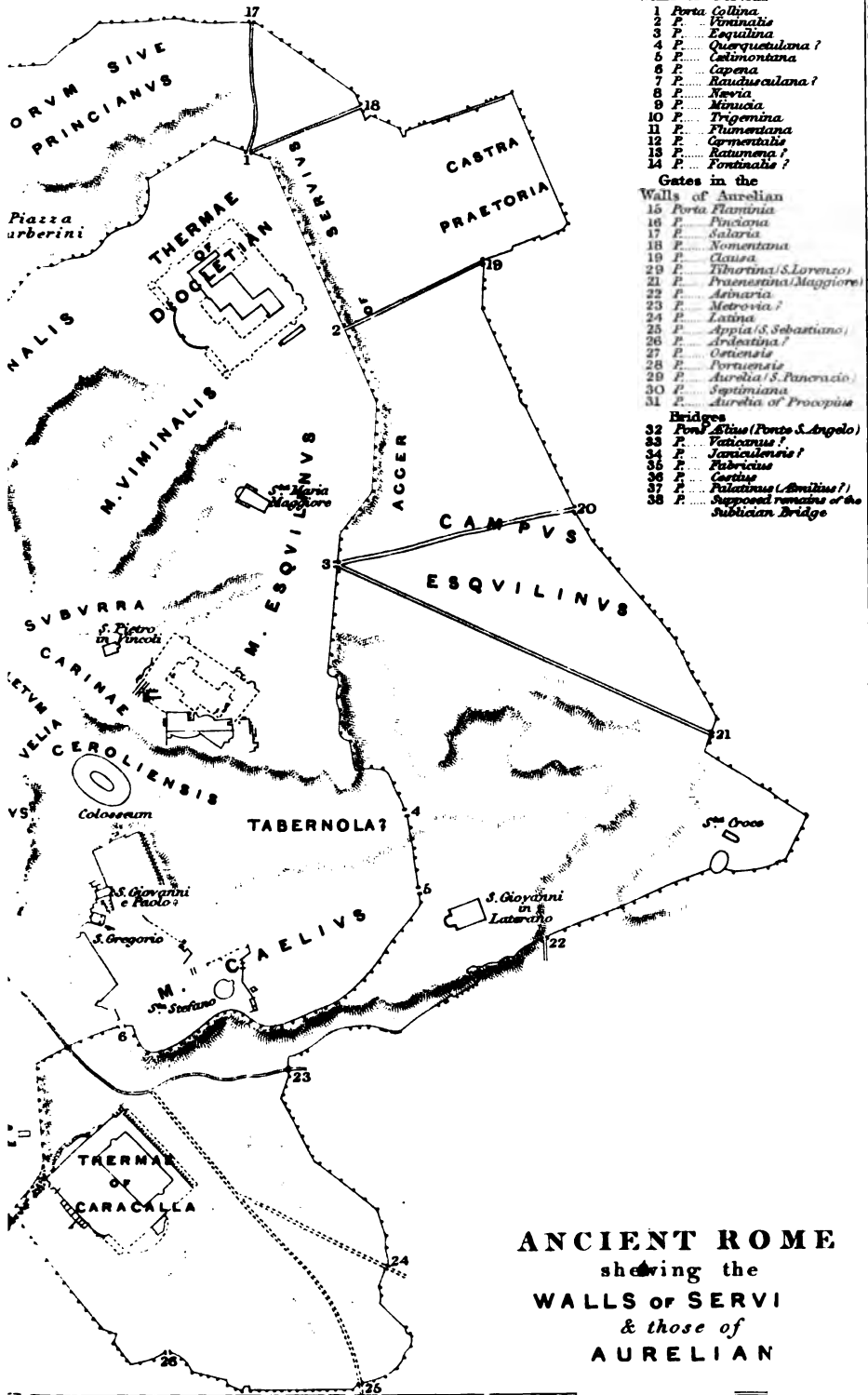
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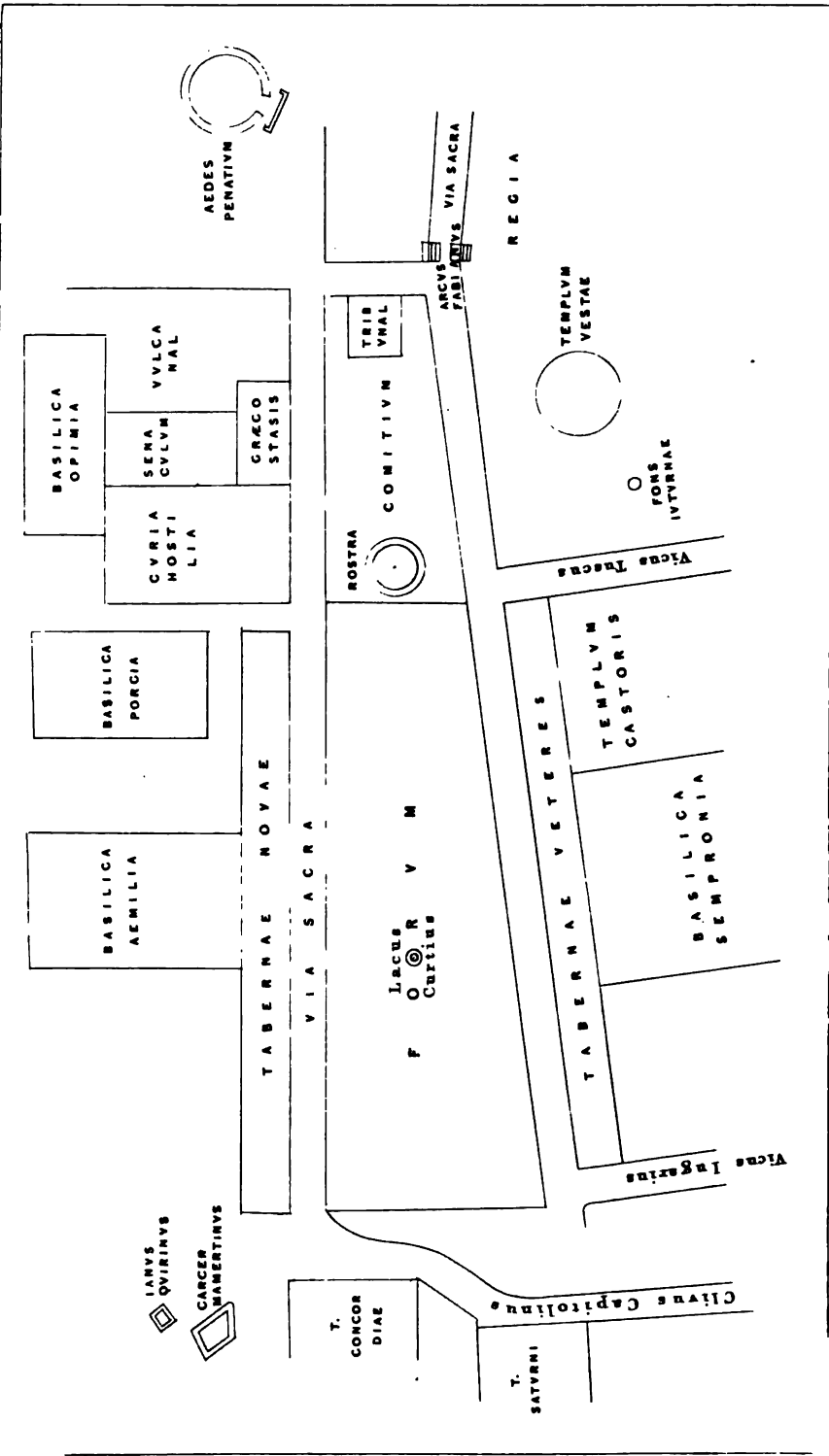
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THE CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

I.

ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ROME.

PART II.

1. THE ROMAN FORUM.

THE Roman Forum is the spot with which are connected all the most interesting associations and the most stirring recollections of ancient Rome. Around it are grouped almost all the localities inseparably associated in the mind of the scholar, with the great names of antiquity, and the rising splendour of the early city; while it is the centre also round which are gathered the most stupendous and magnificent monuments of its imperial greatness. Of the latter, many remain, at least in partial preservation, to tell their own tale; but of the edifices or monuments which adorned the Forum in earlier times, not a single one now subsists in its original state; and we are reduced almost entirely to the resources of ancient literature, and the scanty information we can glean from the scattered notices of classical writers, if we attempt to restore the Forum as it existed in the days of Gracchus or of Cicero. Much assistance may, however, still be derived from existing remains, when once rightly understood. Many of the temples, and other public buildings, erected in the days of the republic, though restored or rebuilt under the emperors, still continued to occupy the same situations as before. In other cases, we have sufficiently accurate information to enable us to point out where a mo-

ancient edifice was destroyed, to make way for one of which the vestiges are still visible. Hence, in regard to the Forum especially, it is necessary that the investigations of the topographer should assume something of a historical form; and much of the confusion and embarrassment of the earlier antiquarians, arises from their endeavouring to bring together edifices of the most distant periods, and reconcile conflicting testimonies which in fact referred to two states of things entirely different. This evil has been greatly aggravated by the deference usually paid to the catalogue which passed under the name of P. Victor, in which all the names that occur in ancient authors are heaped promiscuously together, and the works of the kings and those of the emperors are enumerated in succession, as if they had been still standing side by side in the fourth century. It is to M. Bunsen that we are indebted for having first cleared a way through this chaos, and by distinguishing accurately the different epochs in the progress of the Forum, and pointing out the periods of the destruction as well as the restoration of many of the buildings that surrounded it, enabled us to form a clear and satisfactory conception of its condition at several successive periods.

Such a historical investigation was absolutely necessary, before we could attempt to apply our knowledge to the explanation of the monuments still existing, or interpret aright the evidence of the localities themselves. Even the important key furnished by the results of recent excavations would have been comparatively useless, had it not been for these preliminary inquiries. On the other hand, all the learning and ingenuity of M. Bunsen would have been in great measure thrown away, or could at best have led to very questionable results, had it not been for a few fixed points which have been gained by the process of excavation.

The first and most important result thus obtained, has been the determination of the position and the limits of the Forum itself; a preliminary question, without answering which, it was evidently impossible to stir another step with safety. Yet it is only within a very few years that this important point can be considered as determined; and as the erroneous views long prevalent on this subject still retain their place in most of the popular treatises and guide-books, it may be as well briefly to review the history of this long-disputed question.

The earlier topographers appear to have entertained little doubt upon the subject. Biondo, though he never distinctly states his views upon this point, seems to have taken it for granted that the level space, called in modern times the Campo Vaccino, was the site of the ancient Forum.¹ The same view is more clearly expressed by Lucio Fauno and Marliano, but both these writers fall into the error of extending its limits as far as the Arch of Titus, and the ridge which extends from thence towards the Esquiline Hill. The great difference of level between that part of the Forum near the foot of the Capitol and the Arch of Titus, though in great measure concealed from view by the enormous accumulation of rubbish in the lower parts of the space thus limited, was alone sufficient to render it improbable that the whole could have been comprised in the open area of the Forum; the certainty that it was not so, was obtained at a later period by an excavation made in front of the church of SS. Cosma and Damiano, when the ground in front of that church was found to be occupied with the remains of ancient buildings,² thus proving that the open space could not have extended beyond the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina,—the pavement in front of which, has the same level with that adjoining the Arch of Septimius Severus. Previously to this discovery, Donatus had already started the hypothesis that the Forum occupied the valley on the *west* of the Palatine rather than that on the north, as agreeing more accurately with the statement of Dionysius,³ that it was situated between the Palatine and Capitoline Hills. This view was adopted by Nardini; and became, through him, part of the received creed of Roman topography down to a very recent period. It was

¹ *Roma Instaurata*, Lib. II. § 63, 67.

² *Memorie di Santi Bartoli*, p. 234. (ap. Fea, *Miscellan.* tom. I.) Incontro SS. Cosmo e Damiano, nel mezzo appunto del campo Vaccino, fu cavato, in tempo del pontificato di Alessandro VII., da Leonardo Agostini; e vi si trovarono edifizii sotterranei in quantità tale, che non pareva che mai vi fosse stata piazza alcuna: ben è vero che non parevano delli tempi li più antichi.

³ Lib. II. c. 66, where, in speaking

of the foundation of the Temple of Vesta, he says, that Numa erected it in τῇ μεταξὺ τοῦ τι Καπιτωλίου καὶ τοῦ Παλατίου χωρίῳ, συμπιστολισμένων ἤδη τῶν λόφων ἐν περιβάλλῃ, καὶ μίσης ἀμφὸν οὐρας τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἐν ᾗ κατισκινύσται τὸ ἱερόν. But in describing the construction of the Forum itself, (II. 50.) he only marks it as τὸ ὑπεκκείμενον τῇ Καπιτωλίῳ πιδίῳ, an expression equally applicable to both views of the matter.

developed with much learning and industry by the late Professor Nibby in his work, *Del Foro Romano*, published in 1819, and was still unhesitatingly followed by Mr Burgess in 1831. Piale had indeed ventured, as early as 1818, to attempt the defence of the older view, in opposition to the authority of Nardini; but his suggestion met with little favour.⁴ At length, in 1835, the progress of the excavations carried on in the Forum, brought to light facts which may be considered as having set the question at rest for ever. The importance of these discoveries was instantly perceived by M. Bunsen, who, in an address, delivered to the Archæological Institute at Rome in 1835, sketched out the general outlines, which he afterwards developed more fully and satisfactorily (not without considerable corrections,) in a memoir in the annals of the same Society in 1837, as well as in the fourth volume of the *Beschreibung*. The restoration of the ancient Forum may be now looked upon as founded on a secure basis; and whatever changes in matters of detail the progress of excavation may hereafter render necessary, it is probable that the leading features will require little alteration.

The Forum itself, not being designed to admit of the passage of wheeled carriages, was paved with broad flags or slabs of stone of Phocas, while the streets which bounded it, were paved in the same manner as all the others of ancient Rome, with polygonal blocks of the hard basaltic lava, usually distinguished by the name of *silex*. Hence, wherever we find a pavement of this description, we may be sure that we have reached the boundaries of the Forum properly so termed. Such a pavement had been long known to exist in front of the Temple of Faustina; and it was found, on examination, to correspond precisely in direction with that passing under the Arch of Severus: an accidental excavation in the seventeenth century had also brought it to light at an intermediate point near the Church of Sta Martina.⁵ Hence, the limit of the Forum on this side could admit of no doubt, and had indeed been universally received; Donato, Nardini, and their followers, however, regarding it as marking the

⁴ Even Niebuhr, so late as 1823, was still under the dominion of the generally received opinion, a circumstance which materially detracts from the value of the otherwise important hints furnished

by him to M. Bunsen, and published by the latter in the third volume of the *Beschreibung*.

⁵ Ficoroni, ap. Fea, *Miscell.*, tom. i. p. 157.

breadth of the Forum, instead of the length. But when excavations were carried on beyond the column of Phocas, towards the south, it was found, that there existed a similar pavement on that side also, running in a direction nearly, but not accurately parallel with the preceding; separated from the Forum by a slightly raised ledge or curb-stone, and bounded on the opposite side by the elevated steps of an extensive building, which was proved by an inscription discovered on the spot to be no other than the Basilica Julia.⁶ Unfortunately the excavations were carried no farther, and have not since been resumed; but the pavement thus brought to light, corresponds with a portion discovered immediately in front of the three columns, commonly known by the name of the Temple of Jupiter Stator; and thus enables us at once to mark the line that bounded the Forum on this side throughout its whole extent. The two sides being thus determined, the extremities are fixed by the nature of the ground itself, the foot of the slope beneath the Capitoline Hill at once determining the boundary in that direction, while the opposite limit must have been equally marked by the commencement of the ascent to the Velian Ridge.⁷ Although the ground in this part has not yet been uncovered, the fact already mentioned of the discovery of remains of ancient buildings in front

⁶ The mode in which this important fact was established, is worthy of notice, as an instance how much ingenuity and learning may be frequently required, in order to interpret fully the results obtained by the process of excavation. The fragment actually found, contained only the words—

.
 A
 ASILICA
 ER REPARATAE
 SET ADIECIT

which would appear to throw but little light on the matter. But Dr Kellermann immediately suggested that this fragment was only a portion of an inscription preserved entire by Gruter, (171—7.) which runs thus :—GABINIVS . VETTIVS . PROBIANVS . V . C . PRAEF . VRB . STATVAM . QVAE . BASILICAE . IVLIAE . A .

SE . NOVITER . REPARATAE . ORNAMENTO . ESSET . ADIECIT . The original of Gruter's inscription is no longer forthcoming, but it is said to have been found near the column of Phocas; thus leaving no doubt that this, as well as the fragment now discovered, belonged to the pedestals of two statues set up in the Basilica at the same time. Gabinius was prefect of the city in A. D. 377, a period with which the form of the letters and style of execution of the fragment are strictly in accordance.

⁷ It may be as well here to state, that by the Velian Ridge I mean the elevation that runs across from the Palatine towards the Esquiline, and separates the valley of the Forum from that in which the Coliseum stands. The proofs of this view, which is that of M. Bunsen, will be given hereafter.

of SS. Cosma e Damiano renders it certain that the open space of the Forum could have extended in this direction very little, if at all, beyond the angle of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina.

The space thus circumscribed, forms an irregular quadrangle—the two longer sides not being parallel, but diverging towards the Capitol—of about 630 French feet in length, with a breadth varying from 100 to 190 feet, an extent undoubtedly small when considered with reference to the city in the days of its greatness; but this circumstance, though it appears to have had much weight with some modern antiquarians,⁸ can certainly not surprise us, if we bear in mind that the limits of the Forum were fixed in very early ages, and never underwent any alteration. Before the close of the republic, indeed, it had become altogether insufficient for the purposes it had originally served; but it was then impossible to enlarge it; and additional space was gained by the erection of spacious basilicas around it, and subsequently by the construction of other forums in the neighbourhood by successive emperors.

But not only did the discovery just mentioned at once determine the true position of the Forum, and enable us to fix its limits; but it rendered most important assistance towards the restoration of its details. The situation of the Basilica Julia, once determined, became a stepping-stone towards the arrangement of many of the other buildings which surrounded the Forum. It was known in the first place from the Monumentum Ancyranum,

⁸ Mr Burgess is particularly severe upon the writers who contended for this "slip of a Forum," to insist on which, he observes, "may now be well nigh stamped with folly." (*Antiq. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 341.) This was written, or at least published, in 1831; only four years afterwards, this *piece of folly* was proved to be unquestionably the true view of the subject. The late Professor Nibby, indeed, still continued to maintain the old opinion; and in his latest work, (*Roma Antica*. tom. II.) even had recourse to the extraordinary expedient of regarding the line of pavement in front of the Basilica Julia, as marking

the northern limit of the Forum instead of the southern; and transferring the whole space between the column of Phocas and the Arch of Septimius Severus, to the Forum of Cæsar! It is needless to comment on this last despairing struggle of an expiring theory. M. Canina, on the contrary, with the candour which marks the character of all his investigations, at once admitted the importance of the new discoveries, and adopted in the last edition of his work the same limits for the Forum as those fixed by M. Bunsen,—(*Indicazione Topographica di Roma Antica*, 3a edizione, Roma 1841.)

that this Basilica was situated between the temple of Saturn, (which stood on the slope of the Capitol,) and that of Castor and Pollux. Hence the latter, which certainly faced the Forum, must have been immediately beyond the Basilica on the side farthest from the Capitol, and must either have been the temple, of which the three columns are still standing near Sta Maria Liberatrice, or have stood between that and the Basilica itself. Again, we know that the far-famed temple of Vesta, the most important sanctuary of Rome, stood very near to, if not actually adjoining, that of the twin deities: it was almost at the foot of the Palatine, and at the same time close to the Forum, on which the Regia, a building inseparably connected with it, directly fronted. The combination of these circumstances would leave little doubt that the temple of Vesta occupied nearly the site of the modern church of Sta Maria Liberatrice: a conclusion already arrived at upon very different grounds by some of the earlier topographers, and which derives a most important confirmation, from the fact that in this spot were discovered, early in the sixteenth century, not less than twelve inscriptions, some honorary, some sepulchral, in commemoration of Vestal virgins. It is a well known fact, that among the other privileges enjoyed by the Vestals, was that of being buried within the city: the place of their sepulture is nowhere mentioned; but no spot would seem more likely to have been selected for the purpose than the immediate neighbourhood of the sacred precincts, where they had lived and died. This last circumstance alone had led M. Fea in 1827, even while he still clung to the views then prevalent concerning the situation of the Forum, to place the Temple of Vesta in the spot just assigned to it.⁹ Even Nibby, who transferred it to S. Teodoro, felt himself compelled to admit that the place where these inscriptions were found, must have been in some mode or other connected with the sanctuary. To the important bearing of the point thus established upon the questions connected with the Sacred Way, I shall have occasion hereafter to recur.

Again, the well known passage of Statius, concerning the equestrian colossus of Domitian, which had hitherto been rather a stumbling-block than an auxiliary to antiquarians, now at

⁹ See his plan of the Forum, republished by M. Bunsen in the *Bullett. d. Inst.* 1835.

length becomes clearly intelligible; and some of the points there described being fixed beyond the possibility of doubt, we are enabled thereby to determine the situation of others. It stood nearly in the centre of the Forum, with its back turned towards the temples on the slope of the Capitoline hill: on its right hand, the Basilica Julia, on the opposite side the still more splendid Basilica Æmilia, while in front, and therefore at the narrow extremity of the Forum, under the slope of the Velian hill, was placed the Temple of Julius Cæsar. All this is stated with a distinctness and accuracy rarely to be found in a poetical description:

Par operi sedes: hinc obvia limina pandit
 Qui fessus bellis adscitæ munere prolis
 Primus iter nostris ostendit in æthera divis.
 At laterum gressus hinc Julia tecta tuentur,
 Illinc belligeri sublimis regia Paulli;
 Terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu,
 Ipse autem puro celsum caput aëre septus
 Templâ superfulges, et prospectare videris,
 An nova contemptis surgant Palatia flammis
 Pulchrius; an tacita vigilet face Troicus ignis,
 Atque exploratas jam laudet Vesta ministras.

From the last lines it would appear that the head of the statue was slightly turned to the right, so as to look directly towards the Palatine; in which case the Temple of Vesta,—supposing it to have occupied the situation above assigned to it,—would have exactly met its view. The position thus obtained, both for the Æmilian Basilica and the Temple of Cæsar, may be farther supported by arguments drawn from other sources; but before we attempt to proceed farther with the restoration of the Forum, as it existed in the days of Domitian, it is necessary to cast a retrospective glance upon its condition in earlier times.¹⁰

One of the most important services rendered to Roman topo-

¹⁰ In the following account of the Forum, and the changes it underwent, it is to be understood that M. Bunsen's views have been followed, whenever the contrary is not expressed. The authorities from ancient writers have been very carefully collected by M. Becker, to whose *Handbuch* the reader is referred for such of them as it did not

appear necessary to insert. The limits of an article like the present have naturally rendered it impossible to notice all the arguments brought forward by Becker and Urlichs in regard to the disputed points. I have therefore contented myself with mentioning those which appeared to my own mind the most convincing.

graphy of late days, has been the establishment of clear ideas concerning the nature of the Comitium, and the relation in which it stood to the Forum; and here it is to Niebuhr¹¹ that we are indebted for first pointing out the true state of the case, while his views have been elaborately developed, and judiciously applied to the results of recent discoveries, by M. Bunsen. That the Comitium was originally nothing more than an open space, in which the assemblies of the patricians, the Comitia Curiata, were held, seems to have been generally admitted: but by a strange misconception of a passage in Livy,¹² which, beginning with Flavio Biondo,¹³ was transmitted in succession through the whole series of topographers down to Nibby and Burgess, it was supposed that it had been subsequently roofed over, and converted into a covered building. Yet not only does the passage in question, when rightly understood, expressly *exclude* any such idea, but, as Niebuhr has justly observed, the occurrence of such prodigies as the falling of milk and blood, instead of rain, *on the Comitium*, and the growth of the sacred fig-tree on the same spot, all serve to shew that it must have still remained an open, uncovered area. We are indeed told in very early times, that it was *inclosed*,¹⁴ but in terms which by no means necessarily require us to regard it as clearly distinct from the Forum, much less as constituting any thing like a separate *edifice*. On the other hand, from the frequent mention of buildings or other monuments, which are spoken of at one time as being *in the Forum*, at others *in the Comitium*, and still more clearly from a passage of Pliny, where he describes the sacred fig-tree as being "*in foro ipso ac comitio*,"¹⁵ we may safely infer that it was a part of the Forum itself. It appears indeed to have been in the earliest times the Forum for political purposes. Not only were the Comitia held here, but it was the place

¹¹ *Röm. Gesch.* i. p. 444. not. 990; *Beschreibung*, III. p. 61.

¹² XXVII. 36. *Eo anno primum, ex quo Annibal in Italiam venisset, comitium tectum esse, memorie proditum est, et ludos Romanos semel instauratos, &c.* It is strange that the words in Italics should not have been sufficient to show that the covering over of the Comitium was a temporary thing of periodical recurrence, like the ludi Ro-

mani, which are mentioned directly afterwards. Crevier, in his note on the passage, saw the difficulty of these words, but was so wedded to the received idea of the Comitium, that he proposes to alter the text.

¹³ *Roma Instaurata*, II. 67.

¹⁴ *Fecitque idem (Tullus Hostilius) et scepit de manubiis comitium et curiam.* *Cic. de Rep.* II. 17.

¹⁵ *Plin. H. N.* xv. 18 (20.)

where the judicial tribunals were established, as they continued to be down to a comparatively late period: it was here also that were erected all the earliest honorary monuments, on which account it is more than once designated by Dionysius¹⁶ as the most conspicuous or most noble part of the Forum. When shows of gladiators were exhibited in the Forum—the usual place for such displays before the erection of the amphitheatres¹⁷—the Comitium was set apart as the place of honour for the most distinguished spectators, and on these occasions was covered over with a temporary roof or awning, a circumstance which gave rise to the misconception already alluded to.

All these circumstances seem to lead distinctly to the conclusion adopted by M. Bunsen, that the Comitium occupied the upper or narrow end of the space above assigned to the Forum, a result already arrived at by some of the earlier topographers, who however made the mistake before mentioned, of extending its limits far beyond the truth, so as to reach to the Arch of Titus. M. Becker, who follows the same view, has also remarked that it is here we find all the earliest edifices, which were referred by tradition to the four first kings of Rome; the remaining space was the *plebeian* Forum, and served at first only as a market place, or for other purposes of ordinary life, not for any of those higher objects to which the hallowed precincts of the patrician place of meeting were devoted. Tarquinius Priscus was the first who even surrounded the lower parts of the Forum with porticoes and ranges of ordinary shops.

Of the buildings which in very early times surrounded the Comitium, the most important was the Curia Hostilia, originally erected by the king from whom it derived its name, as the place of assembly for the Senate, and which continued to serve that purpose down to the time of Julius Cæsar. It is continually mentioned in the closest connection with the Comitium, so as to leave no doubt of its looking immediately upon that open area, where we frequently hear of the people assembling to await the decision of the Senate, or attempting to influence its

¹⁶ Τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰς τὴν Πρωτείαν ἢ τὴν ἀγορᾶν ἡγεμῶν. 1. 87. ἢ τὴν ἀγορᾶν εἰς τὴν ἀγορᾶν. 11. 29.

¹⁷ Even Julius Cæsar exhibited a show of gladiators in the Forum, on

which occasion he caused not the Comitium only, but the whole extent of the Forum, to be covered with a similar awning.—Plin. *H. N.* xix. 1, (6.)

resolutions by their clamours.¹⁸ That it stood on the *north* side of the Comitium, may be inferred beyond a doubt from the remarkable passage in Pliny,¹⁹ where he tells us that in early times the hour of noon was marked when the sun, *as seen from the Curia*, stood in a line between the Rostra and the Græcostasis. This statement cannot indeed be fully understood, from our ignorance of the exact position of the two last mentioned objects; but that of the Rostra may be determined at least approximately: they stood in front of the Curia, near the common limit of the Comitium and the Forum, so that an orator could from thence address the multitude assembled in the one or other place of meeting at his pleasure. A passage of Asconius²⁰ would lead us to infer that they were placed on the side nearest to the Curia, but other authorities place them in the centre, between the Forum and Comitium. The point is, however, one of very little importance. In any case, they stood in the open space in front of the Curia, and therefore the meridian line could only be determined by reference to them, if the Senate-house occupied the *north* side of the area.²¹ The Græcostasis appears to have been situated on the right of the Curia, as viewed from the Comitium:²² it was not a regular edifice like that which bore the same name under the emperors, but merely an open space or area, elevated above the surrounding level. Whether it was thus parted off from the Comitium itself, or was immediately adjoining the Curia on the other side of the boundary, must be left in uncertainty, though the latter opinion

¹⁸ See particularly Livy, xxii. 7. and 60.

¹⁹ Lib. vii. c. 60. Duodecim tabulis ortus tantum et occasus nominantur, post aliquot annos adjectus est meridies accenso Consulum id pronuntiante, cum a Curia inter Rostra et Græcostasin prospexisset Solem. The words which follow, "a columna Mænia ad carcerem inclinato sidere, supremam pronuntiabat," are a *locus conclamatus*, of which the explanation suggested by Müller (*Bullett. d. Inst.* 1839, p. 169, ff.) appears to me the only possible one, though still subject to grave objections, which are not removed by the remarks of M. Ulrichs, (*Röm. Topogr. in Leipzig*, p. 24.)

²⁰ *Ad Cic. p. Milo.* 5. p. 43. ed. Orell.

²¹ M. Preller, who has taken up the defence on this point, as on many others, of the views of M. Canina, and maintains that the Curia Hostilia stood on the south side of the Forum, where the Curia Julia was afterwards built, suggests that *prospicere solem* may be used in the sense of observing the *shadow* of the sun: an explanation with which it seems to me impossible to concur.

²² Varro *de L. L.* v. 155. Sub dextra hujus (Curie sc.) a Comitio locus substructus, ubi nationum subsisterent legati, qui ad Senatum essent missi. Is Græcostasis appellatus a parte ut multa.

appears the more probable. Of a similar character, so far as we are able to judge, was also the *Senaculum*, which is said to have been situated above the *Græcostasis*,²³ and which was also intimately connected with the *Curia*. But besides these, we must assign to the same side of the *Comitium* another sacred locality, which was referred to a much earlier period, the *Vulcanal*, or *area Vulcani*, as it is frequently called, said to have been consecrated by Romulus. No temple of Vulcan ever stood here, nor is there any express mention even of an altar: it appears to have been merely an elevated open space, considerably higher than the *Comitium*, but looking directly upon it, as we find it in early times not unfrequently used for the purpose of addressing the people. On it stood the memorable statue of Horatius Cocles, which was removed thither from the *Comitium*, where it had been originally placed,²⁴ a quadriga in bronze, said to have been erected by Romulus, and an ancient lotus tree, still existing in the time of Pliny, which, according to tradition, had been likewise planted by the founder of the city. It is extremely difficult, not to say impossible, to explain in a satisfactory manner, the relations of the three edifices or localities last enumerated; more especially as the name of the *Vulcanal* does not occur in the passage of Varro, where he treats of the other two. The most plausible conjecture seems to be that of M. Becker, that the *Vulcanal* was the more ancient name—it must certainly have preceded that of the *Græcostasis*—and was employed to designate the whole area, of which the *Græcostasis* and the *Senaculum* each comprised a part. Thus we can at once explain how the Shrine or Chapel (*ædicula*) of Concord, erected by Cn. Flavius, is described at one time as situated on the *Vulcanal*; at another, on the *Græcostasis*. It is certainly very remarkable, that we find another temple of Concord,—apparently a more important edifice, but erected at a period long subsequent, by the consul, M. Opimius, after the death of C. Gracchus,—described as *on the Senaculum*, or immediately adjoining.

²³ *Senaculum supra Græcostasim, ubi sedis Concordiæ et basilica Opimia.*—Varro, *l. c.*

²⁴ A. Gell. iv. 5. Here also was a column bearing a statue of a dancer or performer (*Iudius*) in the games of the

Circus, who had been struck by lightning. (*Festus, v. Statua.*) He is transformed by the Pseudo-Victor into a M. Ludius (!), whose statue and column he places in the eighth region, though the *Area Vulcani* was situated in the fourth.

We have no account of any building, during the republican period, which occupied the narrow end of the Comitium, where the temple of Julius Cæsar was afterwards erected ; but on the south side, as we have already seen, may be placed with almost absolute certainty, the group of buildings composed of the Temple of Vesta, and its appurtenances. Of these, the Regia, at least, certainly fronted directly on the Comitium, and was separated from it only by the narrow pavement which here joined the Sacred Way. Whether the dwelling of the Vestals (the *virginea domus* of Martial,) also fronted the Comitium or the Sacred Way, as his words would appear to imply, we have no farther means of deciding. The attempt to determine the topographical relations of buildings so closely connected together as the temple of Vesta and the sacred edifices that surrounded it, must necessarily, in the absence of all existing vestiges, be involved in almost insuperable difficulties. The whole subject has been investigated at great length, and with much ability, by M. Ambrosch, in his *Studien und Andeutungen* ; a work which forms a most important contribution to our knowledge of Roman antiquity. To the points connected with the course of the Sacred Way, I shall have occasion to revert hereafter.

At the angle of the Comitium, and immediately on the Sacred Way, stood the Arch of Fabius, apparently the first of that numerous series of triumphal arches that ultimately adorned the Forum and its neighbourhood. It was erected by Q. Fabius Maximus, in the year of Rome 645, to commemorate his victory over the Allobroges.

Before we quit the Comitium, it may be necessary to say a word concerning the monuments which adorned the open space itself, some of which were among the most interesting relics of antiquity still subsisting towards the close of the republic. Here, as we have already seen, stood the *Rostra*, with which appears to have been intimately connected the shrine or altar of Cloacina ;²⁵ in the same open space was the *tribunal*, in the earliest times probably the only spot where justice was administered, and where the prætor still continued to take his seat for that purpose in the reign of Augustus ; close by it stood the celebrated Puteal of Libo, which is hence often spoken of as if

²⁵ See Bunsen, *Les Forums de Rome*, p. 40 ; *Beschreibung*, iv. p. 59.

it had actually served for the purposes of a tribunal. Numerous honorary statues stood on each side of the Rostra, or in the adjoining space; among the most important of which were those of the three Sibyls, mentioned by Pliny as some of the most ancient works of Roman art, and which were destined, by a singular fortune, to survive all the surrounding monuments. Here, too, stood the sacred fig-tree, to which had been transferred both the name and the tradition originally belonging to one in a very different situation—the *ficus Ruminalis*, which had grown by the Lupercal under the Palatine hill, and at the foot of which the infants Romulus and Remus were found. To make the change complete, a legend was invented, that the fig-tree in the Comitium had been miraculously transplanted thither by the augur Attus Navius; and this fable, doubtless, found a confirmation in the fact, from which it had perhaps derived its origin, that the statue of that celebrated soothsayer, erected, as it was said, by Tarquin himself, stood close by the sacred tree in the Comitium.²⁶

The lower part of the Forum, or rather the Forum itself, in a stricter sense, as opposed to the Comitium, was, as already mentioned, at first adorned by no conspicuous buildings. The range of shops, with which Tarquin had surrounded it, were probably of a mean and ignoble character; many of them were occupied by butchers, as we learn not only from the story of Virginia, but from a passage of Varro, who tells us that the “dignity of the Forum was first increased” by the transformation of these butchers’ stalls into the shops of bankers or money-changers.²⁷ Both sides of the market-place, successively

²⁶ We are indebted to M. Bunsen for clearing up this point, and for showing the importance, in a topographical point of view, of clearly distinguishing between the *original* *Ficus Ruminalis* and that which had succeeded to its honours, but not its position, on the Comitium. The great Scaliger, indeed, seems to have rightly apprehended the truth of the case, as resulting from the combination of the two passages in Festus, (v. *Ruminalis*, p. 270, and v. *Navia*, p. 169, ed. Müller), with that of Pliny, (*H. N.* xv. 18); but his views were lost sight of by subsequent writers,

and the whole subject thus involved in confusion. I must confess, however, that M. Bunsen’s emendations of the passage in Pliny, seem to me unnecessarily bold; all that appears certain is, that the word *Ruminalis* must have originally occurred towards the beginning of the passage, and that for the corrupt words “*adacto navigio*,” we must read with Scaliger, “*ab Atto Navio*,” or as it stands in Sillig’s edition, “*Atto Navio augure*.” Fortunately this is all that we require.

²⁷ Hoc intervallo primum forensis dignitas crevit, atque ex tabernis lani-

underwent this change, whence the appellation of *Novæ* (*tabernæ* or *argentariæ*,) and *Veteres*, by which the north and south sides of the Forum came to be distinguished. These terms are of frequent occurrence, and of much importance in the determination of other topographical details; fortunately we are able to ascertain with certainty, that the *Novæ* occupied the north side of the Forum, the *Veteres* the opposite one.²⁸ In the midst between them—apparently as nearly as possible in the centre of the Forum—was situated the *Lacus Curtius*, or rather a *puteal* marking the spot consecrated by tradition under that name. Close to it stood three trees,—a fig-tree, an olive, and a vine, the two last of which are distinctly mentioned as being of *plebeian* origin, thus confirming the idea suggested by Niebuhr, as to the original relation of the Forum to the Comitium. In the same part of the Forum were erected many statues and other honorary monuments, among which it may be sufficient to name the Columna *Mænia*, and the celebrated Columna *Rostrata* of Duillius. Of the inscription which adorned the pedestal of this important monument,—interesting as a specimen of early Latinity,—a copy, made apparently in the imperial times,²⁹ is still preserved in the Capitol.

enis *argentariæ factæ*. Varro, *ap. Notisium*, c. 12, p. 364, ed. Gerlach. At what time these *Argentariæ* in their turn disappeared from the Forum, we have no information; but it would appear from the expression of Livy, (xxvi. 27), "*argentariæ, quæ nunc novæ appellantur*," that those on the north side at least, were still existing in his day. It was probably on occasion of their removal, that the Basilica *Argentaria* was erected on the slope of the Capitoline hill, towards the Forum of Trajan; the remains of which M. Bunsen has discovered adjoining the modern *Salita di Marforio*, which bore in the middle ages the name of *Clivus Argentarius*. (*Beschr.* iii. p. 371, iv. pp. 38, 39).

²⁸ The passage cited by M. Becker from Cicero, (*Acad.* iv. 22), is decisive on this point:—"ut ii qui sub *Novis* solem non ferunt, item ille cum *sestunaret veterum* ut *mesianorum* sic *Academicorum* umbram secutus est." As the two long

sides of the Forum fronted nearly south-west and north-east, there could be no question which was the sunny side. The same conclusion had been already arrived at by M. Bunsen upon other grounds. The *mesianæ* alluded to were projecting balconies over the *tabernæ*, which served for the spectators of the games and shows of gladiators in the Forum. See the passages cited by M. Becker, *Handb.* p. 296, note 500.

²⁹ Niebuhr asserts that this copy was made in the reign of Tiberius, (*Lect. on Rom. Hist.* vol. i. p. 118, ed. Schmitz); but I am ignorant of his authority for this statement. That it is not the original must, I think, be obvious to any one who has taken the trouble of comparing it with those of the Scipios and of Mummius in the Vatican. It was found, according to Ciacconio, a writer of the sixteenth century, near the Arch of Septimius Severus. See Nibby, *Roma Antica*, tom. ii. p. 141.

We shall now be able to picture to ourselves with tolerable clearness the state of the Forum itself, and the relations of the surrounding localities, as they existed in the sixth century of Rome. It is interesting to compare the results thus arrived at, with the allusions in a remarkable passage of Plautus,⁸⁰ to the elucidation of which his commentators have hitherto contributed but little,—but on which the researches of recent topographers have thrown much light.

Commonstrabo, quo in quemque hominem facile inveniatis loco.
 Qui perjurum convenire vult hominem, mitto in Comitium,
 Qui mendacem et gloriosum apud Cloacinæ sacrum,
 Ditis damnosos maritos sub Basilica quærito.
 Ibidem erunt scorta exoleta, quique stipulari solent.
 Symbolarum collatores apud Forum Piscarium.
 In foro infimo boni homines atque dites ambulant.
 In medio propter Canalem ibi ostentatores meri;
 Confidentes garrulique et malevoli supra Lacum,
 Qui alteri de nihilo audacter dicunt contumeliam,
 Et qui ipsi sat habent quod ipsis vere possit dicier,
 Sub Veteribus ibi sunt qui dant quique accipiunt fœnori,
 Pone ædem Castoris ibi sunt subito quibus credas male,
 In Tusco vico ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese venditant.
 In Velabro vel pistorem, vel lanium, vel haruspicem,
 Vel qui ipsi vortant, vel quæ aliis subversentur, præbeant.
 Ditis damnosos maritos apud Leucadium Oppiam.⁸¹

Without attempting to explain the full meaning of this still obscure passage, or to account for all the satirical divisions of the poet, some of the allusions are clear enough. The Comitium was the place where justice was administered; the Shrine of Cloacina was close to the Rostra, from whence the harangues of the demagogues were held; the usurers, alluded to in the twelfth line, were the *Argentarii* of the *Veteres*; the Forum Piscarium, was not the fish-market near the Tiber, but

⁸⁰ *Cœroulio*, Act. iv. Sc. 1.

⁸¹ The meaning of the words "*Leucadium Oppiam*" is wholly unknown, and the repetition of the rest of the line very singular. M. Bunsen's conjecture, that the two versions of the same line belong to two different editions of the

play, is at least very probable, and the chronological difficulty arising from the mention of the Basilica, might even lead us to suspect that one of them was inserted after the death of Plautus. But in the *Captivi* we find another allusion to the Basilica. See the following note.

one immediately adjoining the Vulcanal, apparently at the back of the *Basilica Porcia*, which we find mentioned by Festus.³² The *lacus* is of course the *Lacus Curtius*, in the centre of the Forum, whence the expression *supra Lacum*, seems to have been applied to the upper part, near the Comitium; what the *canalis* was, we have no information, probably merely a drain, which was afterwards covered over. It appears that the butchers and other inferior tradesmen, who had been expelled from the Forum itself, had taken refuge in the Velabrum near at hand, where we find them still established in the days of Horace.³³

In the above passage of Plautus, it must be observed that only one *Basilica* is alluded to. The mention even of that one is singular, as, according to Cicero, the poet died in the very year of the censorship of Cato (U. C. 570,) in which the Porcian Basilica—unquestionably the first erected at Rome—was begun. This edifice was the first of a series, which before long greatly altered the aspect of the Forum. Its position is so far clearly indicated, that it stood close to the Curia Hostilia, but apparently somewhat backward, so as not to abut directly upon either the Forum or Comitium. Its exact site is not, however, clear, and is of little importance; the building itself perished in the same conflagration with the Curia, on occasion of the death of Clodius³⁴ (U. C. 702,) and we do not learn that it was restored. The example set by Cato was followed by the very next censors, M. Fulvius and M. Æmilius Lepidus, who erected a second and more sumptuous Basilica on the north side of the Forum properly so called, immediately behind the *Argentariæ Novæ*. Though the construction of this edifice is ascribed by Livy to Fulvius alone, there seems no doubt that his colleague had some share in the matter, and the building was called in subsequent times, sometimes the Fulvian, sometimes the Æmilian Basilica; perhaps most correctly, as we find in one instance, *Basilica*

³² V. *Piscatorii ludi*, p. 238, Müll. It is evidently the same to which Plautus alludes in another passage, (*Capitell*, iv. 2, v. 34),
Tum piscatores qui præbent populo
piscas furtivos,
Quorum odos subbasilicanos omnes abi-
git in forum.

³³ Cum Velabro omne macellum. *Sat.* 11. 3, 229.

³⁴ *Ascon. ad Cic. pro Milon.* p. 34, ed. Orell. Quo igne et ipsa quoque curia flagravît, et item Porcia Basilica, quæ erat ei juncta, ambusta est.

Æmilia et Fulvia. Not long afterwards, a third Basilica was erected by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, on the opposite side of the Forum, but not immediately adjacent to it, being separated from it by the range of the *Argentariæ Veteres*, and perhaps standing still farther back on the *Vicus Tuscus*. The fourth and last Basilica of the republican period, the *Opimia*, stood close to the *Senaculum*, and was probably erected at the same time with the adjacent Temple of Concord, by L. Opimius, after his victory over C. Gracchus.

Such, then, was the general aspect of the Forum, as well as we are able to trace it out, at the end of the seventh century of Rome.³⁵ The tumults consequent on the death of Clodius (U. C. 702,) led to great and extensive changes, and prepared the way for its assuming the altered character which it presented under the first emperors. A clear understanding of the alterations effected at this period, is one of the most important requisites in regard to the topography of the Forum; and here it is certainly to M. Bunsen that we are indebted, for first throwing light upon this complicated subject.

It is well known that in the tumults just alluded to, the *Curia Hostilia* was burnt to the ground; the *Basilica Porcia*, as already mentioned, perished with it. The Senate-house was, however, soon rebuilt, the direction of the work being entrusted to *Faustus*, the son of the dictator *Sylla*; but scarcely had it been finished, when the Senate, at the suggestion of *Cæsar*, decreed that it should be destroyed, and a Temple of Fortune erected on its site, while a *new Curia* should be erected, which should bear the name of the *Julian*. Both resolutions were in fact carried out; the Temple of Fortune was built by *Lepidus*, before the death of *Cæsar*, while the triumvirs, after that event, proceeded with the construction of the *Curia Julia*, which was ultimately finished and *consecrated* by *Augustus*.³⁶ The last point (which is expressly mentioned by *Dion Cassius*) is by no means unimportant, when viewed in connection with a passage of *Varro*, (first pointed out by *M. Becker*), in which he states that the *Curia Julia* having been previously *profane ground*, required to be constituted as a *templum* by the augurs in the

³⁵ The annexed sketch of a plan, though it has no pretensions to accuracy, may assist the reader in forming a general conception of the arrangement of

the buildings which surrounded the Forum at this period.

³⁶ *Dion Cass.* XLIV. 5, XLVII. 19, LI. 22.

same manner as the Hostilia had originally been.³⁷ This testimony appears clearly to establish—if the facts already stated could leave any doubt on the subject—that the new Senate-house did not occupy the site of the old one, as supposed by all the later Italian antiquaries, including Nardini, Nibby, and Canina.

The precise position occupied by the Curia Julia, is a much disputed question; but fortunately it is not difficult to determine it within moderate limits. We have, in the first place, the testimony of Dion Cassius and Pliny,³⁸ that it stood on, or close by, the Comitium; now almost the only vacant space where it can be so placed, is at the south-western angle of that area, between the Temple of Vesta and that of Castor and Pollux, and this would exactly agree with a passage of Propertius, which, though not very clearly intelligible, seems to indicate that it occupied the site of the Fountain of Juturna;³⁹ the latter being, as is well known, nearly adjacent to both those temples. This position would be precisely that where we find the building of which three columns are still standing near Sta Maria Liberatrice,⁴⁰ and M. Canina has accordingly assigned those columns to the Curia Julia itself. M. Bunsen, on the contrary, finding in the enumeration of the buildings on this

³⁷ Propterea et in curia Hostilia, et in Pompeia, et post in Julia, cum profana ea loca fuissent, templa esse per augures constituta. Varro, *ap. Gell.* xiv. 7.

³⁸ Dion Cass. li. 22; Plin. xxxv. 4, (10). Idem in curia quoque quam in comitio consecrabat (Augustus).

³⁹ Murus erant montes: ubi nunc est curia septa,

Bellicus ex illo fonte bibebat equus.

Hinc Tarpeia deae fontem libavit, etc.

Propert. iv. 4, v. 13.

M. Becker justly observes, "Die Curie kann keine andere als die Julia sein;" and though he proceeds to combat the idea that the fountain is that of Juturna, we know of no other that can possibly be meant.

⁴⁰ Very various have been the names by which these three columns have been distinguished at different times. Poggio supposed them to have formed part of the bridge which Caligula built from

the Palatine to the Capitol!! Lucio Fauno and Marliano already bestowed upon them the title of Jupiter Stator, by which they have ever since continued to be commonly known; though Nardini regarded them as the remains of the Comitium; an opinion which was adopted by Nibby, (*Del Foro Romano*, p. 60), and followed by Mr Burgess, (*Antiq. of Rome*, vol. i. p. 366), coupled, however, by both these authors with the additional error of confounding the Comitium with the Græcoastasis. M. Bunsen, in his first sketch of the Forum, (*Bullett. d. Ist. Arch.* 1835), referred them to the Temple of Castor and Pollux, an idea already suggested by M. Fea, and for which their proximity to the Temple of Vesta certainly offers a strong presumption; but afterwards changed his mind, and added—stated in the text. It is as this his first view

side of the Forum in the Notitia, a Temple of Minerva interposed between those of Castor and Vesta,⁴¹ assigns the three columns to that building, which he regards as the Temple of *Minerva Chalcidica*, mentioned among the public works of Domitian,⁴² and which he again connects with the *Chalcidicum*, spoken of by Augustus himself, as adjoining to and apparently connected with the Curia Julia.⁴³ The Curia itself, he takes to have been no other than the building of which the lofty brick walls are still standing at some distance behind the temple of the three columns, an idea previously adopted by Nibby. It is certain that the excellent masonry of these remains would perfectly accord with the supposition that they belong to the Augustan age; and that if they did not form part of the Curia, we do not well know what to call them; but the latter argument is, in the imperfect state of our knowledge of this neighbourhood, really worth nothing at all. It seems difficult, on the other hand, to believe that the *Chalcidicum*—a raised platform or terrace adjoining the Curia—could have occupied the whole space from the front of the building of the three columns as far back as the brick building in question, from which it must also have been separated by the Via Nova; and however narrow we may suppose that street to have been, this hardly accords with the expression in the *Marmor Ancyranum*, "*Curiam et continens ei Chalcidicum*." Again, a building so situated, would seem farther removed from the Comitium than we can suppose the Curia Julia to have been, consistently with the statements of Dion Cassius and Pliny, already referred to.

If then we are to choose between the two views of Canina and Bunsen, the former would appear more strictly in accordance with the testimonies of ancient writers, and would therefore be entitled to our approval, in the absence of more direct

⁴¹ The enumeration in the Notitia is as follows:—"Vicum Jugarium, Græcostadium, Basilica Julia, Templum Castorum, et Minervæ, Vestam." In the *Catalogus Imperatorum* also, we find "*Templum Castorum et Minervæ*" associated together among the works of Domitian.

⁴² Hieronym. *Chron.* p. 445, ed. Roncall. Cassiodor. *ib.* v. 11. p. 197. His *Coss. multa mœnia et celeberrima Ro-*

mæ facta sunt: id est, Capitolium, Forum Transitorium, Divorum porticus, Iseum, Serapium, Stadium, Horrea piperataria, Vespasiani templum, Minerva Chalcidica, Odeum.

⁴³ *CURIAM ET CONTINENS EI CHALCIDICUM.* Monum. Ancyran. Dion Cassius also enumerates (*LI.* 22,) among the works of Augustus: *τὸ ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τὸ Χαλκιδικὸν ἀγομασμένον, καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐν Ἰουλίῳ.*

evidence. But M. Becker has put forth a third suggestion, which has certainly much to recommend it, and while it accords in part with each of the preceding, yet differs essentially from them both. Agreeing with Canina, that the Curia Julia could have stood nowhere else but at the angle of the Comitium adjoining the Temple of Vesta, where we now find the three columns,⁴⁴ he yet looks upon those columns as the remains of the Temple of Minerva, mentioned in the Notitia, and conceives that the Curia Julia perished in the great fire of Rome under Nero, and was never afterwards rebuilt; but that Domitian, in his restoration of the Forum after that calamity, transferred the Senate-house to the angle of the Forum, near the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus. It is certain that we find the Senate-house in that quarter at a late period of the empire, and that we have no distinct statement of the time of its removal; but among the numerous edifices attributed to Domitian, is mentioned a "*Senatus*," an expression which, in the later Latin writers, is used instead of Curia, and it certainly seems probable that this is the same building which bore that name in after times.⁴⁵ M. Bunsen, who maintains that the Curia Julia subsisted uninjured until long after the time of Domitian, and is in fact the same with the *Curia Vetus* of the Notitia—an opinion from which I have already stated my reasons for dissenting⁴⁶—attributes the erection of the new Senate-house under the Capitol to Honorius, a fact of which there is no mention, and M. Becker has satisfactorily shown that we have evidence of the Senate having held its assemblies, at least occasionally, in this neighbourhood as early as the time of Didius Julian.⁴⁷ Hence the weight of evidence seems decidedly in favour of this view of the subject. Dion

⁴⁴ An additional argument in favour of placing the Curia Julia in the immediate neighbourhood of Sta Maria Liberatrice, is derived from the fact, that it was here that the fragments of the Consular Fasti, now preserved in the Capitol, were discovered.

⁴⁵ M. Bunsen understands the "*Senatus*," mentioned in the *Catalogus Imperatorum* as built by Domitian, to be identical with the "*Secretarium Senatus*," which are known from an inscription found near Sta Martina, to

have stood in the year 399, at that angle of the Forum; but it is not quite clear what purpose he supposes it to have served, so long as the Curia Julia existed.

⁴⁶ This is admitted by M. Urlichs, who has undertaken, as usual, the defence of Bunsen's opinion against M. Becker. For the fuller examination of the question, I must refer the reader to his *Römische Topographie in Leipzig*, p. 37, and M. Becker's *Antwort*, p. 33.

⁴⁷ See Part I. (vol. III. p. 343, note 27)

Cassius indeed speaks of the dedication of the famous statue of Victory, by Augustus, in the Curia Julia, in terms that would seem to imply not only that it was still existing in his time, (which is certain,) but that it still occupied the same place; but his testimony on this point is not precise; and though we elsewhere frequently find mention of this statue as standing in the *Senate-house*, none of these passages furnish us with any indication whether the building meant is the Curia Julia, or that beneath the Capitol.⁴⁸ It is certain then, that we have no *express* mention of the Curia Julia after the reign of Caligula; and it therefore seems most probable, as suggested by M. Becker, that it either perished in the fire under Nero, which also consumed the Temple of Vesta in its immediate neighbourhood, or was destroyed by Domitian in the course of his alterations and restorations in this part of the Forum.

The removal of the Curia was far from being the only change introduced by Julius Cæsar, or by those who followed out his plans. Either before his death or immediately afterwards, the Rostra also were removed from the place they had so long occupied in the centre of the piazza, to a position under the south side of the Forum, (*sub Veteribus*,) the place of which is not more precisely indicated, and can only be placed conjecturally near the middle of that line. M. Bunsen has pointed out that these new Rostra are not to be confounded, as they had previously been, with the *Rostra Julia*, which were in fact formed out of the basement of the Temple of Julius itself.⁴⁹ Besides these, there appears to have been in later times a third edifice of this kind, at the opposite end of the Forum, and to which M. Bunsen

⁴⁸ The most decisive of these passages would be that brought forward by M. Becker from Ælius Lampridius, (Alex. Sev. 14), if it were certain—which it is not—that the word “*Senatus*,” instead of “*Curia*,” was never applied except to the new Senate-house under the Capitoline hill. M. Bunsen indeed says, (*Beschreibung*, iv. p. 109), in speaking of the famous controversy to which this very Statue of Victory gave rise, between Ambrose and Symmachus—one of the last dying struggles of paganism—that the eloquent defence of Symma-

chus leaves no doubt that “the Curia” of which he there speaks, could be no other than the Curia Julia. This is exactly the point in question; and it is, therefore, much to be regretted, that he has not thought fit to cite the particular passages on which he founds this inference. M. Ulrichs has apparently been unable to find them, otherwise he would doubtless have brought them forward against M. Becker.

⁴⁹ Dion Cass. li. 19: τὴν τε κρηπίδα τοῦ Ἰουλείου ἡρώου τοῖς τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν τῶν ἱμβόλοις κοσμηθεῖναι (ἐψηφίσαντο).

(adopting a suggestion of M. Canina) has referred the remains lately discovered immediately adjoining the *Milliarium Aureum*. The position of the temple erected to Julius Cæsar after his death, has been already mentioned; it was apparently of small size, but must have stood on an elevated basement, (the *κρηπίς* alluded to by Dion Cassius, as being converted into the *Rostra Julia*), which will account for Ovid's expression:—

Ut semper Capitolia nostra forumque
Divus ab excelsa prospectet Julius æde.⁵⁰

Of the *Basilica Julia* also, I have already spoken. It may be observed that it appears to have replaced the *Sempronia*, of which we hear no more. It is very unfortunate that the excavations, which in 1835 established the fact, that the steps opposite to the column of *Phocas* belonged to this *Basilica*, were not continued even so far as to determine the length of those steps, and consequently the *frontage* of the *Basilica* upon the *Forum*: a point obviously requisite, in order to judge whether there could have been two temples, or only one, between this edifice and the church of *Sta Maria Liberatrice*; and again, whether the *Græcostasis* of imperial times could have stood where M. Bunsen, following the order of enumeration of the *Notitia*,⁵¹ has placed it,—between the *Basilica* and the opening of the *Vicus Jugarius*. It seems idle to speculate at present concerning the relative positions of these buildings, where all is as yet uncertain, while the removal of a few cart-loads of earth would set the question at rest for ever.

⁵⁰ *Metam.* xv. 841. He speaks of it in similar terms in the *Epistles ex Ponto*, ii. 2, 85.

Fratribus assimilis quos proxima templa tenentes

Divus ab excelsa Julius sede videt.

⁵¹ Both M. Bunsen and M. Becker have placed the greatest reliance upon the authority of the *Notitia*, with regard to the buildings that in the imperial times were ranged along this side of the *Forum*. If indeed it be certain that they are enumerated exactly in the order that they stood in a direct line from the *Vicus Jugarius* to the temple of

Vesta, the determination of the *Basilica Julia* at once fixes all the others: but I must confess myself by no means so clear that we are entitled to build with such confidence on this authority. It would not be one of the least important results to be gained by the prosecution of excavations in this direction, that we should thereby ascertain how far our inferences are in this case well founded, and thus be better able to judge with what degree of confidence we can rely upon similar conclusions in other instances.

Fortunately this is no longer the case with the part of the Forum immediately adjoining,—the slope of the Capitoline hill. Here, on the contrary, whatever excavation can effect, has been already achieved: the enormous accumulations of rubbish, which here, more than any where else, had concealed from view all that time had spared, have been entirely removed; and the result has been, not only to render the spot most striking and impressive to the lover of antiquity, but to clear up many topographical details, which would otherwise have been wholly lost. The first point thus established, was the direction of the Clivus Capitolinus, which is now known with certainty to have turned to the left, after passing under the triumphal Arch of Severus, and ascended the hill, in an oblique direction, to the point where it is crossed by the modern *salita*, which unfortunately prevented the excavations from being carried farther in this direction. Immediately adjoining the Arch of Severus on the left, has been brought to light a circular structure, of a very singular character, which M. Bunsen has ingeniously identified with the celebrated Milliarium Aureum, erected by Augustus *in capite fori*,⁵² and which was regarded as the centre from which radiated all the roads from Rome to every part of Italy, on which account it obtained in later times the title of “Umbilicus Romæ.”⁵³ Adjoining to, and immediately below the Milliarium, are the remains already alluded to, which have been called by M. Bunsen the Rostra Flavia.

On the slope, beneath the Capitoline hill, the remains of two temples had been always visible, though covered up with earth and rubbish, almost to a level with the capitals of their columns. The one most immediately beneath the Capitol, of which three columns only were standing, was generally known by the name

⁵² Plin. *H. N.* III. 5, (9); see also Tacit. *Hist.* I. 27; Suet. *Otho.* 6; Plut. *Galb.* 24. M. Becker objects to this identification, because the Milliarium is described as *sub æde Saturni*, while the monument in question is more directly under the Temple of Concord. Considering the immediate proximity of all the three, I cannot but look upon this as mere hair-splitting; but it is cer-

tainly not impossible that the position of the Milliarium may have been slightly changed, in consequence of the construction of the Temple of Vespasian and the adjoining Rostra.

⁵³ Anonym. Einsiedlensis: “Sci Sergii, ubi umbilicum Romæ.” The church of SS. Sergio e Bacco, which was destroyed in the sixteenth century, stood on the ruins of the Temple of Concord.

of Jupiter Tonans;⁵⁴ the other, which we now know to have been separated from it by the Clivus Capitolinus, had borne since the days of Poggio the title of the Temple of Concord. That author records that he had seen it in a perfect state: eight columns only are now standing; but the demolition is the less to be regretted, as what remains is of very indifferent architecture, and evidently the result of some restoration at a late period. It is doubtless that very restoration which we find recorded in the inscription still legible on the architrave: SENATVS. POPVLVSQVE. ROMANVS. INCENDIO CONSVMPVTVM. RESTITVIT. A similar restoration of the other temple, (which must however belong to a much earlier and better period of architecture,) is attested by the fragment of the inscription . . . ESTITVER. The existence of a third temple, immediately adjoining the one assigned to Jupiter Tonans, and above the arch of Severus, was revealed by the process of excavation in 1817; and the inscriptions found there, as already mentioned, established beyond the possibility of doubt, that this was the real temple of Concord. This point being fixed, it remained only to determine the names of the other two. M. Bunsen was, I believe, the first to suggest that the supposed Temple of Jupiter Tonans was in fact that of Saturn, one of the most ancient sanctuaries of Rome, which served during the republican period as the *ærarium*, or public treasury. This temple is distinctly described as situated under, or at the foot of, the Clivus Capitolinus, and as adjoining that of Concord, designations so precise as to leave, it would seem, no doubt of the correctness of this attribution. With regard to the third temple, the catalogue of the Notitia comes to our assistance: here we find enumerated in order, coming from the Forum of

⁵⁴ The Temple of Jupiter Tonans was really erected, according to the best of all possible authorities, that of Augustus himself, in the Capitol, "*Ædem Tonantis Jovis in Capitolio.*" Marm. Ancyran. Suetonius and Pliny use the same expression: it is the Pseudo-Victor alone who places it is *olivo Capitolino*, and whose authority was followed, as usual, implicitly by Nardini. The name of the Temple of Fortune, applied by Nibby, (*Foro Romano*, p. 145,) to that

of the eight columns, when it was found that they could not belong to the Temple of Concord, rests solely upon an inference from an inscription found at Præneste,—

Tu quæ Tarpeio coleris vicina
Tonanti,
Votorum vindex semper Fortuna
meorum.

And therefore must fall at once with that of Jupiter Tonans.

Trajan,—“Basilicam Argentariam, Templum Concordiæ, et Saturni, et Vespasiani, et Titi.” The two last names appear to belong to one and the same edifice: for though we learn from Suetonius, as well as from the evidence of coins, that Titus obtained the honours of consecration, we have no account of any temple erected to him; and it seems a very natural suggestion, that he was simply received into that dedicated to the memory of his father. This is confirmed by the evidence of a late writer, who mentions the “Templum Vespasiani et Titi” among the public works of Domitian;⁵⁵ and we might therefore fairly conclude from the evidence of the Notitia, that this temple was no other than the one of which the eight columns are still standing.

The arrangement thus arrived at, finds a remarkable confirmation in the authority of the Anonymus of Einsiedlen, who evidently saw all the three temples in their integrity, and has preserved to us the inscriptions of them all. They are as follows: *Senatus populusque Romanus incendio consumptum restituit. Divo Vespasiano Augusto. S. P. Q. R. Imp. Cæss. Severus et Antoninus Pii Felic. Aug. restituerunt. S. P. Q. R. ædem Concordiæ vetustate collapsam in meliorem faciem opere et cultu splendidiore restituerunt.* The inscriptions which are, it appears, thus given in the MS. without a break, are easily divided into three distinct portions, referable to the three temples in question, and comprising, it is to be observed, the fragments of the two inscriptions still extant. M. Bunsen, who has been followed in this instance by M. Becker, divides them thus:—

1. Senatus D. Vesp. Augusto.

⁵⁵ Catalog. Imp. Viennensis, p. 243, ed. Roncall. It is difficult to estimate the degree of credit due to the anonymous Chronicle from which the above notice is taken, and which is unfortunately in many cases the sole authority to which we can refer for statements connected with ancient buildings; but there can be no doubt that it is of very late date; and the absurdity of much of the matter it contains, even more than the barbarisms of its style, must tend to shake our faith in its value. Yet it has

undoubtedly preserved to us many facts which would otherwise have been lost, and some of these at least must have been derived from good sources. It may perhaps be worth mentioning, as an instance of the mode in which errors grew up in the middle ages, that the Temple of Vespasian and that of Titus, appear in the *Mirabilia* as two separate edifices. “In fine hujus insulæ Argentariæ templum Vespasiani; in clivo Sta Mariæ in Campo, templum Titi.”—P. 293, ed. Montf.

2. S. P. Q. R. Impp. restituerunt.⁵⁶

3. S. P. Q. R. ædem Concordiæ restituerunt.

Concerning the last there is no question: it is only important as shewing distinctly the order in which the three inscriptions were copied by the Anonymus, and which is exactly the reverse of that followed by the Notitia. But M. Canina has suggested a different mode of division, according to which the words, "*Divo Vespasiano Augusto S. P. Q. R.*" would belong not to the *first* inscription but to the *second*: and he accordingly assigns the temple of the three columns to Vespasian,—that of the eight to Saturn. It cannot be denied that this view has many plausible arguments in its favour. In the first place, the position thus given to the Temple of Vespasian accords better with the line of Statius already quoted, "*Terga pater, blandoque videt Concordia vultu,*" on account of its *fronting* the Forum, while the other is only turned sideways towards it: but the authority of Statius has certainly less weight in this instance, because it was a natural compliment to Domitian for the poet to introduce the Temple of Vespasian in preference to that of Saturn, even at some slight expence of accuracy. Again, the Monumentum Ancyranum describes the Basilica Julia as situated between the Temple of Castor and that of Saturn, a statement which would at first appear to accord better with the view of M. Canina; but when we bear in mind that the Temple of Vespasian had at this time no existence, and therefore no building intervened between the Basilica and the Temple of Saturn,—supposing the latter to have stood where the three columns now do,—the expression of Augustus would seem a sufficiently natural one. An additional argument has also been derived by M. Canina from two fragments of the Capitoline plan, which bear the inscription, B VLLA., and adjoining one end of the building there represented, the letters VRNI But even supposing the edifice there delineated to be the Basilica

⁵⁶ I cannot but think, that in this decision the letters S. P. Q. R. are wrongly assigned to the second inscription, where they appear to have no meaning. It would seem much more likely that the inscription on the Temple of Vespasian was originally DIVO VESPASIANO AVGVSTO. S. P. Q. R., and that the

words relating to the restoration were afterwards added. It is certainly singular that Poggio, who states that he saw this temple almost entire, (*fore integram, De Variet. Fort. lib. i. p. 12.*) could not have read on it the name of Vespasian, as he gives it the erroneous title of the Temple of Concord.

Julia, (and it is justly objected by M. Becker, that it has none of the characters of a Basilica,) it is by no means clear that the letters adjoining it must refer to the temple opposite. This point, however, can only be cleared up by future excavations, which would lay bare the opening of the Vicus Jugarius. On the whole, therefore, it appears to me, that, allowing the testimony of the Anonymus to be perfectly neutral, on account of the want of punctuation in the only existing manuscript of the work, the arguments in favour of M. Bunsen's view decidedly predominate: for it seems difficult to believe that Servius could have described the building of the eight columns as adjoining the Temple of Concord, (*juxta Concordiæ templum*,) nor can any possible reason be assigned why the Notitia, in enumerating the three temples, should not have given them in the order in which they stood.⁵⁷

On the Clivus Capitolinus, and adjoining the Temple of Saturn, stood the triumphal arch erected by Tiberius, to commemorate the recovery of the standards which had been lost with the army of Varus.⁵⁸ In the same neighbourhood, but nearer, it would seem, to the Temple of Concord, was placed the shrine or chapel of the Genius of the Roman People, which we find frequently mentioned in late writers. The statue which it contained was afterwards, we are told, set up by Aurelian on the Rostra,⁵⁹ by which we are doubtless to understand those at this end of the Forum, called by Bunsen the Rostra Flavia.

On the other side of the Temple of Concord, we find a very remarkable monument of a different kind from any which we have yet been considering: this is the so-called Carcer Mamertinus, the only building now extant which can be referred with any reasonable degree of certainty to the regal period. All antiquarians are agreed that this is no other than the prison originally constructed by Ancus Marcius, "impending over the Forum," as Livy tells us, "as a terror to malefactors;" and to which a still more dismal subterranean dungeon was added by Servius Tullius. There can be no doubt that the lowest of the

⁵⁷ The authority of the *Mirabilia* is not worth much; but such as it is, it is decidedly in favour of the same view, as it places the Temples of Concord and Saturn together, and separates that of Vespasian from them both.

⁵⁸ Tacit. *Ann.* II. 41.

⁵⁹ Catalog. Imperatorum Vienn. p. 246.—It is here also that we find the "Genius Populi Romani" in the Notitia, where it occurs immediately before the "Senatus."

two vaulted chambers still visible,—the great antiquity of which is sufficiently attested by its mode of construction,—is no other than this “Tullianum,” the horrors of which are described to us in so forcible a manner by Sallust. But it seems probable that the chamber above is no part of the original construction, but belongs to a subsequent restoration, the date of which is preserved to us by an inscription still legible in the church that has been erected on the site of the prison.⁶⁰ The name “Mamertinus” appears to have arisen in the middle ages; at least it does not occur in any ancient author.⁶¹

Near this angle of the Forum, and at the foot of the Capitoline hill, stood also, as already mentioned, the *Senatus*, or place of assembly of the Senate, under the later emperors; and immediately in front of it an edifice of far more interest in the eyes of the scholar—the little temple of Janus, distinguished as “Janus Geminus,” or “Quirini,” the “*index belli pacisque*,” which stood here, as it would appear, undisturbed from the days of Numa to those of Belisarius, and which even appears under the strange title of “*Templum Fatale*,” in documents of the twelfth century. That the building described by Procopius under this name—and of which the coins of Nero have preserved to us the representation—is the same as that alluded to by Ovid, and which was connected by an ancient tradition with the names of Romulus and Tatius,⁶² is proved, I

⁶⁰ See Sir W. Gell, *Top. of Rome*, vol. II. p. 409. M. Forchhammer, in a paper published in 1839, (*Bullet. d. Ist. Arch.* p. 30.) has suggested that this dungeon, though certainly applied in very early times to the purposes of a prison, was originally constructed as a reservoir for water, and that the name, “Tullianum,” which had caused it to be attributed to Servius Tullius, was in fact derived from the old word *tullius*, which appears to have signified a spring of water. See Festus, v. *Tullius*, p. 352. ed. Müller. The copious spring in the dungeon itself, connected by common tradition with the imprisonment of St. Peter, certainly lends much plausibility to this idea. It seems probable that the “*templum Ciceronia*,” which is mentioned by several writers of the

middle ages, is somehow or other connected with this *Tullianum*.

⁶¹ In the early middle age authorities it is called *Carcer Mamertini*; and the name, however it may have arisen, seems to have been connected with that of the celebrated statue, so well known in after ages as that of Marforio. The latter is called by Martinus Polonus *simulacrum Mamertini*: but in the *Mirabilia* it appears as *simulacrum Martis*, whence it seems impossible to doubt that the name is derived from the old Latin form *Mamers* for *Mars*, strange as it is to find such a piece of learning in the midst of the darkness that surrounds it.

⁶² Ovid. *Fast.* I. v. 260. ff. Concerning the probable origin of this tradition, see Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.* I. p. 307, &c.

think satisfactorily, by M. Bunsen, and can indeed admit of little doubt. Whether he is justified in the distinction that he attempts to establish between this temple and that erected by Numa, is a point that will be better examined in another place.

It now only remains, in order to complete the circuit of the Forum, to examine the buildings which occupied the *north* side of it at the period under consideration; and it is remarkable that we find mention of only one edifice to which we can assign this situation,—the Æmilian Basilica. That the magnificent structure bearing this name, which is designated by Statius as the “*sublimis regia Paulli*,” and noticed with admiration by Pliny, was no longer the same as that erected by the censors Fulvius and Æmilius, under the republic, is certain: it had indeed undergone several successive restorations before this period, with the first of which is connected a very difficult question, to which I must briefly advert,—though rather on account of the controversy to which it has given rise, than of the intrinsic importance of the point itself.

Plutarch expressly tells us, that the Fulvian Basilica was rebuilt by L. Æmilius Paullus, with funds furnished him in great part by Cæsar.⁶³ This restoration is evidently alluded to by Cicero in a letter to Atticus, (IV. 16.), which would have set the whole question at rest, had it not unfortunately been expressed in terms more intelligible to his correspondent than to succeeding ages. “*Paullus in medio foro basilicam jam pæne texuit iisdem antiquis columnis: illam autem, quam locavit, facit magnificentissimam. Quid quæris? nihil gratius illo monumento, nihil gloriosius. Itaque Cæsaris amici, (me dico et Oppium: dirumparis licet) in monumentum illud, quod tu tollere laudibus solebas, ut forum laxaremus et usque ad atrium Libertatis explicaremus, contempsimus sexcenties HS. Cum privatis transigi non poterat minore pecunia.*” One point at least clearly results from this passage—that Paullus built *two* basilicas, one of which was a restoration of an old one, not in a very much altered form, the other a new and magnificent structure. Either of these might therefore have borne the title of Æmilia, or Paulli; yet it is certain that in after

⁶³ Plut. Cæs. 29. Παύλος δὲ ὑπάρχει
ἐντὶ χίλια καὶ σικεταῖα τεάλαντα δόντος,
ἔφ' ὧν καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκτίσας, ὠνομαστέον

ἀνάθημα, τῇ ἀγορῇ προσσημειώθησιν ἐντὶ τῆς
Φουλβίας οἰκοδομηθεῖσαν.

ages we find no trace of more than one basilica distinguished by either of these names.⁶⁴ Plutarch clearly supposed the building noted in his day for its magnificence to be the one that had succeeded the Fulvia; and it stood, as we learn from Statius, in the middle of the Forum, that is, in the centre of the north side, which is all that Cicero's words can mean, for we of course cannot suppose that the basilica was placed in the midst of the open space of the Forum itself. M. Bunsen supposes the two buildings alluded to by Cicero to have stood side by side; and that from their being thus closely connected, and erected by the same person, they were commonly regarded as forming one edifice, and designated both together as the Basilica Æmilia. But it seems strange that the words of Cicero should contain no hint to this effect; and the representation of the Basilica itself on a coin referring to one of its subsequent restorations, certainly seems to prove that it was a single edifice with one uniform character.

M. Bunsen, however, has found a strong corroboration of his view in a fragment of the Capitoline plan, which he, in common with many preceding writers, refers to the Æmilian basilica, and which certainly contains indications of a similar building having stood immediately adjoining the one there represented. Unfortunately it is by no means certain that the fragment in question *does* refer to the Æmilian basilica, for the word EMILI occurs, not on the same portion of the plan with the edifice itself, but on a small detached fragment. Another separate portion also bears the name of VLPIA; and M. Canina has connected this, instead of the other, with the portion of the plan under consideration, which he thus regards as belonging to the great works around the Forum of Trajan.⁶⁵ But another circumstance is here brought into play by M. Bunsen: on the fragment representing the basilica, is written (*across the tribune* of the edifice and wholly within the lines that bound it,) the

⁶⁴ M. Urlichs indeed understands the expression of Tacitus, (*Ann.* III. 72.) 'Basilicam Pauli, Æmilia monumenta,' as relating to the double character of the basilica; an explanation already refuted satisfactorily by Ernesti in his note on the passage. Even supposing the two basilicas mentioned by Cicero to have originally stood side by side, I

certainly cannot believe that they continued to do so.

⁶⁵ M. Bunsen himself admits (*Les Forums de Rome*, 2^e part. 32,) that the proportions and arrangement of the building represented on the plan, bear a strong resemblance to that of the Basilica Ulpia, as already partially disclosed by the excavations in Trajan's Forum.

word LIBERTATIS, and this he regards as belonging to the Atrium Libertatis, alluded to by Cicero. The Atrium itself, he considers to be indicated by a small square building, represented on the plan immediately adjoining the tribune of the Basilica. To this suggestion there are two objections: first, that the letters on the plan, by their *symmetrical* position *within* the basilica, can hardly be referred without violence to an object *external* to that building; secondly, it is by no means clear that the words of Cicero, "ut forum laxaremus et usque ad Atrium Libertatis explicaremus," refer to the Basilica of Paulus. The expression immediately preceding, "monumentum illud quod tu tollere laudibus solebas," would rather seem to imply that he was here speaking of some *other* edifice or work which he meant to distinguish by these words in a manner intelligible enough to Atticus, though unfortunately no longer so to us.⁶⁶

On these grounds, I cannot but regard M. Bunsen's solution of the difficulty raised by the passage of Cicero—ingenious as it undoubtedly is—as far from satisfactory. Future excavations may perhaps throw some light upon the subject, at least by enabling us to decide whether the fragment of the Capitoline plan really belongs to the Æmilian basilica, or to that of Trajan. Meanwhile, M. Becker has started an entirely new explanation of Cicero's meaning: namely, that the second of the Basilicas there mentioned, is no other than the one afterwards known by the name of the Julian; and that it was originally erected by Paullus with the money furnished him by Cæsar, and might thus be regarded as the dictator's own work. But

⁶⁶ Almost all the commentators on Cicero seem to have understood the passage in this sense, which certainly appears to be the obvious inference from the words employed. What this *other* monument may have been, we cannot say with certainty, but I am much disposed to believe it to have been, as suggested by Becker, no other than the Forum of Cæsar, the object of which certainly was "*ut forum laxaret.*" M. Urlichs objects to this view, that the latter work was not commenced till a much later period, (*Röm. Top. in Leips.* p. 32.) and this is undoubtedly the in-

ference we should draw from our other authorities; but the same thing is true with regard to the Basilica of Paullus, the building of which is distinctly referred by Plutarch to the *consulship* of Paullus, that is the year 702, three years after this letter of Cicero was written. Such discrepancies are easily accounted for; and still more is the circumstance alleged by M. Urlichs as an additional objection, that, according to Pliny and Suetonius, the area of the new Forum cost more than the sum mentioned by Cicero.

this hypothesis seems to me equally at variance with the evidence of Cicero, and with that of Plutarch; from both of whom it is clear that Paullus was to have the glory of the building, however he may have got his money. The latter author also expressly states, that it was for the basilica *which replaced the Fulvia*, and which he terms a distinguished monument, that Cæsar furnished the means. It is certainly not impossible that Plutarch may have made some confusion in this matter, but we cannot reject his authority without better grounds for doing so than we at present possess.

Besides this celebrated Basilica, we have no account of any other buildings on the north side of the Forum, except the Temple of Fortune, on the site of the Curia Hostilia, (if it still existed,) before the erection of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, concerning which, fortunately, there can be no doubt, as it still bears the inscription on its front in large letters—*DIVO ANTONINO ET DIVÆ FAUSTINÆ EX S. C.*⁶⁵ It stood at the extreme north-eastern angle of the Forum, and must have occupied part of the area which had borne the name of the Vulcanal.

The edifice last mentioned, is the only one of which we have yet spoken, that did not adorn the Forum in the time of Domitian. We may now form to ourselves a tolerably distinct idea of the magnificent series of buildings that surrounded the open area—small as it must then have appeared by comparison with the colossal works on all sides of it—when that emperor placed in the centre of it (nearly, if not exactly on the site of the Lacus Curtius,) the equestrian statue already alluded to. So complete was the splendour of the Forum, when thus restored,⁶⁶ that we cannot wonder if succeeding emperors found but little to add to it. Hence a very few words will suffice for the buildings and monuments subsequently erected within its limits.

⁶⁵ The only question that can be raised concerning this temple is, as to which of the two Antonines is meant. Nibby (*Foro Rom.* p. 184), refers it to M. Aurelius and the younger Faustina, but the use of the title *Divo Antonino* alone, would seem conclusive in favour of the elder.

⁶⁶ It seems probable, that after this restoration, the Forum was wholly sur-

rounded by public edifices, and that no space remained for any private habitations; but as late as the time of Nero, there seem to have been not only private houses, but shops, immediately adjoining it. Suet. *Nero*, 37. Salvidieno Orfito objectum est quod *tabernas tres de domo sua circa forum civitatibus ad stationem locasset.*

Of these, the triumphal Arch of Septimius Severus claims especial notice, from the accident of its having been preserved entire to the present day. That of M. Aurelius, from which the beautiful bas-reliefs now in the Capitol were removed, appears to have stood a little aloof from the Forum, near the Temple of Janus. It is worthy of remark, that the west end of the Forum, near the foot of the Capitoline hill, appears to have succeeded at this period to the sort of pre-eminence originally possessed by the Comitium at the opposite extremity; hence we find it selected by Severus for the celebration of the solemn funeral honours paid by him to the memory of Pertinax;⁶⁷ and for the same reason, it was crowded during the later ages of the empire with honorary statues, the pedestals of several of which have been discovered in the recent excavations. On the other hand, the last mention we find of the Comitium is as the scene of a degrading punishment,⁶⁸ for which, in the days of the republic, the neighbourhood of the Columna Mænia would probably have been chosen.

The last monument that we know to have been erected in the Forum, so long the centre of Roman liberty, is the column still existing to attest the base flattery of a slavish minister towards the Byzantine emperor Phocas, one of the most monstrous tyrants that ever disgraced humanity. Among the numerous contrasts which force themselves upon the attention of any one that visits the ruins of Rome, there is perhaps none more striking.

It would be wholly foreign to my present purpose to trace the history of the Forum, and the revolutions it underwent through the middle ages. A very interesting sketch of this subject, by M. Bunsen, will be found in the *Beschreibung*, to which the reader must be referred. One point, however, is too remarkable to be passed over; during a period of several centuries the whole region of the Forum, or at least all the north-

⁶⁷ See the very interesting description of these ceremonies by Dion Cassius, LXXIV. 4, 5.

⁶⁸ *Præterea Celar equus Romanus, cum in Comitio virgis caederetur, &c.* Plin. *Epist.* iv. 11. This passage, for which I am indebted to Nibby, (*Foro Romano*, p. 62), appears to have been

overlooked by M. Bunsen, who speaks of the well-known words of Tacitus, in regard to the *Ficus Ruminalis*, (*Ann.* XIII. 58), as "the epitaph of the Comitium." (*Les Forums de Rome*, p. 64). With regard to the Columna Mænia, see the note of the Pseudo Asconius on Cicero, *Divinat.* c. 16.

ern half of it, bore the appellation of *Tria Fata*, a name which is first employed by Procopius to designate a particular spot, or rather an individual monument;⁶⁹ and the ingenious idea was first suggested by M. Sachse, that these "three Fates" were no other than the three Sibyls mentioned by Pliny as standing near the old Rostra, and which had been removed in the course of the various alterations that the Forum had undergone, to a position nearer the foot of the Capitol. M. Bunsen has quoted an interesting passage from the life of Pope Stephen III., in which we find the clergy and the whole body of the people of Rome assembled "*in tribus fatis*," to proceed to the election of a pope. A strange vicissitude of fortune, that the Roman Forum, after the lapse of more than seven centuries, when its very name had passed away, should be applied once more to its original purpose, as the scene of a popular assembly!

It is impossible to quit this subject without feeling, that if much still remains to be done,—if many points are still obscure to us, which will be easily cleared up by those who shall have the good fortune to see the whole Campo Vaccino restored to its original level,—we have yet gained a certain number of fixed points, and may look with confidence upon the general outlines of our plan, whatever errors may be discovered in the details. The merit of first establishing those broad outlines on a satisfactory basis, is undoubtedly due to M. Bunsen; and his name will ever be remembered with gratitude by future scholars, as the restorer of the Roman Forum. M. Becker has, for the most part, adopted the views of his predecessor in regard to this important branch of the subject; at the same time we are indebted to him for some important corrections; while on other points, as we have seen, the arguments brought forward by him have been sufficient at least to shake the theories of his adversaries, if not fully to establish his own.

E. H. BUNBURY.

(*Will be completed in Part XII.*)

⁶⁹ *Bell. Goth.* l. 25, ἔχου δὲ τὸν πᾶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ (i. e. τῇ Ἰανῶν) πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἰλίγγυι ὑπερβαίνοντά τὰ τρία Φῶτα. Οὕτω | γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς Μοῖρας νομινοῦσιν καλεῖν.

II.

ON THE CONCLUSION OF THE ILIAD, FROM V. 677.*

SINCE the appearance of the work of Iensius,¹ modern critics have almost unanimously considered the last Book of the Iliad as spurious. After Iensius came the acute Richard Dawes,² whose views were controverted, though feebly, by Ernesti, Heyne, and others. Wolf³ declared the six last books to be the work of a poet who lived immediately after Homer's age, in which opinion both A. Schöll⁴ and Lachmann** concur. Nitzsch considers the last book the production of a later period, and contemporary with the Odyssey and the Shield of Achilles. According to Kayser,⁵ this last is, at the same time, the latest of the Rhapsodies; but Geppert⁶ treats the twenty-third and twenty-fourth books with still greater disrespect; for, while he assumes that the death of Hector is the proper conclusion of the Iliad, he endeavours to point out a multitude of feeble passages and defects in these books, at the same time wholly mistaking the poet's exquisite intention, and the high poetical beauty, especially of the last Rhapsody. Welcker, with that deep insight into the nature of ancient art and poetry peculiar to himself, is the only one who has clearly explained the necessity of the last book.⁷ He remarks, "The most pathetic scene in the Iliad is where Achilles is reminded by Priam, in a single word, of his old father Peleus. The hero bursts into a flood of tears at the remembrance, whilst the hoary monarch, crouching at his feet, bewails aloud his son's untimely fate. This scene is the highest effort—the very climax of all epic poetry.

* Translated from the Author's MSS.
by G. F. Graham.

¹ *Observata in stilo Homérico*, 1742; p. 290.

² *Miscellanea Critica*, 1781; p. 152, ff.

³ *Prolegomena*, p. 135, &c.

⁴ *Beiträge zur Litteratur der Griechen*, i. 101.

** *Abhandl. der Berlin. Akadem.* 1841, p. 35, ff.

⁵ *De diversæ Homericorum carminum origine*, p. 23.

⁶ *Ueber den Ursprung der Homerischen Gesänge*, i. 237, ff.

⁷ *Die Aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus*, p. 429.

For here the anger of Achilles is consummated, which, without this scene, would be essentially deficient in noble grandeur, and indeed a mere fragment. That flaming rage, which neither the storm of battles nor the blood of Trojans could assuage, and which his tears over the corpse of Patroclus could only slacken, is now suddenly quenched at the remembrance of his aged father, living at home in solitude, and far removed from all this tumultuous discord and contention." G. Lange adopts Welcker's views on this subject.⁸ We ourselves are of opinion that the last Book of the Iliad is genuine, with the exception of some interpolations. We shall not, however, discuss this question, but endeavour to shew that the conclusion of the Iliad, from v. 677, is spurious.

The conclusion of the poem can only be properly taken from that point where the feeling of revenge is wholly extinguished in the breast of Achilles. This commences from the moment when the Greek hero, whose dearest friend had been killed by Hector, cordially grasps the hand of the venerable Priam, and endeavours to soothe his grief.⁹ Vengeance is now satisfied. Priam and Achilles repose quietly under the same roof; and at the hero's side—who now for the first time since the death of Patroclus follows his mother's counsel¹⁰—sleeps Briseis, the occasion of the anger, and, indirectly, of the revenge of the great-souled Pelides.¹¹ Every thing beyond this point is out of the sphere of the poem on the revenge of Achilles. Hector must, unquestionably, be interred and lamented; but the performance of these funeral rites is wholly foreign to the main subject, which has its necessary close at one momentous point. Besides, a perfectly satisfactory intimation of Hector's obsequies is given in v. 662.

But however decidedly we may determine from an æsthetic point of view, that the Iliad really ends at v. 677, the truth of this opinion will be most clearly established by a minute examination of the part which follows it. We shall commence with the passage where Hermes conducts Priam to the ford of the river

⁸ "*Versuch die poetische Einheit der Ilias zu beschreiben*, 1826."

⁹ v. 972.

¹⁰ xxiv. 130, ff.

¹¹ For I distinguish between a poem

on the rage, and a poem on the revenge of Achilles. The grounds of this view are explained in my work entitled,—"*Homer und der Epische Kyklos*," p. 67, ff.

Xanthus.¹² Before this, Zeus had commanded Hermes to escort Priam to the tent of Achilles, making him invisible to the rest of the Greeks;¹³ and Hermes had returned to Olympus immediately after executing these orders,¹⁴ without making any promise to Priam to escort him back. This clearly shews that the poet had not intended to make Hermes re-conduct the old king. But the author of the conclusion makes the god descend again, as if to go up and down from Olympus (described at length in v. 340, ff.) were a matter of no importance. This whole passage, contrary to the practice of Homer, is hurried and obscure. No mention whatever is made of the difficulties in the journey back. In their way thither, they first arrive at the towers, and the moat round the ships, where the sentries are engaged in their evening repast. Hermes lulls them to sleep, and then unbolts the gate. Hence they proceed to the tent of Achilles, which is also closed.¹⁵ Here it is said that only Hermes makes himself invisible to the *ἱεροὶ πύλαυροί*. This is perhaps the only passage in which the simple expression, *Πρίαμον βασιλῆα*, occurs. The word *κακόν* is strangely employed in v. 683, which is here used in the sense of a misfortune which might befall him. The manner in which the narration is continued at v. 685, is harsh. It has been already pointed out by Geppert,¹⁶ that Priam should have reposed more confidence in the sacredness of hospitality, and in respect for Achilles. The hurried description at v. 690, appears most singular, more especially as the old father does not once express a wish, (as in v. 600,) to see his son's corpse. Lastly, Hermes' departing in silence has an unpleasant effect.

From v. 695, to v. 722, is described the return to the palace of Priam. Passing over as insignificant the abrupt transition the poet here makes to the rising of Eos, we come to v. 696, where a serious difficulty presents itself, which has been hitherto unobserved. It is here said: *οἱ δ' εἰς ἄστυ ἔλων ἵππους, ἡμίονοι δὲ νέκυν φέρον*; according to which we must clearly understand, that both Priam and the herald Idæos mounted the horse-chariot, and that the car drawn by mules was fastened behind it. But it is hard to conceive how this could have been managed;

¹² v. 677-694.

¹³ v. 534, ff.

¹⁴ v. 460, ff.

¹⁵ v. 443, ff.

¹⁶ l. 132.

and besides, it is contradictory to a former statement.¹⁷ It seems strange too, that Cassandra, who, on other occasions, is only mentioned as a secondary personage, but is never introduced as taking a prominent part, here ascends the citadel of Pergamos to look out over the surrounding country, whereas in other passages of Homer, the besiegers always look down from the walls.¹⁸ Only Apollo¹⁹ is mentioned as looking out from the citadel, where he has a temple.²⁰ The expression in v. 702, where τὸν refers to νέκυν, in v. 697, is somewhat obscure. Ἐφ' ἡμιόνων ἐν λεχέεσσιν, is a singular expression.²¹ The mere νεκρὸν ἄγουσι in v. 709, is not less strange, where we seem to require the addition of Ἰδαίῳ, or κήρυκι, or the plural νεκρὸν ἄγουσιν. We shall lay no stress on the difficulty in v. 710, where τόνγε, which cannot possibly be joined with ἀπτόμεναι,²² must be taken as an accusative of relation, or as an anacoluthon, as in Od. i. 275. But the obscurity in v. 715-717, where, according to the expression, we must understand that Priam is standing on the mule-wagon, furnishes a strong argument against the genuineness of the whole passage. Mourners, as mentioned in v. 720, f. do not appear at the burial of Patroclus.²³ Now, though it certainly may be maintained that this is a barbarous custom, which the poet properly ascribes to the Trojans, it should be remembered that the epic poet always represents the customs of his own nation, and never seeks to paint the truthfulness of nature by such a minute attention to detail. With respect to the interpolation of the often-tried passage in v. 721, the Venetian MS. here undoubtedly furnishes the correct reading, viz. θρήνους ἐξάρχουσ, to which Suidas also refers, and remarks that Homer uses θρήνους for θρηνηψούς.²⁴ The line should be punctuated as follows:—

θρήνους, ἐξάρχουσ οὔτε στονόεσσαν ἀοιδήν,

in which the connection of ἐξάρχειν with an accusative is not singular.²⁵ I can direct the reader to no other certain example

¹⁷ v. 178, ff., 323, ff.

¹⁸ Compare III. 384, xxii. 462, f.

¹⁹ iv. 508, vii. 21.

²⁰ Geppert remarks, (i. 398,) that the residence of Priam and his children was in the citadel, which the writer of this passage does not seem to have been aware of. Compare vi. 512.

²¹ This is different in v. 589, f.

²² Here Geppert also (ii. 142) is in error.

²³ xxiii. 12, ff.

²⁴ Compare Pollux, vi. 202.

²⁵ Compare ii. 273. Hymn. 27. 18.

in Homer of the postpositive relative, unless we consider as such the passage,—*χαίρει δέ μιν ὅστις ἐθείρη*.²⁶ Here, however, *μιν* appears to be the accusative of relation, belonging to *χαίρει*.²⁷ Similar to this is the *ὥς* postpositive: *σαώτερος ὥς κε νέηαι*, I. 32. I have observed this also in two passages of Sophocles, Ajax, 351, *Ἀλίου δὲ ἐπέβας ἐλίσσων πλάταν*, and Antig. 1117, *κλυτὰν δὲ ἀμφέπει* Ἰταλίαν. The word *θρήνοι* must be here rendered “*lamenting*,” and receives its explanation from the relative clause which follows it. The noun “*lament*,” equally as well as the adjective “*lamenting*,” can be formed from the verb *θρέειν*, but it would perhaps be better, for the sake of distinction, to write the latter, *θρηνός*.²⁸ Even with this restoration, though supported by the best authority, there is something unsatisfactory in this verse, which we can only account for by ascribing the whole passage to a later poet. This may also explain the later readings *θρήνους ἐξάρχους*, and *θρήνων ἐξάρχους*. These indeed are but attempts after an improved reading, and are as unsuccessful as every other which modern critics have made at this passage.

After the deep grief described in a former Book,²⁹ the wailings of the female relations, Andromache, Hekabe, and Helen, have a very feeble effect. A poet who makes Hekabe and Andromache lament so movingly immediately after the hero's death, will certainly avoid introducing the same personages, where custom requires a lamentation over the corpse, expressing their grief more weakly. It must also appear strange, that in this lamentation for Hector, only married women are introduced, whilst no mention is made of his sisters. And how comes it that only women lament over the body of the fallen hero; and that neither Priam, nor his sons, (though this is alluded to in v. 619.), nor the people, join in the chorus of wailing? Even Heyne found so much that is weak and uncommon in all this continued wailing, that he considered it as a later interpolation: he should not, however, have adopted the opinion that originally v. 777. immediately followed v. 722.; for both the preceding and following passages bear in themselves still more evident proofs of spuriousness.³⁰

²⁶ Il. xxi. 347.

²⁷ Voss proposed to read *μιν* for *μιν*.

²⁸ Götting, *über den Accent*. p. 196.

²⁹ xxii. 430–436, 477–514.

³⁰ Compare Geppert, i. 284. f. 288. f.

The speech of Andromache is but a faint echo of xxii. 430, 436, 477, 514; but there is this essential difference between the two passages,—that the fate of Astyanax is stated in the latter quite differently from that mentioned in the former. In the first, the wife of Hector laments that the death of the hero has left his widow and child forlorn; whereas in the second, she describes the miseries which await them from the victorious Greeks. The fate of Astyanax is conceived in v. 734. exactly as afterwards described by Lesches in the *Little Iliad*, and by Arktinus in the *Ἰλίου Πέρσει*; and these poets in fact seem to have been followed by the author of this passage. The expression ἀπ' αἰῶνος νέος ὦλεο in v. 725. is strange; whether we connect ἀπ' αἰῶνος νέον,—*young in life*, or ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὦλεο. Andromache fears lest Astyanax die in the bloom of youth; v. 734. ff. is certainly in accordance with this, but not the intimation (v. 731. ff.) that he must labour as a captive in a foreign land. The form ῥύσκειν occurs only in v. 730. But in xxii. 507, we find ἔρυσσ. The somewhat far-fetched allusion to the name Hector in ἔχει δ' ἀλόχου κεδνάς καὶ νήπια τέκνα, which even the ancients had remarked, discovers the learned poet. Of a very different nature is the interpretation of the name Ἀστυάναξ,³¹ which is the only etymological explanation to be found in the genuine Homeric poems; for ix. 561. ff. belongs to an interpolated Rhapsody, and Od. xix. 407. to a larger interpolation.³² In v. 734. πρὸ ἀνακτος is a singular expression, where the Homeric diction would seem to require ὑπό. We may remark, by the way, that λυγρὸν δλεθρον must be considered an apposition, not an accusative, whence there should be a comma after πύργου, as others have lately remarked, though it has escaped Spitzner's attention.³³ That Andromache, who wholly expresses her own grief,³⁴ should speak of the affliction of Hector's parents, seems to us unpsychological. Every one must also admit at a glance, that the lamentation would end much more appropriately at v. 740. It is strange, too, that Andromache is silent about the indignity with which Achilles treats her husband's corpse, though she expresses her joy that she herself can at last embrace it.

³¹ vi. 402, xxii. 506.

³² Geppert also finds the use of the word ἔχρει unhomeric.

³³ Geppert (ii. 190.) considers this construction unhomeric.

³⁴ v. 741, ff.

The lament of Hekabe is remarkably weak and poor in expression. How little do we here see the deep grief of the aged mother for the loss of her noblest and dearest son ! Moreover, the train of thought in v. 749-757 is somewhat distorted and obscure. Hekabe, in v. 755. mentions that Achilles dragged the body three times round the grave of Patroclus.³⁵ Now, it should be observed, that this fact, as represented by Homer, was unknown to Priam: how much more likely was it, that Hekabe should not know this ? The words ἀνέστησεν δέ μιν οὐδ' ὦς,³⁶ are not here well applied, since μιν must be referred to Πατρόκλου. The word πρόσφατος³⁷ appears to belong exclusively to a later language ; but we do not attach so much weight to the word ἀμιχθαλόειε, which is found in no other passage.³⁸

In Helen's speech, the construction ἡ μὲν μοι is not only most bungling, but almost nonsensical. Moreover, the statement that Helen has been nearly twenty years in Troy, is opposed to the Homeric account. The Cyclic poets mentioned two expeditions of the Greeks against Troy. According to their account, the first armament was destroyed by a tempest ; and thus ten years might have elapsed between this and the second expedition, which sailed from Aulis,³⁹ as is here assumed. Homer knows but of one expedition, to which all the princes of Greece were summoned ; but it is altogether contrary to his notion, that ten years elapsed before this (second) expedition. After ἐπέεσσι in v. 771. the expression σοῖς ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν in v. 772. is unbearable. We are perfectly aware that the ancients did not avoid the frequent repetition of the same word so carefully as is done in modern languages ; but no good poet ever allowed himself to write such a passage as—ἐπέεσσι—σῇ τ' ἀγανοφροσύνῃ καὶ σοῖς ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν. We need not, however, with Bothe, reject v. 772. but we may simply take it as a demonstrative proof, that the whole conclusion of the Iliad is spurious. Here Helen, instead of lamenting that she had lost a beloved brother-in-law in Hector, should have rather bewailed the death of so great a man in this dreadful war, of which she herself had been the occasion. The adjective ἀπείρων is never joined with δῆμος, except in this passage.⁴⁰

³⁵ xxiv. 14, ff.

³⁶ v. 756. (compare v. 551.)

³⁷ v. 758.

³⁸ v. 753.

³⁹ II. II. 301, ff.

⁴⁰ v. 776.

But the most striking proof of the whole conclusion being ungenune, is to be found in the funeral rites of Hector.⁴¹ The connection here⁴² is abrupt, and the passage itself obscure; for where must we conceive Priam and the people to be? In v. 780. ὦδε must have the signification of "hither;" for if we would join ὦδ' ἐπέτελλε together, as it frequently stands, the *oratio recta* would be required in v. 781.⁴³ It is particularly remarkable, that the Trojans require nine days for the funeral, whereas one day is sufficient for the Greeks, in the case of Patroclus.⁴⁴ The poet was here, no doubt, determined by the passage beginning with v. 662.; for, as he wished to fill up these nine days, he thought the best way to do this, was to occupy them by the collecting of the wood. It should be remarked, that v. 662. f. is to be taken as explaining why Priam claims the favour of Achilles in the burial of Hector; for otherwise, the Trojans would not have dared to go to the wood. The γάρ, which Aristarchus and Didymus read after μάλα in v. 663, I confess I cannot understand, and I am not aware that any attempt has been made to explain its meaning. I consider it merely as a metrical emendation of Aristarchus for δέ. ὦδε in v. 662, is closely connected with what follows in v. 664. Let us now return to our passage. Bentley justly disapproved of τοίγῃς ἀγίνεον, on account of the hiatus, and proposed τοίγ' ἐπαγίνεον: but the correct reading is undoubtedly found in the ancient Papyrus MS.,⁴⁵ of which, most strangely, Spitzner was wholly ignorant. The reading of the MS. is ἐννῆμαρ μὲν δὴ σφιν ἀγίνεον, where σφιν may refer to Hector's relations; rather strangely perhaps, but not more so than many other things in the whole of this portion of the poem. The adjective φασσίμβροτος, which here⁴⁶ qualifies the morning dawn, is applied in Homer only to the sun. The description which follows of the funeral rites, was censured by the ancients for its hurried meagreness. Many of them indeed maintained that the proper conclusion did not exist; and though Eustathius observes, that the poet has here intentionally compressed the description, because he had already given a detailed account of

⁴¹ v. 777.

⁴² After ὅμως ἀντίρρον, which we must understand to consist only of women, (compare further v. 772, 746, 761, τῶν,) follows λαοῖσιν.

⁴³ Compare xxiii. 111, ff.

⁴⁴ xxiii. 116, ff.

⁴⁵ Compare the *Philological Museum*, vol. i.

⁴⁶ v. 785.

funeral rites at the burial of Patroclus, he only shews that in this he entirely mistakes the Homeric style, which is every where favourable to clear and minute detail, and never shrinks from repeating a description. How miserably poor here appears the carrying out of the corpse!⁴⁷ No mention is made of a single mourner; but the poet contents himself with treating the whole matter in a general way. Whither the corpse is conveyed—where the funeral pile is erected—and the procession towards it—not one word of all this is mentioned, but we have in its place this poor and jejune line,—

Ἐν δὲ πυρῇ ὑπάτη νεκρὸν θέσαν, ἐν δ' ἔβαλον πῦρ.

This line, with the exception of its meagre ending, is taken from XXIII. 165, to which place it is much better adapted. Besides Trojan captives, horses and dogs are sacrificed at the tomb of Patroclus;⁴⁸ the corpse is wrapped in fat, and vessels of honey and ointments are placed round it. Here, we have nothing of all this.⁴⁹ Not a word of farewell to Hector is uttered by his relations.⁵⁰ The burning of the funeral pile is not described. On the morning of the following day, the people again assemble, apparently after the pile has been burning a whole day and night. Here we entirely miss the perspicuity of Homer's style,—“The people assembled round the funeral pile of Hector.” Not a remark is made as to whether the funeral pile is burnt out or not;⁵¹ but the passage runs thus:⁵² “They, (the people, though we are led to suppose, the relations,) extinguish the fire.” V. 791. f. are taken from XXIII. 237. f. 250, except that there is here wanting the characteristic addition, βαθεῖα δὲ κάππεσα τέφρῃ. The brothers and companions collect the ashes, whereas we should expect that this would be the office of the relations only; and that besides the κασίγνητοι, the δαῖρες would be also mentioned. In the case of Patroclus, the white bones are placed in an urn, φιάλη, (here called λάρναξ,) wrapped in a double layer of fat; the urn is conveyed to the tent, and covered with linen. Here we have purple garments; and from

⁴⁷ Compare with this XXIII. 134, ff.

⁴⁸ XXIII. 166.

⁴⁹ From XXII. 510. ff. we should expect that Hector's clothes would be burned with the body.

⁵⁰ Compare XXIII. 178. ff.

⁵¹ XXIII. 28.

⁵² The words αἰετὰς ἰσι — ἰγίοντες, which were not found in the MSS. till at a very recent date, should no longer be allowed to appear in the text, even in brackets.

the expression, we might infer, that not the urn, but the bones themselves were wrapped in a cloth. The passage from v. 797. to v. 799. differs in every part from XXIII. 255-57. The grave, which is covered with large stones, is quite peculiar. Again, the remark in v. 799. f. :—

περὶ δὲ σκοποὶ εἶατο πάντα
Μὴ πρὶν ἐφορμηθεῖεν εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,

is particularly strange, and has almost a silly effect. Achilles had promised to Priam⁵³ to desist from war during eleven days, and the Trojans have, up to this time, securely confided in his promise. Now, how does it happen that on the eleventh day, they fear that Achilles will no longer be able to restrain the people, and that the Greeks will attack them, and prevent them building up the tomb? Πρὶν must here evidently mean, “before they had finished the σῆμα.” The passage then continues:—“Then, after they had assembled, they feasted.” Εἰ must here be joined with δαίνυντο, not with συναγειρόμενοι. It cannot be denied that this is a strange expression.⁵⁴ The words δαίνυντ’ ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα are elsewhere found without the εἰ, for which reason, εἴτ’ ἀναγειρόμενοι was the reading formerly preferred.⁵⁵ But it is still more worthy of remark, that this passage is in direct contradiction to v. 662, according to which, the feasting of the people took place not on the eleventh, but on the tenth day.

Some read the two last lines of the Iliad thus :—

Ὡς οἷγ’ ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος, ἦλθε δ’ Ἀμαζών,
Ἄρην θνητῶν μεγάλῃτορος ἀνδροφόνου.

Spitzner can make nothing of this passage; but remarks, “Adiecisse alios ex Posthomeris, nescio quibus, alium versum.” In the Epic cycle, the Iliad was placed between the Κύπρια and the Αἰθιοπὶς of Arktinos, which latter poem commenced with the arrival of the Amazon Penthesilea. In the Epic cycle, these lines joined the Æthiopis to the Iliad. There is no doubt that, originally, the Æthiopis had its own Introduction, but this was lost when the individual poems were arranged in a cycle. We might hence arrive at the supposition that the whole

⁵³ v. 669.

⁵⁴ Compare Od. xviii. 408.

⁵⁵ Compare Od. iii. 66, xiii. 26, xxi. 208.

conclusion, from v. 677, was written with the express purpose of forming a link between the Iliad and the Æthiopis; but it is much more probable that this is the composition of a later Rhapsodist, who has also inserted other passages in the last Rhapsody. As we found from v. 734 f, and 765, a reference to the Epic poets of the cycle, a similar one has been inserted at v. 27. ff., which passage is part of a still larger interpolation. The Rhapsodist, conceiving the poem to be incomplete without the description of Hector's burial, made the experiment upon it with his own means. Many of the ancients were not satisfied even with this conclusion of the Iliad, and asked why the poet should have broken off at this particular point. A certain Menecrates gave a fit answer to this awkward question, viz. that the poet feared he should not be able to compose the remainder of the poem so well. Jean Paul expressed a wish for a Rhapsody which should extend to the death of Achilles; and such a Rhapsody actually appeared not long since in a most extraordinary work of a German Physician;⁵⁶ so that we now not only possess a thirteenth book of the Æneid, but also a twenty-fifth book of the Iliad. The literary voracity of mankind is really insatiable! In the earlier times of Rome, it was the custom at the games in the circus, to have only twelve courses (*missus*) daily; afterwards the number was doubled; but at length, not satisfied with these, a twenty-fifth course was added. This last was termed *missus ærarius*, because the expense of it was defrayed by contributions of money from the spectators. Now, Mr Schweigger's composition is a *liber ærarius*, made up of gleanings from all manner of sources, and which the world is as little likely to appreciate as his magnificent mythological discoveries of Polarity, and his profound knowledge of the mysterious laws of Nature! In the year 1797, Goethe, who at that time was particularly attracted by Epic poetry, was led by the study of the Iliad to the question, whether another Epic poem did not exist between the conclusion of the Iliad and the departure of the Greeks from Troy. At first, he thought that only materials for a tragedy were to be found here; but he soon changed his opinion, and actually began an Achilleid—an Epic poem on the death of Achilles. Of this poem he

⁵⁶ Schweigger's "*Einleitung in die Mythologie*, p. 51. ff.

unfortunately only completed one Canto—abounding in novel and ingenious ideas, and possessing a peculiar charm, notwithstanding its close imitation of Homeric forms.⁸⁷

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III.

SOME ACCOUNT OF GREEK AND ROMAN PORTRAITS.

It is a prevailing, though not a general impression, that the ancients were better sculptors than painters. This is easily accounted for. Most persons are disposed to believe what they see, and comparatively few, what they hear only, especially if their own experience is of a contrary tendency. The paintings also of Pompeii, and of the ancient vases, have incontestably tended rather to lower the reputation of the ancient painters in the estimation of the world generally, though the competent judge will find, upon a judicious examination, the confirmation of ancient criticism in these remains; for they contain many great beauties, especially in composition, though they are evidently the works of the inferior artists of an inferior age. To judge, however, of the ancient master-pieces of art from such specimens, is tantamount to estimating the great works of modern ages by the ordinary patterns on common crockery and French

⁸⁷ Geppert, also, (i. 240.) seems to have felt the difference between the conclusion and the preceding part of the last book. He says, "It is very possible that some Rhapsodist considered this (v. 676.) the end of the Iliad. At any rate, whoever undertook the task of leading Priam back to Troy, took his beginning from the first words of the second book, but in a manner so foreign to the continuation of the narrative, that we might almost suppose he

intended to sing beyond the last hundred and twenty-seven lines of the Iliad." Geppert objects to many expressions in the conclusion, which we have not touched upon, but there seem to us no good grounds for his objections. It is singular, that although he endeavoured to collect every possible argument to prove that the two last books are spurious, he has overlooked those very points which most strongly support his views.

paper-hangings; to which the immense superiority of the designs on the vases and other ancient remains, is some index of the excellence of the great works of antiquity, so uniformly praised by ancient writers.

Taking, therefore, the correctness of ancient criticism for granted, at least for the present, we will proceed to the immediate subject of this paper, Greek and Roman Portraits, and Portrait Painting, making such use of ancient criticism as may be requisite.

Mention of portrait occurs in the ancient authors, simultaneously with the earliest record of design itself, (*γραφική*). For instance, in the well known legend of the maid Corinth, who traced her lover's profile around his shadow, cast by a lamp upon the wall, with such truth, that her father, Dibutades, a native of Sicyon, who was a potter, cut away the plaster within the outline, took an impression from the mould thus formed, in clay, and baked it with the rest of his pottery. And this original production was, according to tradition, still preserved at Corinth, until the destruction of the city by Mummius, 146 B. C. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxv. 43.; Athenagoras, *Legat. pro Christ.* 14.)

This shadow-outlining, which the Greeks termed *skiagraphy*, (*σκιαγραφία*, Athenagoras, *l. c.*; Pollux, vii. 127.), is of course a very incipient state of portraiture. It is however not yet obsolete, but is rather more practised than ever; and a portrait of this class is now generally understood by the French term *Silhouette*, the Greek *σκιαγραφή* or *σκιαγράμμα*. Its nature is well described in the words of Pliny, (*l. c.*)—the shadow of the face outlined—“*umbra ex facie lineis circumscripta.*”

The facts attesting any great early developement of portraiture among the Greeks, are not numerous; yet portrait-painting is certainly coeval with painting itself; its degree of excellence of course depending upon the degree of developement of the latter.

The heads in full face found in mummy cases, which are painted upon small panels of cedar or sycamore, and were fixed in the coverings of the mummies, over the face, are probably portraits of the persons to whose mummies they are attached. These heads express little individuality: they are, however, the best specimens of Egyptian painting, and probably the most ancient portraits extant, though some of them

belong to a period subsequent to the Greek occupation of Egypt. A portrait of this kind was found upon a mummy, which was opened at Paris in 1836, which had a Greek inscription upon it, (R. Rochette, *Peintures Anciennes*, &c. p. 245.) There is a good specimen of these Egyptian portraits in the Egyptian Museum of the Louvre at Paris, and there is another in the British Museum.

The earliest known example apparently of Egyptian portraiture is the portrait of Amasis, mentioned by Herodotus. Amasis sent a golden image of Minerva, and his own painted portrait—*εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην*—to the Greeks established at Cyrene. He sent also two wooden images of himself to the Heræum, or Temple of Juno, at Samos. This was about six centuries before the Christian era. Herodotus saw these wooden statues; they stood in his time immediately behind the gates, (Herod. ii. 182.)

There is a long series of Egyptian portraits in Rosellini's great work on Egypt, but all are in profile, and all or most of them are taken from bassi-rilievi; still some have considerable individuality, especially those of the later times, some of which are coloured. The Egyptian portraits in basso-rilievo, were probably always in profile; but this was not the case with their painted portraits upon a flat surface, as the heads found in the mummy cases, already mentioned, prove: the head of Amasis, therefore, may have been something more than a mere profile.

Greek writers do not mention any Greek portraits of so early a date as this portrait of Amasis, yet they speak of allegoric and iconic portraits of a very early period. Aristotle (*de Mirab. Auscult.* c. 99.) gives an account of a remarkable production in this respect. He describes a magnificent purple shawl or pallium, *ἱμάτιον*, probably of Milesian wool, which was made for Alcisthenes, a native of Sybaris. It was embroidered with the representation of cities, of gods, and of men; and from the Greek word *γῶδια*, used here to signify the representations, it appears that the cities also, as well as the gods and men, were represented in a human form, (Schweighäuser, *Animadv. in Athen.* vol. xi. p. 477.) Above, was a representation, probably an allegoric female impersonation, of the city of Susa; below, were figures of Persians; in the middle were Zeus, Hera, Themis, Athene, Apollo, and Aphrodite; on one side was an impersonation of Sybaris; and upon the other, a portrait of

Alcisthenes himself. This shawl, the wonder of the Italiots, came subsequently into the possession of the elder Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, about 400 B. C., who sold it to the Carthaginians, for the enormous sum of 120 talents, or nearly £30,000 Sterling. A shawl of such value, for its workmanship alone, is scarcely within the comprehension of a modern manufacturer. It was of the ordinary size, though its dimensions are not quite evident from the mere statement, that it measured fifteen cubits; however, whether fifteen cubits all round, or fifteen square cubits, it would still be of the ordinary size of a shawl of the present day. Alcisthenes lived probably about 520 or 530 years before the Christian era, and shortly before the fall of Sybaris, as from this shawl he must have lived in the most luxurious age of that luxurious city.

Nearly contemporary with this production of Sybaris, is the picture which Mandrocles of Samos, architect, dedicated in the Heræum of Samos. Mandrocles constructed a bridge of boats across the Bosphorus, for Darius Hystaspes and his army, on his expedition against the Scythians, 508 B. C. He had a picture painted, of the passage of the army across, with the portrait of Darius, seated upon a throne, reviewing his troops as they passed; and he dedicated it in the Heræum of Samos. In this picture, probably the portrait of Darius was little more than a mere icon of the royal robes and regalia of Persia, with an indication only of the characteristic features of the king; and the figures must have been very small, or the picture very large, which is scarcely probable, (Herodotus, iv. 88.) The Heræum of Samos was a general depository for works of art; and it appears in a subsequent age to have been particularly rich in paintings, for Strabo (xiv. p. 637), terms it a picture gallery, (*πινακοθήκη*.) Paintings appear to have been common at this time amongst the Ionian Greeks. Herodotus (i. 164,) speaks of the paintings of Phocæa, in the time of Harpagus, 544 B. C., as being reckoned among their most valuable possessions by the Phocæans. In the prophet Ezekiel, we have still earlier mention of Asiatic paintings, and indeed of costume portraits of a princely character. "Men portrayed upon the wall, the *images* of the Chaldeans portrayed with vermillion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of

the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity." (Ch. xxiii. 14, 15.)

Statues and portraits were, at an early period, decreed by the Greeks, as public testimonials in honour of distinguished deeds, as to Harmodius and Aristogiton; and the like honour was awarded to those who had been thrice victors at the Olympic Games. (Pliny, xxxiv. 9.)

The first portrait, however, on record, by any great painter, is neither of hero nor athlete, nor of poet nor philosopher, but that of a woman, of not unstained reputation,—of Elpinice, the daughter of Miltiades, the sister of Cimon, and the mistress of Polygnotus the painter. Polygnotus painted her portrait as Laodice, one of the daughters of Priam, in the picture of the Rape of Cassandra in the Poecile (ποικίλη στοά) at Athens. There can be no question that this was a complete portrait; for Polygnotus was one of the most distinguished of all the ancient painters, in form, in expression, and in colour: he was one of the four greatest colourists, according to Lucian, (*Imag.* 7.) It is not possible to determine exactly when this portrait was painted, but probably about 463 B. C. Polygnotus, who was a native of Thasos, is supposed to have accompanied Cimon, upon his return to Athens, in that year, after the conquest of Thasos, and he may have commenced his picture in the Poecile in the same year. Elpinice may have been still handsome at this time, though she cannot have been very young, as her father Miltiades had been dead nearly twenty-six years; but neither can she have been old, notwithstanding the somewhat rude remark of Pericles, when she ventured to intercede with him for her brother Cimon; for Plutarch (*Cim.* 4.) states, that when Miltiades died, his daughter Elpinice was not marriageable. She may have been therefore under or about thirty-five years of age; and though, at this age, some Greek women may be old, Elpinice must have been an exception, or Polygnotus, a great painter, would scarcely have fallen in love with her, and painted her, in a public gallery, as Laodice. It appears, however, that the tastes of Polygnotus and Pericles differed in this respect; for when Elpinice supplicated Pericles on Cimon's behalf, he said, smiling, "You are old, Elpinice; how, at such an age, accomplish such weighty matters?" "γραῦτε εἶ, ὦ Ἐλπινίκη, ὥς τιλικάδ' αὖ διαπράττεσθαι πράγματα." (Plut. *Cimon*, 14.; *Peric.* 10.) However, she was most probably beautiful when very

young ; for Callias, a rich Athenian, paid for Cimon his father's fine of fifty talents, to obtain her hand. Callias was probably dead at the time that she was painted by Polygnotus.

Nearly contemporary with this portrait, must have been those introduced into the picture of the battle of Marathon, likewise in the Poecile. The date and author of this picture are both doubtful. It was most probably painted after the Poecile was built ; and if so, it cannot have been done in Miltiades' lifetime. Yet in the speech of Æschines against Ctesiphon, it is pretty clearly stated, that it was painted in the lifetime of Miltiades ; for Æschines says, that Miltiades wished to have his name attached to his portrait, which the Athenian people would not permit ; but they suffered him to be painted at the head of the troops, leading on the attack. This picture, therefore, if not painted during the lifetime of Miltiades, must have been at least determined upon before his death. That the Poecile was not built until after his death, is no argument against the earlier production of the painting, as some of the pictures of the Greeks were painted upon wooden panels, and inserted into the walls. The pictures of the Poecile itself were removed in the reign of Arcadius, 395-408 A. D. (Synesius, *Ep.* liv. 135.)

There is, however, another difficulty connected with this picture. Both Pausanias (v. 11.) and Pliny (xxxv. 34.) attribute it to Panænus, the nephew of Phidias, who assisted that great sculptor in the decorations of the Olympian Jupiter, which was not commenced until about half a century after the battle of Marathon took place, of which there is abundant evidence, and consequently within one year, if as much, from the death of Miltiades. These facts cannot be easily reconciled. Panænus either did not paint the battle of Marathon, or else he painted it long after the death of Miltiades and the other generals engaged ; and the portraits accordingly introduced into it were not actual portraits, but mere iconics or portrait figures, the likeness depending more upon their costumes and positions than upon their features ; unless indeed they were copies of earlier works, which, though possible, is not probable. The generals introduced besides Miltiades, were Callimachus and Cynægirus, of the Greeks, and Datis and Artaphernes, of the Persians. (Pliny, *l. c.*) The battle of Marathon took place in Olympiad 72, 3, or 490 B. C. ; the Poecile was built by Cimon about Olympiad 78, or 20 years afterwards, after his great vic-

tories over the Persians, (Plut. *Cim.*) Panæus did not obtain reputation before Olympiad 83, or more than 20 years later; and the Olympian Jupiter of Phidias was executed after Olympiad 86, or 436 B. C. (Pliny, *l. c.* xxxiv. 19.; Pausanias, v. 11. Compare Heyne, Ueber die Künstlerepochen bey Plinius, *Antiquarische Aufsätze*, I. p. 165, and Sillig. *Catalogus Artificum*, Phidias.)

Portrait painting was doubtless completely established in the time of Pericles. Dionysius of Colophon appears to have been a perfect master in this department, though he was not exclusively a portrait painter. Aristotle, (*Poet.* 2.), in speaking of degrees of imitation, instances Dionysius in comparison with Polygnotus, and a painter otherwise unknown, of the name of Pauson, as an exact imitator: Polygnotus went beyond, but Pauson fell short of, his model. Dionysius was a sort of Holbein; his only fault was a somewhat excessive finish: his works wanted neither force nor spirit, (Plutarch, *Timol.* 36.)

There can be no question of correctness of design in the works of the contemporaries of Phidias and Polycletus, of Polygnotus and Micon; and it must have been something more than mere drawing which called forth the unqualified praise of the critical Aristotle: nor can we overlook in the *χείρους* of Aristotle, in speaking of Pauson, something similar to the generally hard and tasteless manner of many of the eminent painters, German and Italian, of the early part of the sixteenth century, previous to Titian and Giorgione.

That the Greek painters, even of this early period, were good colourists, is certain, from the very completeness of Lucian's expression (*Imag.* 7.), with regard to this important department of painting. He mentions four painters, Polygnotus, Euphranor, Apelles, and Aëtion, as having best understood the proper mixing and laying on of colours, (*ἄριστοι ἐγένοντο κεράσασθαι τὰ χρώματα, καὶ εὐκαιρον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῶν.*)

Of the correctness of their theory, we have good evidence in the observation of Plato (*De Republ.* iv. 420. c.), who, in speaking of painting statues, says, it is not by applying a rich or beautiful colour to any particular part, but by applying its proper colour to each part, that the whole is made beautiful, (*ἀλλ' ἔθρει εἰ τὰ προσήκοντα ἐκάστοις ἀποδίδοντες, τὸ ὅλον καλὸν ποιῶμεν.*) Plutarch also (*Cimon.* 2.), in a later age, observes, with equal propriety, in speaking of portraits, that when a painter has

a beautiful model to paint, which, nevertheless, may have some trifling blemish, he will not entirely omit the blemish, nor will he exactly imitate it; as the one would interfere with the likeness, and the other would detract from the beauty of the picture. This recalls to mind the injunction which Cromwell gave to Lely when he sat to that painter for his portrait: he said, "Mr Lely, I desire you will use all your skill to paint my picture truly like me, and not flatter me at all; but remark all these roughnesses, pimples, warts, and every thing as you see me, otherwise I never will pay a farthing for it." (Walpole, *Anecdotes*.) There is another evidence of the mature age of the formative arts, and of taste, at this time in Greece, in an admirable law of Thebes, which is noticed by Ælian, (*Var. Hist.* iv. 4.) He says that all painters and sculptors who practised their arts in Thebes, were compelled to execute their own portraits or busts, to the utmost of their ability, as a proof of their proficiency; and that those artists whose works were considered inferior, or unworthy of their profession, should be heavily fined. The only obvious end of this capital regulation, seems to have been the protection of the public taste, by intimidating incompetent persons from following the arts of design as a profession. No doubt, such a law, impartially carried out, would have a very beneficial effect, in any time or place; and it might be perhaps advantageously imitated by the moderns.

The odes xxviii. and xxix. of Anacreon, are not called into aid, because, even if authentic, the portraits there spoken of, are mere creations of the imagination of the poet, such as Homer's description of the Shield of Achilles. They merely prove the existence of the art of design, but are too vague and arbitrary to admit of the confirmation through them of any special information, except the use of the word *κηρόν* (*wax*) for painters' colours, or a picture, of which examples are numerous. In the third line of the 28th ode, on the portrait of his mistress, the poet styles the painter "Prince of the Rhodian art," *Ῥοδίου κοίρανε τέχνης*, from which we may safely infer, that this ode was written subsequently to Protogenes, and, therefore, is not by Anacreon. The 29th ode is exactly similar in style to the 28th, and is probably by the same hand. The concluding lines of the 28th ode—

Ἀπέχει· βλέπω γὰρ αὐτήν.

Τάχα, κηρὲ, καὶ λαλήσεις.

Hold, I see 'tis she herself,

Soon, O wax, thou'lt also speak—

are evidence of a late period. This lively portrait, however, has been painted from a mere description; and such an idea as representing hair breathing perfume, shows pure imagination without reference to the possible—

Γράφε καὶ μύρου πνεύσας.

The 49th ode of Anacreon is likewise addressed to a painter,—
Ἄγε, ζωγράφων ἀριστε, but it is in the same style as the other two.

From the time of Pericles, and especially during the period of Alexander and his successors, portraits were common, and there are abundant examples that might be cited; a few, however, will suffice for our purpose. Alcibiades exhibited two portraits of himself at Athens, by Aglaophon, after his return as victor at the Olympic games; in one, in which the face was extremely beautiful, he was represented lying on the knees of Nemea; in the other, he was being crowned by Olympias and Pythias, (Athenæus, xii. p. 534.; Plutarch, *Alcib.* 16.) In the former picture, much stress is laid on the *beauty* of Alcibiades, but no notice is taken of the resemblance. Pliny (xxxv. 44.) has probably given us the key to this: it is true he speaks of plastic in the passage alluded to, but the same principle must have prevailed to some extent also in painting. Pliny says, that Lysistratus of Sicyon, the brother of Lysippus, invented the taking of casts from the life, and was the first to make resemblance the principal object in a portrait or bust; before his time, beauty engrossed the artist's chief attention. We recognise here a modern principle also, in practice, though not professedly, and one which, experience has shown, gives more satisfaction than the rational innovation of Lysistratus.

Parrhasius, of Ephesus, "the most insolent and most arrogant of artists," says Pliny, (xxxv. 36.) painted a portrait of himself, and dedicated it in a public temple as the god Mercury, (Themistius, *Orat.* xiv.) A less bold act than this, according to Plutarch, (*Peric.* 31.) cost Phidias his life. Phidias introduced the portraits of himself and Pericles, in the battle of the Amazons, which he carved on the shield of the Minerva of the Parthenon,

for which his enemies, having failed in proving an embezzlement of the gold of the statue, accused him of temerity and irreverence towards the gods ; and he was accordingly cast into prison, and there died.

The Helen which Zeuxis painted for the Temple of Juno Lacinia at Croton, though not an individual portrait, was a refinement in portraiture. Before Zeuxis commenced this picture, the Crotonians, says Cicero (*De Invent.* ii. 1.), allowed him to see their most beautiful virgins naked, in order to select one for his model. Zeuxis, however, not finding one sufficiently beautiful, selected five, and from their united beauties, painted his Helen. Ariosto was more fortunate, for he found all the beauties combined in one, according to his description of the incomparable Olympia, in which he has made admirable use of this story :—

E se fosse costei stata a Crotone,
Quando Zeusi l'immagine far volse,
Che por dovea nel tempio di Giunone,
E tante belle nude insieme accolse ;
E che per farne una in perfezione
Da chi una parte e da chi un'altra tolse,
Non avea da torr' altra che costei,
Che tutte le bellezze erano in lei.

(*Orlando Furioso*, xi. 71.)

The Venus Anadyomene (rising out of the waters) of Apelles, was a portrait of a somewhat similar kind, and is said to have been painted from the celebrated courtesan Phryne, and from Campespe, a very beautiful slave, formerly the favourite of Alexander, but exchanged by Alexander for her portrait with Apelles, (Pliny, xxxv. 36.) The idea of the composition is said to have been taken from Phryne, who entered the sea naked publicly at Eleusis during the celebration of the festival of Poseidon. She was represented as having just risen out of the sea, squeezing with her fingers the water from her hair, and her only veil was the shower of crystal drops as it fell. Ovid makes the following beautiful allusion to the composition :—

Sic madidos siccant digitis Venus uda capillos,
Et modo maternis tecta videtur aquis.

(*Trist.* ii. 527.)

Phryne, says Athenæus, (xiii. p. 590.), was most beautiful

in those parts which are not exposed to view ; the face of Cam-pespe was the more beautiful.

The master-piece of Apelles, says Pliny (*l. c.*), according to competent judges, was the portrait of King Antigonus on horse-back. Nearly all the works of Apelles were portraits. He painted Alexander, whom he had the exclusive privilege of painting (*Hor. Ep. II. i. 239.*), several times ; and the price of one of these portraits, which was preserved in the Temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was alone a great fortune, and such as few painters probably have since earned during the whole course of their lives. Alexander was painted wielding the lightning of Jupiter ; and, doubtless, more on account of the flattery than the art, the king, according to the almost incredible statement of Pliny (*l. c.*), ordered twenty talents of gold (upwards of £50,000 Sterling), to be given to the painter ; so great an amount, that it was measured to Apelles, not counted. This picture, known as Alexander Ceraunophorus, gave rise to a saying, that there were two Alexanders,—the one of Philip, the invincible, the other of Apelles, the inimitable, (*Plutarch, Fort. Alex. Mag. 2, 3.*) Plutarch (*Alex. 4.*) also observes on this picture, that Apelles charged the colouring, and made his complexion brown, whereas Alexander was fair and slightly ruddy. There was, however, a very good cause for this alteration of the complexion in this case ;—Alexander was painted with his arm extended before him, and the lightning flashing from his hand. Apelles was therefore forced to illuminate his face and chest by the lightning, which, in colours, would necessarily be represented by a warm light, for any other would be livid and ghastly, and to be done effectively, must be done partly at the expense of the complexion, which would cause such an alteration in it as that complained of by Plutarch. Pliny says that the lightning and Alexander's fingers came quite out of the picture. All these observations tend to prove, that the picture was painted as it ought to have been painted. The criticism of Lysippus upon it amounts to this—that it should not have been painted. Lysippus said (*Plut. Is. et Os. 24.*), that a lance, as he himself had given Alexander, would have been a much more appropriate weapon in the hands of the king, than the lightning of Jupiter ;—certainly, in a piece of sculpture, but not in a picture, in which colour is an object. In the former case, a lance would be much more effective ; but,

as the great effect of lightning, pictorially considered, is due to its colour, and not to its form, it has as much the advantage over a lance in painting, as the lance would have over it in sculpture. Lysippus evidently overlooked the pictorial value of colour, and light and shade.

Apelles' ability in portraiture, was of considerable service to him upon one occasion, when in Egypt (Pliny, *l. c.*). Ptolemy Soter and Apelles, during the life of Alexander, were not on good terms; and when the painter was afterwards forced, by contrary weather, to put into the port of Alexandria, in Egypt, in the reign of Ptolemy, some of Apelles' rivals, knowing the dislike that Ptolemy had to him, persuaded the king's clown to invite Apelles to sup with the king. He accordingly went, much to the surprise and indignation of Ptolemy, who demanded angrily, by whose authority he had ventured into his presence. Apelles, though unable to say by whom he had been invited, unabashed, seized an extinguished coal from the hearth, and in an instant made an admirable sketch of a man's face upon the wall, in which Ptolemy, even from the first lines, immediately recognized the portrait of his buffoon; and the painter was henceforth received into favour with the king.

There is no kind of portrait painting that was not practised by the Greeks; they had their satirists and their caricaturists. A painter, otherwise unknown, of the name of Clesides, residing at Ephesus, considering himself neglected by the court, painted Queen Stratonice waltzing with a fisherman, with whom there was a report that she was enamoured; and having hung the picture up in a public place, he escaped from the port by sea. The queen, however, far from being offended, was delighted with the admirable likeness of herself and partner, and gave orders that the picture should not be removed, (Pliny, xxxv. 40.) Bupalus, a celebrated painter or sculptor of Chios, many years before, is said, according to a common but incorrect report, to have fallen a victim to his own plastic satire. It appears, that the poet Hipponax, who was extremely ugly, was in love with the sculptor's daughter, but the sculptor would not let him have her. Whereupon the poet wrote some satirical verses upon him, which Bupalus retaliated by putting up a statue, some say a picture, of Hipponax in a public place, like him, yet sufficiently ugly and deformed to cause common ridicule. This, Hipponax revenged by such pungent iambics,

that Bupalus, according to the story, hanged himself. And, "the bitter enemy of Bupalus," seems in after ages to have been a sort of title of Hipponax. Horace (*Epod.*, ode vi.) mentions him simply by that designation,—"*Acer hostis Bupalus*," (Pliny, xxxvi. 5; Junius, *Catalogus Artificum*.)

Series of portraits were also not uncommon among the Greeks. From the following two instances, there were no doubt many others of a similar kind:—Plutarch (*Aratus*, 12, 13.) mentions a series of the portraits of the tyrants of Sicyon, which was destroyed by Aratus, with the exception of that of Aristratus, and that was only partially saved, an exception due to its great value as a picture; it was painted by Melanthus, who, it is said, was assisted in it by Apelles. Apelles and Melanthus were fellow-pupils in the school of Pamphilus, at Sicyon. The other series alluded to, are the twenty-seven portraits of the tyrants of Syracuse, removed from the walls of the Temple of Minerva, by Verres. This act is one of the charges brought against Verres by Cicero (*in Verr.* iv. 55.), who describes these portraits as valuable, not only for their excellence as paintings, but for their likeness of the men also. They must have formed a very interesting series; a set of twenty-seven portraits of the princes and the rulers of Syracuse, would probably include those of all, or at least most of its twelve kings; and many must have been painted during the best ages of Grecian art, and probably by some of the best masters. The walls of this temple of Minerva, which were thus stripped by Verres, still partly exist as a portion of the present Cathedral of Syracuse.

Probably there is no use of portraits, of which we do not find mention among the Romans; and they employed them in several ways to which we have no record of similar usages since. Pliny (xxxv. 2.) has several curious observations on portraits. He says, that in olden times, that is, compared with his own time, portraits were made as like in colour and form to the originals as was possible—a custom in his time grown quite obsolete. And we have, he continues, shields and escutcheons of brass, with portraits inlaid in silver, which have neither life nor individuality. Now, all men think more of the material in which their likenesses are made, than of the art or the resemblance. The effigies they leave behind them, are rather images of their wealth, than of their persons. Thus it is that noble arts decay and perish. With their ancestors it was very

different ; their halls were not filled with either strange images of brass or of stone, but with the lively portraits of themselves and of their forefathers, in wax, exact similitudes.

These portraits, so pathetically regretted by Pliny, were wax busts, and they were preserved in wooden shrines in the most conspicuous parts of the house. The custom, therefore, so particularly described by Polybius (vi. 53), seems to have grown into disuse before Pliny's time. Polybius says,—“ Upon solemn festivals, these images are uncovered, and adorned with the greatest care. And when any other person of the same family dies, they are carried also in the funeral procession, with a body added to the bust, that the representation may be just, even with regard to size. They are dressed likewise in the habits that belong to the ranks which they severally filled when they were alive. If they were consuls or prætors, in a gown bordered with purple ; if censors, in a purple robe ; and if they triumphed or obtained any similar honour, in a vest embroidered with gold. Thus apparelled, they are drawn along in chariots preceded by the rods and axes, and other ensigns of their former dignity. And when they arrive at the Forum, they are all seated upon chairs of ivory ; and then exhibit the noblest object that can be offered to a youthful mind, warmed with the love of virtue and of glory. For who can behold without emotion, the forms of so many illustrious men, thus living, as it were, and breathing together in his presence ? Or what spectacle can be conceived more great and striking ? The person also that is appointed to harangue, when he has exhausted all the praises of the deceased, turns his discourse to the rest, whose images are before him ; and, beginning with the most ancient of them, recounts the fortunes and the exploits of every one in turn. By this method, which renews continually the remembrance of men celebrated for their virtue, the fame of every great and noble action becomes immortal ; and the glory of those by whose services their country has been benefited, is rendered familiar to the people, and delivered down to future times.”—(Hampton's Translation).

Seneca (*De Benefic.* iii. 28,) also notices these images, and the custom of keeping them in the *atria* of private houses, and of some way inscribing their names and titles. Valerius Maximus also (v. 8, 3), and many others, allude to the advantages arising from this practice, by virtue of example. From a

remark of Cicero, it appears that by a *jus Imaginum*, none but those who had themselves, or at least whose ancestors had, borne some curule magistracy, had a right to have portraits of this description:—"jus imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendæ." (Cicero *in Verr.* vi. 14). The greater the antiquity, therefore, or the longer the row of these images, (*imagines majorum*), the greater was the nobility and pride of a Roman family; and the antiquity of a family was sometimes expressed by applying the epithet smoky to its images—"fumosæ imagines." (Cicero, *in Pisonem*, i., and *de Leg. Agrar.* ii. 1.)

This custom was probably established at an early age in Rome, from the manner in which the Roman authors speak of its antiquity, and of the long rows of images which some families possessed. Yet if the images were originally cast from moulds, the commencement of the practice must date, according to the evidence of Pliny, from the time of Lysistratus, about 300 B. C., who, as already mentioned, invented the process of taking moulds from the human body. It is, however, quite as probable that they were originally made from models, and the custom may, therefore, have been of much older origin. A cast from a mould taken from a dead person, would be a very unfit model for a lively wax image of the same person when living; and as there is no reason for supposing that Lysistratus took his moulds from the dead, rather than from the living subject, probability is in favour of the latter supposition.

It was also an early practice among the Greeks and Romans, for warriors to have their portraits engraved upon their shields. These shields were dedicated in the public temples, either as trophies, or as memorials of the deceased, (*clypei votivi*). Pliny (*xxxv.* 3.) states that the shields, or *scuta*, were called *clypei*, on account of these portraits (*imagines clypiatæ*, or *imagines clypeorum*), which were engraved upon them. Appius Claudius, consul A. U. 259, 495 B. C., was the first Roman who dedicated such shields in a public temple. He dedicated the shields of his ancestors with their portraits and titles upon them, in the Temple of Bellona; Marcus Æmilius followed his example, and thus it became a Roman custom. They were hung sometimes on columns, (*Livy*, xl. 51). The Carthaginians also engraved their shields; Marcius, the avenger of the Scipios in Spain, captured the shield of Hasdrubal, on which his portrait was engraved in gold (probably on a gold plate, or embossed), and he dedica'

the entrance of the Capitol, where it remained until the first conflagration which destroyed that building (Pliny, xxxv. 4).

Similar portraits are mentioned by several Roman writers. Silius Italicus speaks of portraits and of battles being engraved on shields, (viii. 386, xvii. 397). Fear was represented with the head of a lion, on the shield of Agamemnon, on the chest of Cypselus of Corinth. But it is impossible to say in what material; Pausanias, in describing this chest, simply says that the figures (*ζῶδια*) on the chest, were made of ivory, of gold, and of cedar, (Pausanias, v. 17, 19).

Pliny praises in high terms another Roman custom, due to the example of Asinius Pollio, of placing the statues and portraits of authors in libraries. The portraits of authors appear to have been placed in public libraries, above the cases (*pegmata*), which contained their writings; and below them, chairs were placed for the convenience of readers: a delightful arrangement. Cicero, in a letter to Atticus (iv. 10), says, "I had rather lounge in the little chair you have under the portrait of Aristotle, than sit in their curule *sella*." Suetonius mentions the portraits of authors, on several occasions, in the lives of the Emperors. Tiberius placed the writings and portraits of Euphorion, Rhianus and Parthenius, among the best ancient authors, in the public libraries of Rome, (*Tib.* 70). Tiberius also passed an edict respecting the public placing of statues and portraits; he allowed none to be placed without his sanction, and then only in the temples as ornaments, and not among the gods, (*Tib.* 26). A similar law was passed by Caligula, who forbade the statue or portrait of any living man to be placed without his sanction, (*Calig.* 34). Caligula appears to have contemplated the removal of the portraits and writings of Virgil and of Livy from all the libraries, (*Calig.* l. c.).

These laws or edicts cannot have applied to the portraits in private houses, which were extremely numerous in Rome. There appear also to have been many collections of portraits in picture galleries; Pliny (xxxv. 40), speaks of the portrait painters, Dionysius and Sopolis, who lived about the time of Augustus, as having alone filled picture galleries with their works. . These painters were the most distinguished of their class, *imaginum pictores*, which was comparatively recent in Pliny's time. They were exclusively portrait painters, and this

is the earliest intimation of such a subdivision of labour. Even ladies appear to have had their special votaries in portraiture; Lala of Cyzicus, contemporary with Dionysius and Sopolis, was very celebrated for her portraits of women, and she seems to have painted almost exclusively female portraits. Her works appear to have had great merit, or she was more fortunate than her compeers Dionysius and Sopolis, who could not command such high prices for their works as were paid to Lala. Dionysius seems to have painted none but men, on which account he was called the anthropograph (*ἀνθρωπογράφος*); a term which appears to be more special than the interpretation of mere portrait-painter would imply.

Intelligent Romans evidently took great delight in portraits; Atticus wrote a book on them, (Pliny, *xxxv.* 2). The younger Pliny also (*Ep.* *ii.* 7), speaks of the gratification of contemplating the portraits of deceased friends. He says, if their portraits delight us in private, how much more pleasure does it give us to see them set up in public places, when we have not only a record of their persons and features, but of their honour and glory also!

Marcus Varro took extreme pleasure in portraits; he appears to have invented some method of multiplying them. Pliny's allusion, however (*l. c.*), to the fact is so very concise, that it is scarcely safe to venture upon any explanatory conjecture as to the means. He made, *aliquo modo*, and inserted in his writings, the portraits of 700 distinguished men, and dispersed them to all parts of the world, (*in omnes terras misit*). And this he did for the gratification of strangers. Pliny appears here clearly to speak of more than one set of portraits, and they must, therefore, have been either repeatedly copied in sets, or printed, and if so, possibly from wooden cuts, though this is scarcely probable, or something of the kind would have been handed down, if not to our own day, at least for a few centuries, so that some traces of such an art would appear in the earliest manuscripts. Portraits were sometimes prefixed to the writings of authors; Martial (*xiv.* 186), mentions one of Virgil which was prefixed to a manuscript of his works.

It is evident from what has been stated above, that the portraits produced in Rome itself, must have been extremely numerous, and yet probably not more numerous than the foreign portraits and statues collected there, which, during the space of

at least two centuries, had been constantly brought into the city by the Roman generals, amongst the spoils of the nations which gradually fell under the Roman dominion. Cassiodorus (*Variarum*, III. 15), in alluding to the extraordinary wealth of Rome in respect to its works of art, and bringing it into comparison with the Grecian world and its wonders, seems to be at a loss for an expression, and simply says, that Rome was one vast wonder.

The Roman conquerors carried the portraits of their fallen enemies in their triumphal processions. Pompey carried in procession the portraits of Mithridates and his family, in his triumph over that king. And Julius Cæsar, in one of his triumphs, carried in procession the portraits of all his enemies in the civil war, with the single exception of Pompey's, (Appian. *de Bell. Mithrid.* 117, and *de Bell. Civil.* II. 101).

Among other customs of the ancients, it appears also to have been the fashion for kings to carry on courtships by their portraits, (Claudianus, *de Nuptiis Honorii et Mariæ*, v. 23). Nero had his portrait painted on canvas, 120 feet high, and had it fixed up in the Maian Gardens, where it was shortly afterwards destroyed by lightning, and it involved with it the destruction of a part of the gardens. Pliny instances this production as one of the signs of the insanity of his own age, (XXXV. 33).

The singular conduct of the emperor Antoninus Heliogabalus is also worth recording. Herodianus (v. 12, 13,) relates, that while in Asia, Antoninus had taken a great fancy to wear the Phœnician costume, which he was requested to put off before he entered Rome, after his elevation to the imperial dignity; he, however, persisted in wearing his peculiar costume, and in order to prepare the Romans for his appearance, he sent his portrait before him in the Phœnician dress to Rome, and had it fixed up in the Senate-house, so that when he arrived, the Romans received him as if they had been long accustomed to his person in that dress.

This article may be concluded with the very remarkable tradition respecting a "Sancta Veronica," or the holy true image of Christ; especially as, according to the tradition of the Church of Rome, it still exists. It was long, and may be still, preserved in the Church of San Silvestro in Capite at Rome, (Titii, *Descrizione delle Pitture, &c. in Roma*).

Evagrius (*Hist.* iv. 27), Joannes Damascenus (*de Fide Orthodoxa*, iv. 16), and Cedrenus (*Annal.* p. 145, Xyland.), are the earliest authorities for the following tradition. Abgarus, king of Edessa in Mesopotamia, who was sick, and found no relief from the treatment of his physicians, having heard of the miracles performed by Christ in Judæa, thought that he would be able to cure him. He accordingly sent a messenger with a letter to him of the name of Ananias, one who was well skilled in painting; and the king ordered him, in case he could not persuade Christ to visit him, at least to take his portrait faithfully, and to bring it to him. Ananias delivered his letter, and carefully examined the face of Christ; but he was so much incommoded by the surrounding crowd, that he retired to an eminence close by, and there attempted to draw the portrait. Owing, however, to Christ's constant movements, or, as Damascenus relates, the refulgence of his countenance, Ananias found it impossible to perform his purpose. Christ himself, however, accomplished his design for him; having called for water to wash his face with, he wiped it with a linen cloth, which he gave, with an answer to Abgarus, to Ananias, who found Christ's likeness imprinted upon it,—ἐναπεμάξατο τῇ ἱματίῳ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀπεικόνισμα.

Abgarus, as he had anticipated, was cured by the touch of this portrait, and it became afterwards an object of great veneration at Edessa, until it was removed to Constantinople by Nicephorus Phocas, in the second year of his reign, A. D. 964. It was subsequently carried to Rome, where, as already said, it still remains; though, according to another account, it was taken to Genoa, and there deposited in the Church of San Bartolomeo.

The interchange of letters between Christ and Abgarus is noticed by Eusebius and Procopius, and both are copied by Cedrenus, but Evagrius is the first who mentions the miraculous portrait,—τὴν θεότευκτον εἰκόνα ἣν ἀνθρώπων χεῖρες οὐκ εἰργάσαντο, the image framed by God, which the hands of men had not made, but Christ God had sent to Abgarus. Evagrius lived in the sixth century.

There is another Sancta Veronica at Rome, of which the traditional origin is different. It is said to be a cloth which was presented by a woman to Christ to wipe his face with,

when carrying his cross to Mount Calvary. This image is mentioned by various old church documents.*

R. N. WORNUM.

IV.

ON THE PARTICLES ὥς OR ὅπως ἄν WITH A CONJUNCTIVE OR OPTATIVE.

ON the use of the Greek Particles ὥς or ὅπως ἄν, with a Conjunctive or Optative Mood, little more need be said than has already appeared in the pages of this Journal.¹ It will not detract, however, from the general interest of the able and instructive article to which we refer, if to the ample induction on which our theory rests, as regards Classical Greek, we here can add one or two instances of its successful application to the Greek of the New Testament.

We open St. Matthew's Gospel, and find our Lord asserting of certain hypocritical professors of religion: ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς γυνίαις τῶν πλατειῶν ἐστῶτες προσεύχεσθαι, ὅπως ἄν φανῶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ch. VI. v. 5; and can we fail to observe that it is the fact of their taking their stand, when they pray, in places where they *must needs be* seen of men, that convicts such persons of praying with direct and pointed reference to this end: πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτούς,—*Ibid.* v. 1? We translate therefore—not, “*that, if possible, they may*”—but, “for to be”—“thereby to be”—or, “*that so they may be seen of men.*”

We turn to St. Luke's Gospel, and hear the aged Simeon describe an incidental effect of the Messiah's being “despised and rejected of men,” when to his inspired declaration—ἰδοὺ, οὕτως

* See Chifflet, *De Linteis sepulchralibus Christi Servatoris Crisis historica*, c. 33, 34; and Gretser, *Syntagma de Imaginibus manu non factis, deque aliis*

a San. Luca pictis, fol. Par. 1625, or *Opera*, vol. xv. p. 178, et seq.

¹ No. VI. January 1844, Vol. II. p. 333, &c.

κεῖται εἰς πῶσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν πολλῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον, he subjoins: ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί,—ch. II. v. 35. Here, as in the preceding example, we have a direct indeed and necessary result from certain premises described by εἰς σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον—but one which the contributors to it (οἱ δὲ ἀντιλέγοντες) do not themselves design, nor so much as anticipate. This, then, we term an *incidental* consequence of an action, “apart from, and it may even be independent of, any formal or premeditated *purpose*”² of the agent; and we translate accordingly, “for the disclosure of”—“so that,” or, “whereby there shall be disclosed—thoughts out of (the secrets of) many hearts.” The very weakness (so to speak) of the Christian Evidence serves unto the moral probation and recovery of Man—and so the Psalmist, quoted by St. Paul, *Rom.* III. 4, has recorded his personal experience and conviction: “Against Thee above all have I sinned, *only to find Thee*, (eventually) justified in Thy sayings and clear when Thou art judged:” ὅπως ἂν δικαιοθῇ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου, καὶ νικήσῃ ἐν τῇ κρίνῃ σου.³

Once more, we turn to Acts iii. 19, 20, Μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεκηρυγμένον ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν,—where, if we have succeeded, as we hope, in establishing a just confidence in our interpretation of ὡς or ὅπως ἂν, it must be obvious to our readers, that ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι κ. τ. λ. cannot rightly be translated as in the received English Version: “*when* the times of refreshing shall come,” &c. The late Dr Burton, indeed, has observed upon this passage: ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι καιροὶ can hardly mean, *when the times shall come*. Wolf, Raphael, L. de Dieu, Alberti, all translate them literally *ut*⁴ *veniant*. *Repent and be converted, for the remission of your sins, that you may see the time which the Lord has appointed,*” &c. And so too, Dr Bloomfield, “with the Syr. and many eminent Commentators from Luther downwards,” prefers to “take it in the sense, *so that, in order that*, as Luke ii. 35, Matt. vi. 5, et alibi; and translates: “that so the times of re-

² See Peile on *Æsch. Agam.* 853, p. 188.

³ Compare Liv. xxiv. 29: ceterum levaverant modò in præsentia velut cor-

pus segrum, quò (ἵνα δὲ) mox in graviores morbum recideret.

⁴ Rather *quo maxime modo*,—Blomf. ad. *Æsch. Agam.* 857.

freshing may come from the presence of the Lord ; i. e. that ye may see with joy the time which the Lord hath appointed as the period of refreshing." We do not, however, agree with these learned Divines, nor with the great majority of modern Expositors, in understanding *ἀναψύξεως* (with which they compare *δυνασιν*, 2 Thess. i. 7,) to refer to the end of the world, and *ἀποστείλῃ* to the *second* coming of Christ ; for we believe the meaning to be simply this : " *That so ye may realize⁵ the arrival of that era to which the expectation of the faithful⁶ has been so long directed, and in an honest and good heart receiving Him, who up to this time has been preached unto you by the Prophets, and yet more by John preaching⁷ the baptism of repentance, ye may not frustrate that gracious purpose of His Divine mission, which is declared in the last verse of the chapter ;*" where we have but to translate *ἀπέστειλεν*, *hath now sent*, and we shall at once obtain a correct and consistent interpretation of the whole passage.

We have yet another application to make of our theory, before we endeavour, in conclusion, to embody it in the form of a precise and practical rule. In the *Supplikes* of Æschylus, Danaus, from the place of refuge which he has found in Argolis, suddenly descries the unwelcome vision of that Ship which of all others his daughters had most cause to fear ; her prow before—he states with most provoking minuteness of observation—obeying her guiding helm behind *only too well, for an unfriendly one* : so, in the nearest corresponding English phraseology, we would translate *ἄγαν καλῶς κλύουσα γ', ὥς ἂν οὐ φίλῃ*, v. 711. ed. Dind. On this line, Mr Paley, in his recent edition of the *Supplikes*, first observing, "recte explicat Scholefieldius ὥς ἂν κλύοι πρῶρα οὐ φίλῃ," and comparing Demosth. Mid. pp. 519, 916, Xen. Cyr. v. 4, 29 ; for the better distinguishing of which from the present passage, we would refer him to his own note on v. 600—adds, "Perperam T. W. Peile ad Agam. p. 139, dictum putat pro ὥς ἂν οὐ φίλῃ ἤ, quod saltem debebat esse μὴ φίλῃ." But has Mr Paley seriously read the note to which he thus refers ? We fear, not ; or, if he has, let our readers "look on that picture and on this,"—we copy it here

⁵ *ἵνα ὡς ἂν ἴδωσι=ὥς ἂν ἴκωσι*, *that so they may be come.*

⁶ St. Luke, i. 32, 38.

⁷ *Προκηρύξαντες Ἰωάννου πρὸς προσέλευσιν τοῦ ἰσίδου αὐτοῦ βάπτισμα μετανοίας παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰερουσαλ.* Acts xiii.²⁴.

verbatim,—"the construction being *ὡς ἂν ᾖ*⁹ (equivalent to *ὡς οὖσα*) *ita ut sit*,⁹ so as to be, or, on the supposition that it is, no friend;" and then judge whose fault it is, if, as he says, "T. W. Peile *ὁ σκοτεινὸν nimis subtilia comminiscitur, quam quæ equidem intelligere possim*."¹⁰

For ourselves, we still think Professor Scholefield's interpretation wholly inapplicable to this passage, and would that he (or Mr Paley, who adopts it, and complains of no obscurity here) had explained what there is in the adjunct *οὐ φίλη*, to make it more natural or probable that the Egyptian galley should obey its helm, than if it had had none but *friends* on board—unless, indeed, we suppose Danaus to be speaking with something of the peevishness and the despondency of Philoctetes, when he exclaimed, *ἐμελλ' ἐπεὶ οὐδέν πω κακὸν γ' ἀπώλετο*,—

⁹ The only example of this kind which occurs to us, is Soph. *Antig.* 215, *ὡς δ' εἴπω* *οἷν ἦτι τῷ εἰρημίζον*—on which Hermann: "Superbiter et contemptim respondet Creon. Aliter dixisset *ἵππας ἰσχυρὸς εἰρημίζον*." Our rule would lead us to translate, *finali sensu*: "From all which it follows, that ye are now to shew yourselves attentive to what is said to you!" Compare too, as "superbiter dictum," Eur. *Phœn.* 1011, *ὡς εἴδ' ἐν εἰδῶ*, *εἴπω καὶ εἴσω πάλιν*.

¹⁰ Rather *quæ mox futura sit*,—"that it should prove, (or, as we have already translated, *ἵππας δ'*), only to be found in the end, an unfriendly one,"—the contemplated result of the ship's making so truly for the shore. In the other case to which our rule refers,—that of the existing or assumed fact on which any proposition is grounded—e. g. *stultus es, qui hæc credas*,—it is worthy of remark here, that the Greeks use *εἰ* (sc. *γ'*) *quatenus*—not *ἵ, quia*—as Thucyd. iii. 32: *ἵαγειν οὐ καλῶς τὴν Ἑλλάδα λισσέμεν* *αὐτὸν, εἰ ἄλλως διέφθικεν οὐτι χυρὸς ἀνταρμήσεις οὐτι περιμήσεις* &c. λ. *Æsch. Eum.* 234, *τῷ προσηγορευμένῳ μῦθῳ εἰ προδῶ* *σφ' ἑαὶν* (co quod quis prodiderit). Eur. *El.* 51, *μῶρον, εἰ μὴ ἐγγάμῳ*. Matth. *gr. gr.* § 617. 2. Peile on Choëph. 173,

p. 121. Under this head we must include St Luke's Gospel, xii. 49: *τί θέλω εἰ ἦδη ἀνέφθη*; *What would I [give to have it], that it were already kindled?* and (if such juxta-position may be forgiven,) Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1537 (Brunck); *ταῦτα γὰρ εἰδὼς πῶ πάρος διδρασκῶ, ἡχούμην ἵππας ἀπώλεται*, where *ἵππας ἀπώλεται*, as indicating *what has now actually occurred*, differs from *ὡς δ' ἀπαλλάξῃ*, or *δεν ἀπαλλάξῃ*, much as *δεν ἵππας*, (that you have come) for example, Soph. *Ed. T.* 554, (Brunck) differs from the more common *δεν ἵππας*, that you should come.

¹¹ From his remark respecting *μὴ*, Mr Paley obviously does not, or will not, understand our construction of the line in question. His criticism, no doubt, is correct under the changed position of the verb which we have supplied after *ὡς δ'*; but is it quite fair to make such change without apprising his readers of the fact? *Οὐ φίλη*—like *οὐ φίλον*, *Agam.* 323. *οὐκ ἀπώλεται*, Eur. *Hipp.* 197. *εὐδία λους*, Thuc. i. 137. *οὐκ ἐπιτελεῖται*, Ib. iii. 95. *οὐκ ἀποδοῖς*, v. 35. *οὐκ ἐξουσία*, v. 50— is of course to be constructed as a single word. And this we thought we had expressed beyond the possibility of mistake, by translating it *unfriendly*, or *no-friend*.

(Soph. *Phil.* v. 446); a supposition which, as before, we shall find it hard to reconcile with the context. On the other hand, our confidence in the interpretation which we have already suggested, is strengthened by the analogy which we observe, as in general between ὥστε with an Infinitive, and ὥς δὲ with a Conjunctive, so in the familiar use of (ὥστε) ἐκὼν εἶναι, *quod per me fiat*, Angl. so as *for me to be a consenting party, with my own good will*; and not less by the following passages from Horace:—

Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax
Magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes
Cui sit conditio dulcis sine pulvere palmæ?—*Epist.* l. i. 49–51.

Quid voveat dulci nutricula majus alumno,
Qui sapere et fari possit quæ sentiat?—*Ibid.* iv. 9.

whence, as the conclusion of the whole matter under discussion, we deduce a compendious, yet most comprehensive, rule of Syntax, which we would gladly see substituted in the room of the obscure, and sadly too much condensed, “Qui causam significans,” &c.—it is this: “QUI Subjunctivum postulat, quoties indicat, vel quâ sub conditione prædicetur antecedens Sententia, vel quam in se vim habeat et effectum; id quod Græcè subjicitur per ὥς vel ὥστε δὲ—(virtual) *whereby to, that so*; or (eventual) *so as to, so that—ut,*” &c. &c.

T. W. P.

V.

ON THE ATTIC DIONYSIA.

PREVIOUSLY to the year 1817, it was a general opinion that the Lenæa was the same festival as the Anthesteria. There had, indeed, been another opinion, sanctioned by eminent scholars, as Scaliger, Casaubon, Palmer, and Spanheim, that it was identical with the Rural Dionysia, or τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς; but after Ruhnken's note on Hesychius, the former one, which had also

been previously adopted by Selden and Corsini, seems to have met with universal acceptance. In the year before mentioned, however, M. Böckh read a paper before the Academy of Berlin, in which he controverted both these opinions, and maintained that the *Lenæa* were identical neither with the *Anthesteria* nor with the *Rural Dionysia*, but a separate and distinct festival, celebrated in the month *Gamelion*. This hypothesis he supported with a great deal of learning and ingenuity, and it has since been very generally adopted in Germany, and to a considerable extent in this country also; where M. Böckh's view of the question was, I believe, first introduced to public notice in a paper in the fifth number of the *Philological Museum*, from the pen of the present learned Bishop of St. David's. M. Böckh's arguments are there put with a great deal of force and precision, and in a way most calculated to strike a scholar; and as the original, besides the difficulty of the language, is not easy of access, (it having never been, so far as I know, published in a separate form,) it may be more convenient to the English reader to consider M. Böckh's arguments as they are presented in that paper. All that I propose to shew—for positive *proof* is, I fear, out of the question—is, that the case is not so clear as one as the majority of German scholars, since the publication of M. Böckh's paper, have chosen to consider it; but that, on the contrary, the probability lies on the side of Ruhnken. Nor perhaps will this attempt be thought too presumptuous, when it is considered that, besides the great names already mentioned, Wyttenbach, Dr. Arnold, and Mr. Clinton, have, in more modern days, taken the same view of the question as Ruhnken, and that the Bishop of St. David's himself, although attributing great weight to Böckh's reasoning, does not pronounce a final decision upon it.

In order to simplify the question, I shall not notice the opinion of those who affirm that the *Dionysia ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίῃς*, were identical with the *τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς*. That view also does not, indeed, as I have already intimated, want great names to support it, to which may be added that of the veteran scholar Hermann. If they are right, it is evident that M. Böckh's hypothesis equally falls to the ground, though in a different manner, as by the establishment of that view which Ruhnken, by his able note on Hesychius, has made more peculiarly his own. But besides that I take their opinion to rest on very slender evidence,

obvious that it is at once disposed of, if the identity of the Lenæa and Anthesteria can be established; for nobody, I believe, has ever held that the Rural Dionysia, the Lenæa, and the Anthesteria, were all three one and the same festival.

The single point of investigation, therefore, proposed in the following pages, is,—Were the Lenæa and Anthesteria identical, or were they not? The learning and labour that have been bestowed upon the subject, leave little room to hope that any new light can be thrown upon it by the production of any hitherto undiscovered passages relating to it. Our task in this case of "*Ruhnken versus Böckh*," is rather to arrange and compare the evidence already collected, than to search for new. I shall, therefore, first produce those authorities and arguments which tend to prove Ruhnken's view of the identity of the two festivals; then those which have been cited by M. Böckh, in order to establish their diversity; and shall conclude with a few remarks on their comparative merits and defects.

One of the most important texts in favour of Ruhnken's view, though not much insisted on by himself, occurs in Thucydides, (II. 15.) The historian is enumerating some of the more ancient temples of Athens, and among the rest mentions τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου (ἱερὸν), ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαῖα θύρα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶν, ὡς περ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες εἶσι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν.

Now here let us observe:—

1st, That Thucydides includes the festival celebrated on the 12th of Anthesterion, and belonging therefore to the *Anthesteria*, among the *Dionysia*. This is the more worthy of remark, because Buttmann, in his first Excursus to the Midian oration, affirms that the *Anthesteria* were never called *Dionysia*, except by Grammarians.¹

2d, That we may infer, from his using the comparative ἀρχαῖα θύρα, that in the time of Thucydides, there were *only two* Dionysiac festivals at Athens. Had there been more, he would have said ἀρχαῖα θύρα. This is of course exclusive of the rural Dionysia. Throughout the passage, the historian is speaking

¹ "Anthesteria, licet a Grammaticis interdum, vocabulo Διονύσια, explicentur, apud antiquos tamen illo vocabulo solo appellabantur quod a nullo Dei no-

mine, sed ab anni tempore primisque floribus, quorum usus in eo festo erat, derivatum est."

only of *the city*, and its condition before the *ξυνοπία* effected by Theseus.

3d, That these *more ancient* Dionysia, i. e. more ancient than the *μέγαρα*, or *τὰ ἐν ἄδει*, in Elaphebolion, *continued* to be celebrated in the time of Thucydides on the 12th of Anthesterion.

But here it is necessary to take notice of a different interpretation which some critics have affixed to this passage. Hudson has the following note upon it, which is quoted with approbation by Poppo,—“His verbis innuit Thucydides hæc antiquiora Liberalia evuluisse, et non mansisse celebria, ut olim, apud Athenienses; quod contra evenerat apud Iones, moris antiqui retinentissimos.”

Now, on what grounds can this festival, celebrated on the 12th of Anthesterion, be said *evuluisse*?—that is, I suppose, to have fallen into disrepute and disuse. It will not be denied that it formed part of the Anthesteria; and that the Anthesteria were in full vogue in the time of Thucydides, nobody, I presume, will be bold enough to dispute. The concluding portion of the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes is alone sufficient to dispose of that point. The meaning, however, of M. Böckh's party in this interpretation of the passage, appears to be, so far as I can collect it, that the festival had fallen into disrepute as one of the Dionysia, though it still continued to be celebrated under the name of Anthesteria. But for any grounds for so improbable, and indeed unintelligible, an opinion, or for any indication of the time at which the supposed change took place, we look in vain. It is one of the oldest and best authenticated of the Athenian festivals, and seems to have been celebrated with the same ceremonies in the time of Demosthenes, as it had been before the period of the Ionic migration. Nay, so jealous were the Athenians of any innovations in their old religious ceremonies, and more particularly in this of Dionysus, that in the time of Theseus, when the government became more democratic, they drew up a law respecting the *Βασίλισσα*, the chief minister of the festival, that she should be a citizen of Athens, and never married to any but the *Βασιλεύς*, in order that none of the ancient rites might be in danger of being abrogated, or any new ones introduced,—*ἵνα μηδὲν καταλύηται, μηδὲ καινοτομήται*, (Demosth. *adv. Neær.* § κ.) This law they caused to be engraved on a stone pillar erected in the Temple of Bacchus *ἐν λίμναις*; which place they chose, in order to prevent its be-

vulgarized and profaned: for that, the most ancient of the Dionysian temples at Athens, in the time of Theseus, as well as in the time of Demosthenes, was opened but once a year, viz. on the 12th of Anthesterion;² and there the pillar yet stood in the days of Demosthenes, written in old and hardly intelligible Attic letters, ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασιν Ἀττικοῖς. Nor can it be imagined that this temple of the Lenæan Bacchus was opened in the Anthesteria, and not in the Lenæa, supposing them to have been distinct ceremonies.

In vain do we examine the text of Thucydides to find any colour for Hudson and Poppo's version of it. He calls the festival celebrated in the Limnæ on the 12th of Anthesterion, one of the Dionysia; and by using the present tense *ποιῶνται* respecting it, denotes the continuance of it in his own time. To the same effect is the *ὡσπερ καὶ*, "as the Ionians *also* do." The object of Thucydides in inserting the clause about the Ionians, was to confirm his use of *ἀρχαιοτέρα* respecting the Dionysia *ἐν Λίμναις*. The Ionians celebrated those Dionysia on the 12th of Anthesterion, just as the Athenians did; *ergo*, they were in use before the Ionic migration under the sons of Codrus, and were consequently *more ancient* than the *μείγαρα Διονύσια*, which were not to be found among the Ionian festivals. Such appears to be the meaning of Thucydides, who is talking throughout the chapter of the antiquities of the city; and nobody acquainted with the pregnant brevity of his style, will object to that meaning, because he has expressed it rather briefly and obscurely. Now, had there been two Dionysiac festivals at Athens, previously to the Ionic migration, viz. the Lenæa in Gamelion, and the Anthesteria in Anthesterion, as M. Böckh supposes,³ and if both continued to be celebrated by the Ionians, how could Thucydides refer to their celebrating the Anthesteria, in proof of the greater antiquity of that festival? It is clear that, in the case supposed, the Ionian practice would have been no test; and if Thucydides did not appeal to it as a test, it is difficult to see why he should have burdened his sentence with so useless a clause. Just in like manner he appeals to the Ionian-

² Καὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ ἀρχαιοτάτῃ ἱερῇ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐν λίμναις ἰστέον ὅτι μὴ πολλὰ εἰδῶς τὰ γιγναμμένα· διὰ τὴν γὰρ τοῦ ἱερικοῦ ἱερέως ἀνείγεται, τῇ δαδιδῶντῃ

τοῦ Ἀντιστευῶντος μηνός. Adv. Nescr: § κ'.

³ See *Philological Museum*, Vol. 2. p. 276-7.

method of wearing the hair as a test of antiquity, Lib. i. 6. M. Böckh seems to have felt the difficulty presented by Thucydides' use of the comparative in this passage; and as he thinks that *four* Dionysia (including the Rural) were celebrated at Athens, he suggests that the historian names the Anthesteria *the older* Dionysia, in opposition to the *μέγαρα*, and omits the Lenæa and *τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦς*, as of less importance. (Thucydides nennt die Anthesterien die ältern Dionysien im Gegensatze gegen die grossen, die dabei jedem zunächst einfallen mussten; die Lenæen und ländlichen übergeht er als minder bedeutend,—p. 113.) But, passing over the improbability that Thucydides should have written so loosely, this view of the matter is utterly inconsistent with the argument, that the Anthesteria, or older Dionysia, had become in a great measure obsolete, and given place to the Lenæa; which latter festival, according to M. Böckh's view, must have been the second in importance among the Dionysia, in the time of Thucydides.

I shall only add, that I am borne out in my general view of the meaning of Thucydides in this passage, by Dr. Arnold in his note upon it; who is of opinion that the historian is here speaking of the Lenæa, and further, that there were but two other Attic Dionysian festivals, the Rural (with which we have here nothing to do), and the *τὰ κατ' ἀδιν*. Dr. Arnold concludes his note with referring the reader to Ruhnken's note on Hesychius, and passes a high eulogium on that critic.

Secondly, If M. Böckh is right, and there were really four festivals of Bacchus, namely, the Rural Dionysia in Posideon, the Lenæa in Gamelion, the Anthesteria in Anthesterion, and the *μέγαρα* in Elaphebolion, how comes it that we never find more than three mentioned in ancient authors? The usual answer to this objection is, the somewhat unintelligible one to which I have already adverted, that the Anthesteria were not properly *Dionysia*. Thus, Buttmann in the Excursus before referred to, speaking of the article on the Dionysia in the *Rhetorical Lexicon*, which enumerates only three, says: "*Anthesteria autem cur non memoraverit hujus glossæ auctor, ejus rei hæc una mihi satisfacit causa, quam Boeckhius etiam indicat, p. 60, quod Grammaticus non festa Bacchi hic enumerat, sed vocabulum Διονύσια explicat; id autem in usu fuisse videtur non nisi de tribus illis quæ manifesta inter has appellationes mentione vocabantur Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἀγροῦς, τὰ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ, τὰ ἐν ᾧ*

We have already seen what weight is due to this attempt to separate the Anthesteria, confessedly a feast of Bacchus, from the Dionysia. Not one, even plausible, reason can be urged in its favour. So in the law of Evagoras, cited by Demosthenes in his oration against Midias, § 4, only three Dionysia are enumerated. “Εὐήγορος εἶπεν, ὅταν ἡ πομπὴ ᾖ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ, καὶ ἡ ἐστὶ Ληναίῳ πομπῇ, καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἄλλοις Διονυσίοις ἡ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ, καὶ τῶν Θαργηλίων τῇ πομπῇ καὶ τῷ ἄγωνι, μᾶτι ἐξεῖναι” κ. τ. λ. From the order in which the Dionysia are here mentioned, these ἐν Πειραιεῖ were most probably the same as the Rural Dionysia, which, as we learn from Theophrastus, (*Charact.* 3), fell in the month Posideon; and this view has been adopted by Spalding, Buttmann, and others. Peiræus, by the building of the long walls, having become, as it were, a part of the city, the festivals celebrated there came to be looked upon almost in the same light as the city festivals, and were no doubt attended by many of the inhabitants of Athens; just as we find Plato, at the beginning of the *Republic*, making Socrates describe his trip thither to see the *Bendideia*: and this will account for the Dionysia there being endowed by law with the same privileges and immunities as were granted to those of Athens itself. But how happens it that the law omits all mention of the Anthesteria, unless they were identical with the Lenæan festival? This question is met with the answer, that at the former there were no choral or dramatic contests. But this is to beg the whole question, and to assume that the Lenæa were not coincident with the Anthesteria—the very point in dispute. With respect at least to the third day of the former festival, that of the Chytri,—to pass over, for the present, the remaining ones,—we have direct testimony in the *Lives of the ten Orators*, attributed to Plutarch, that a law was introduced by Lycurgus, the orator and contemporary of Demosthenes, to revive the dramatic contests on that day.⁴ Two or three interpretations of this passage have been proposed, but that of Petit I take to be the only true one, namely, that the comedians should again exhibit rival performances at the Chy-

⁴ εἰσέτινος δὲ καὶ νῦν, τὸν περὶ τῶν κωμῳδῶν, ἄγωνα τοῖς χύτραις ἐπιτελεῖν | εἰς ἄν κατελείγεσθαι, πρότερον οὐκ ἔχον ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι τὸν ἄγωνα ἐκλεισμένον.
 ἰσχυρίζονται ἐν τῇ διέταξι, καὶ τὸν νῦν ἔχοντα

tri,—an ancient practice, but which appears to have fallen into desuetude. But even if we adopt Hermann's reading of the passage, it still points to a dramatic exhibition and contest on that day. No inference can be drawn from the circumstance of tragedies not being mentioned in the law, since some other day of the Anthesteria may have been dedicated to them; and though tragedies were occasionally exhibited at the Lenæa, yet comedies formed the staple of the entertainment.

As in the Lexicographers and others, the Anthesteria are said to be omitted among the Dionysia because there were no dramatic performances, so in an inscription published by M. Böckh, the reason assigned for their omission is, that there was no public feasting or sacrifices at them. According to these views, then, the oldest of the Bacchic festivals at Athens, which lasted during three days, and celebrated the return of spring with its flowers, by tapping the wines of the preceding vintage, appears to have been a very dull affair after all. The inscription referred to, is to be found in the Appendix to M. Böckh's *Public Economy of Athens*, No. 8, and contains a record of the sums accruing to the state from the hides of oxen slaughtered at the public festivals. The second it records, is that of the Διονύσια τὰ ἐπὶ Ληναίῃς, and it then proceeds as follows:—παρὰ μυσθίων καὶ τελετῶν ἐκ τῆς Θυσίας τῇ Δημητρὶ παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν: ἐξ Ἀσκληπείων παρὰ ἱεροποιῶν: ἐκ Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄσσει παρὰ βοωνῶν.

Now, if the Anthesteria was not the same festival as that ἐπὶ Ληναίῃς, it is here entirely omitted, since it certainly fell before the Dionysia, ἐν ἄσσει; and it is incredible that so important a fête should have been passed over without public sacrifice. The record of the first festival is entirely obliterated, with the exception of the letters ΑΤΕΙΟΝΤΩΝ; and out of these M. Böckh, by changing the Α into Ν, and the Ε into Σ, makes ΝΤΣΙΟΝ ΤΩΝ, and by supplement, Διονυσίων τῶν κατ' ἀγρούς. This emendation, however, whatever may be its merits, has nothing to do with the point at issue; which is affected only by the festivals recorded *after* the Dionysia ἐπὶ Ληναίῃς, and not by those which precede it.

Thirdly, Let us consider the argument drawn by Ruhnken from the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes. That critic perhaps expressed himself too strongly, when he affirmed that he would incontrovertibly demonstrate the identity of the Lenæa and Anthesteria from Aristophanes alone. But, though his argu-

ment does not amount to a demonstration, it has nevertheless the highest degree of probability in its favour.

There cannot be a reasonable doubt that the *Acharnians* was represented during the *Λήναια*. In the first place, we are told so by the *Didascalía*; the authority of which, however, has been impugned by Kanngiesser and Hermann. Perhaps M. Böckh goes too far when he asserts, that "next to the coins and inscriptions, and the works of the first historians, the *διδασκαλίαι* are the purest and most trustworthy source of information."⁶ The *Didascalía* of this very play contains a blunder in informing us that it was represented *ἐπὶ Εὐθυμένους ἀρχόντος*, when we know that the Archonship of Euthymenes occurred twelve years before, and that we must read *Εὐθυδήμου* for *Εὐθυμένους*. The mistake is rendered somewhat suspicious too, from Euthymenes being mentioned in the play, v. 67. But putting aside the *Didascalíæ*, we learn very plainly from a passage in the play itself, that it was produced during the *Lenææ*. At verse 504, Dicæopolis, laying aside for a moment his assumed character, addresses himself immediately to the spectators as follows:

αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἐσμεν, οὐκὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγῶν.

The very extraordinary and far-fetched interpretation given to this passage by Hermann, who supposes it to be ironical, need not detain us for a moment. It is very properly rejected by Böckh, who holds, with Ruhnken, that the play was really performed at the *Lenææ*.

Ruhnken seems to have had so much reliance on the incontrovertibility of his argument, that he has not taken the pains to state it with all the detail that he might. We have already seen that there is an announcement of the actual season of the representation at verse 504. Subsequently, Dicæopolis, who has purchased a private truce, sets up a market of his own. A Megarean comes to deal with him, and wishes to sell his own little daughters, which he tries to pass off as mystical pigs, (*χοίρως μυστικὰς*, v. 764, φ. v. 747). Now, as the *Anthesteria* fell in the same month as the lesser *Mysteries*, in which pigs were sacrificed to Ceres, the trick is appropriate enough; but if the *Lenææ* fell in *Gamelion*, the Megarean would have been rather premature, and, to use a common saying, would have brought

⁶ *Philological Museum*, Vol. II., p. 289,—note.

his pigs to the wrong market. This circumstance, taken singly, may be thought trifling; but in reality it is not so, where, in an argument that proceeds on probability, it forms a link in the chain of evidence.

Again, at verse 960 *fol.*, we find that we are just on the eve of the *Χόαι*, as Lamachus sends to buy some birds and Copaic eels of Dicæopolis, in order to celebrate the feast. At verse 1000, the herald comes in to proclaim the festival; and at verse 1067, we find Dicæopolis making his preparations for it. Just at this very nick of time, a hasty messenger arrives from the generals, to announce that the enemy has invaded the frontiers, and to order Lamachus away for their defence:—

ὑπὸ τοὺν Χόαι γὰρ καὶ Χύτρουι αὐτοῖσι τις
ἤγγειλε ληστὰς ἐμβαλεῖν Βοιωτίους.—v. 1076.

Lamachus accordingly arms himself, and goes forth to battle. At verse 1190, he returns wounded, whilst Dicæopolis is still enjoying his Choan revels, and on the point of being carried off to the archon βασιλεύς, to claim the reward for having drained his cup first:—

τὸν γὰρ χόα πρῶτος ἐκπέπωκα.—v. 1208.
ὡς τοὺς κρετὰς μ' ἐκφέρετε · ποῦ 'στιν ὁ βασιλεύς;
ἀπόδοτέ μοι τὸν ἀσκόν.—v. 1224.

Now here let us remark, that the poet, in order to preserve the unity of time, and to make, at least, all this latter part of the action pass during the Anthesteria, has committed an improbability in making Lamachus proceed to the frontiers, and return wounded, whilst Dicæopolis was still over his cups. This circumstance shews an anxiety on his part to compress the action of the play into the time of the festival that was actually going on. And that this was the Lenæa, is a fair presumption, not only from verse 504, above alluded to, but also from verse 1155, where the chorus wishes Antimachus further, (who seems to have been the Choregus for getting up this play at the Lenæa), for his shabby and illiberal conduct.

ὅτι γ' ἐμέ τὸν τλήμονα Λήναια χορηγῶν ἀπέλυσ' ἄδειπνον.

A passage which we see no reason for supposing, with M. Böckh, to refer to a former year.

There is an incident, however, in the earlier part of the play, which, at first sight, seems to militate against the preceding

supposition. At v. 201, Dicæopolis informs us that he means to celebrate the *rural* Dionysia:—

ἐγὼ δὲ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἀπαλλαγείς
ἄξω τὰ κατ' ἀγροῦν εἰσιὼν Διονύσια.

And from v. 266, it has been inferred that he actually celebrates them, with the Phallic procession, &c. in his own rural *demos* of Chollidæ:—

ἔκτωρ δ' ἔπει προσεῖπον ἐν τὸν δῆμον ἐλθὼν ἄσμενος.

But this visit of Dicæopolis to his native borough is, I take it, a mere make-belief one. The season of the Dionysia at Athens reminds him of the same festival in the country; and forthwith, unfettered by place or time, he gives the city audience a sample of the manner in which the *fête* is celebrated in the rustic borough. This is shewn to be the case not only by the word *εἰσιὼν*, in the lines above quoted, (which denotes his entrance into his house at Athens, and not a journey into the country), but also by the whole economy of the scene. At verse 176, Amphitheos enters bearing the truce he has procured for Dicæopolis at Lacedæmon, and pursued by the Acharnians. Immediately that Dicæopolis announces his intention of performing the rural Dionysia, Amphitheos subjoins, that he means to fly from the Acharnians: *ἐγὼ δὲ φεύξομαι γὰρ τοὺς Ἀχαρνίαις*, v. 203. But this cannot be from Chollidæ, but from Athens, whither he has brought the truce for Dicæopolis, and whither he is pursued by the Acharnians. It would be absurd to make the chorus proceed to Chollidæ in search of Amphitheos, who, it is certain, never appears there. This shows, that the whole scene of the rural Dionysia is enacted at Athens, and not in the country; nor is there any thing in the words *ἔκτωρ δ' ἔπει προσεῖπον*, x. r. λ. (v. 266,) to invalidate this view. Having *supposed* that he was at Chollidæ, Dicæopolis would of course speak and act as if he was *actually there*. In this view of the play, and assuming the *Lenæa* to be identical with the *Anthesteria*, every thing proceeds with the greatest chronological regularity; whilst, according to M. Böckh's theory, we jump from Posideon into Gamelion, and again, without any intelligible cause, from Gamelion into Anthesterion, the season of the *Choes*.⁶

⁶ The preceding is not Ruhnken's view of the action; but, as I have said before, he has treated it rather negligently.

Before quitting this play, we cannot pass over the passage in Pollux, quoted by Elmsley in the following note in v. 1224. "Pollux ex Aristotele: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μυστηρίων προέστηκε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν, καὶ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀγώνων τῶν ἐπὶ λαμπάδι. Lenæis actam esse hanc fabulam, ex v. 504. satis constat. Dionysia in ἄδῃσι curabat Archon ἐπώνυμος." We are here told that the Archon king presided over the Lenæa, whilst the Anthesteria are not enumerated; and so it has been seen above that Dicæopolis appeals to that magistrate for the prize.

Lastly, let us consider the testimony of the scholiast on Aristophanes, and of Athenæus. I am quite ready to admit that the evidence of scholiasts is frequently entitled to but little attention. Occasionally, however, it may be of weight; and this is particularly the case when the commentator does not speak from his own person, but gives us the words of some more ancient and trustworthy author, whose works he had access to, but which are now either lost or imperfect. The scholiast on the *Acharnians*, v. 968, gives from Apollodorus the following account of the origin of the Χόες: φησὶ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος Ἀνθιστήρια καλεῖσθαι κοινῶς τὴν ἑλὴν ἑορτὴν Διονύσου ἀγομένην· κατὰ μέρος δὲ Πισουργίαν, Χόας, Χύτραν· καὶ αὖθις ὅτι Ὀρέδης μετὰ τὸν φόνον εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀφικόμενος (ἦν δὲ ἑορτὴ Διονύσου Ἀθηναίου) ὥς μὴ γένοιτο σφίσιν ὁμόσπονδος ἀπεικτονὺς τὴν μητέρα, ἐμνηχανήσατο τοῖονδὲ τι Πανδίων· Χοᾶ οἶνον τῶν δαιτυμόνων ἐκάστω παραδίδοντας ἐξ αὐτοῦ πίνειν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲν ὑπομιγνύντας ἀλλήλοις, ὥς μῆτε ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κρατῆρος πίοι Ὀρέδης, μῆτ' ἐπειὶς ἄχθοιτο καθ' αὐτὸν πίνων μόνος, καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου Ἀθηναίους ἑορτὴ ἐνομίσθη οἱ Χόες. Athenæus relates the same legend, with some little variation, after Phanodemus, (X. 49, p. 437.) M. Böckh objects not to the authenticity of this testimony, but to its extent, and contends that all we learn from it is, that the Anthesteria was a festival of Δῖονυσος Ἀθηναίος. But this is a considerable step gained. It comes as near to an assertion of identity as we can reasonably expect; for an assertion to that effect in direct terms—supposing the identity, would have been a piece of information which the ancients could neither want nor dispute. We have here, also, a confirmation of the Anthesteria being a Dionysiac festival.

Having thus briefly stated the most prominent arguments in favour of Ruhnken's view of the question, let us now turn to those which have been adduced by M. Böckh, in order to prove

the diversity of the two festivals. So far as I can discover, they are the following three:—

First, Hesiod, in his *Works and Days*, v. 502, mentions the month Lenæon as a winter month. It is admitted, however, that the text is most probably corrupt, since the Bœotians had no month in their calendar distinguished by that name. We cannot, therefore, look for any assistance from Hesiod, though we may from his commentators. Now Proclus, as corrected by Ruhnken, Wytttenbach, and Böckh, has the following remarks upon the passage: Πλούταρχος οὐδένα φησι μῆνα Ληναῖωνα καλεῖσθαι παρὰ Βιωταίοις· ὑποπίπτει δὲ ἡ τὸν Βουκάτιον αὐτὸν λῖγειν, ὅς ἐστι ἡλίου τὸν αἰγοκίρων διῶντος, καὶ τοῦ βούβορα τῷ Βουκατίῳ συνέδοντος, διὰ τὸ πλείδους ἐν αὐτῷ διαφθεῖρεσθαι βόας· ἡ τὸν Ἑρμαῖον, ὅς ἐστι μετὰ τὸν Βουκάτιον, καὶ εἰς ταῦτον ἐρχόμενος τῷ Γαμηλιῶνι, καθ' ὃν τὰ Λήναια παρ' Ἀθηναίοις. "Ἵωνες δὲ τοῦτον οὐδ' ἄλλως, ἀλλὰ Ληναῖωνα καλοῦσιν.

Here we learn Plutarch's opinion that Hesiod could not have used the word *Ληναῖων*, which is not the name of any Bœotian month. He therefore suspected that the poet wrote either Bucatius, when the sun passes through Capricorn; or Hermæus, which is the succeeding month to Bucatius, and corresponding with Gamelion, in which the Athenians celebrate the Lenæa, and which the Ionians call Lenæon. If the text be sound then, and the authority of Proclus be allowed, we are distinctly told that the Athenians celebrated the Lenæa in Gamelion.

But in this statement of Proclus, there is a circumstance, through which it is difficult to see one's way. It is admitted that the Bœotian month Bucatius answered to the Attic Gamelion; how then can Hermæus be also said to do so?

M. Böckh proposes the following method of getting over this difficulty, which appears to me more ingenious than sound.

Supposing the Bœotian period to have been the octaëteris, and the years of intercalation 3, 5, and 8; then, if the Attic intercalary year preceded the Bœotian, Hermæus might coincide with Gamelion sometimes once in three years, sometimes once in two, as may be seen in the following table:—

ATTIC MONTHS.

BŒOTIAN MONTHS.

—	1st year.	2d year.	3d year.
1. Gamelion	... Bucatius	... Hermæus	... Bucatius
2. Anthesterion	... Hermæus	... Prostaterius	... Hermæus

3. Elaphebolion	... Prostaterius	... 4 —	... Prostaterius
4. Munychion	... 4 —	... 5 —	... 4 —
5. Thargelion	... 5 —	... 6 —	&c. &c.
6. Scirrophorion	... 6 —	... Hippodromius	
7. Hecatombæon	... Hippodromius	... Panemus	
8. Metageitnion	... Panemus	... 9 —	
9. Bœdromion	... 9 —	... Damatrius	
10. Maimæterion	... Damatrius	... Alalcomenius	
11. Pyanepsion	... Alalcomenius	... 12 —	
12. Posideon	... 12 —	... 13 intercalary	
—	—	—	
13. Posideon 2	... Bucatius	...	

Now really this seems a very elaborate and very arbitrary way of accounting for a simple expression. There is no proof that the Bœotian period was the octaëteris, nor that their intercalation preceded the Attic in the way assumed. We have just as much right to suppose that the intercalations proceeded *pari passu*, in which case the Attic and Bœotian months would of course answer regularly to one another; or that the Attic preceded the Bœotian, when Bucatius would indeed sometimes answer to Anthesterion, but Hermæus would never answer to Gamelion. Even so far, then, the chances are two to one against M. Böckh's being right. But, allowing all his assumptions, what do they shew? Why, that Proclus used Hermæus as equivalent to Gamelion, when, on M. Böckh's own grounds, it corresponded *less frequently* with that month than with Anthesterion! Is this probable? But the passage itself shews that Proclus had no intention to do so. He fixes and defines the place of Bucatius by its zodiacal sign,—*ἡλίου τὸν αἰγολέων διότρος*; which it is admitted makes it equivalent to Gamelion. As he then goes on to say that Hermæus *follows* Bucatius, then, if the reading *Γαμηλιῶν* be right, the passage literally amounts to this, that Bucatius and Hermæus both corresponded with Gamelion; a mode of reasoning by which, according to the mathematical axiom that things equal to the same are equal to one another, we might prove Bucatius and Hermæus were the same month. But one of two things is clear; either the text of Proclus has been corrupted, or he talked too absurdly to be deserving of attention. Surely we need not be too solicitous about a passage which has already required three emendations in about as many lines, to make it intelligible. Hesychius

has a passage much to the same purport as that of Proclus, but which, as it omits all mention of Gamelion, is clear and satisfactory: *Ἀθηναίων μῆνι· οὐδὲνα τῶν μηνῶν Βοιωτοὶ οὕτω καλοῦσιν' εἰκάζει δὲ ὁ Πλούταρχος Βουκάτιον· καὶ γὰρ ψυχρὸς ἐστίν· ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν Ἑρμαῖον δεῖ κατὰ (1. μετα) τὸν Βουκάτιόν ἰδόν· καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἑορτῇ ἐν αὐτῷ ἄγουσιν.* Here we are told that the Athenians celebrated the Lenæa in Hermæus, which, it is admitted, answered to the Attic month Anthesterion.

Here, however, it must be stated, that Hesychius, (*υ. Διονύσια*,) affirms that the Lenæa took place in the Ionian month Lenæon; and this reading was adopted by Ruhnken as sound, because he was of opinion that the Ionic Lenæon answered to the Attic month Anthesterion. It must, however, be admitted, that the evidence preponderates in favour of its answering to Gamelion. We have seen in the passage of Thucydides, that the Ionians, as well as the Athenians, had a month called Anthesterion, and this is confirmed by the Cyzican inscription quoted by M. Böckh. This article of Hesychius seems to have been copied by the author of the Rhetorical Lexicon, with the alteration of *Γαμηλιῶνος* for *Ἀθηναίωνος*, as follows: *Διονύσια· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησι Διονύσου· ἥγιστο δὲ τὰ μὲν κατ' ἄγρους μηνὸς Ποσειδεῶνος, τὰ δὲ Λήνια Γαμηλιῶνος, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἄστυ Ἐλαφροβολιῶνος.* In pursuance of the opinion just stated, Ruhnken here altered *Γαμηλιῶνος* into *Ἀνθιστηριῶνος*; which he was probably quite right in doing, but not on the grounds which he assigned for the alteration. It is odd it never struck him that Hesychius could not have written *Ἀθηναίωνος*. The excuse which he frames for the lexicographer, namely, that he mentioned the Ionian month in order to mark its connection with the festival, though eagerly adopted by M. Böckh, because of its favouring his argument, is in reality a very lame one. Hesychius had no business with Ionic months in describing an Attic usage. All that we can arrive at is, that the passage is corrupt: we cannot reason on it. So far as the correspondence of the months is concerned, the author of the Rhetorical Lexicon was right, perhaps, in changing Lenæon into Gamelion; but in doing so, he did not trouble himself as to whether he was right about the festival. Indeed nothing can exceed the slovenliness of this tribe of scholiasts and dictionary makers. If we listen to them, we may have the Lenæa in almost any month. Thus the scholiast on the *Acharnenses*, v. 377, places them in the autumn (*τὰ δὲ Λήνια ἐν τῷ μετοπώρῳ ἡγίτο*); and he

is kept in countenance by another on Plato's *Republic*, P. 475, E., who fixes them in the same season, viz. Maimacterion.

Allowing that the Ionic month Lenæon corresponded with the Attic Gamelion, still *non constat* that the Ionians brought the name of the month with them from Attica. It no where occurs, I believe, as an Attic month except in late writers like Aristides (a Mysian) and Eustathius; who may very possibly have confounded the Ionic months with the Attic. This much is plain, that after the Ionic migration, either the Athenians or Ionians changed the name of the month which answers to our January. The latter, a colony of emigrants, were much the more likely to make the alteration. They had got into a new climate, and amongst a people who probably had different customs with regard to their vintage, and the tapping of their wines, and hence were led to keep the festival a month earlier, though they retained the ancient ceremony in Anthesterion as well. This multiplication of Bacchic entertainments is quite in keeping with the known character of the Ionians, who, according to the testimony of Lucian, were more addicted to them than any other nation.⁷

But even admitting that Gamelion was anciently called Lenæon by the Athenians, that circumstance, instead of confirming M. Böckh's argument, would rather have a tendency the other way. It cannot be doubted that the Lenæan Dionysia were next in importance to the *τὰ κατ' ἄρτυ*, and must have increased in splendour with the progress of theatrical entertainments. This is a strong argument against the month's having been called after that particular festival, in which plays and choruses were exhibited; for in that case, under the circumstances just alluded to, the name would hardly have been changed. The name *Λήναια* seems to have been derived from *the place* called Lenæon at Athens, and to have designated, as I hope presently to shew, the choral and dramatic contests there, rather than the whole festival; just as the games at Olympia took their title from the place where they were exhibited. Lenæus was a common name of Bacchus, as president of the wine-press; and

⁷ Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Βακχικὴ ἔρχεται ἐν Ἰανίῳ, μάλιστα καὶ ἐν Πόντῳ σπουδαζομένη καὶ τοῦ Σατυρικῆς οὔρου, οὗτω περὶ χιμαίρας τοὺς ἀνδράσιν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸν τιτανόμηνον

ἵναται καὶ τὸν ἀπέναντον ἐπιλαβόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τῆς δι' ἡμέρας, Τριταίας καὶ Κερύβαντος καὶ Σατύρου καὶ Βουκόλου ἰδρύσθαι
 κ. τ. λ. *De Saltat.* 79.

if the Athenians anciently had a month *Lenæon*, it was probably derived from some old and nearly obsolete Dionysiac festival. Nor does this rest on mere conjecture: Moschopolus gives the following etymology of the month: *Ληναίων*—*ἐξ ἧς ἐστὶν ὁ Ἰαννουάριος· ἐκλήθη δὲ οὕτως ἐπειδὴ τῷ Διονύσῳ τῷ τῶν ληνῶν ἐπιστάτῃ ἐτίλουν ἱερτὴν τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ ἣν Ἀμφροσίαν ἐκάλεον.* Here we have quite a different festival. We find the same etymology in a commentary subjoined to that of Proclus, before alluded to.

In the *second* place, it is affirmed that both the *Χοίς* and *Χύτραι* are by certain authors expressly distinguished from the *Lenæa*, and could not, therefore, have belonged to the same festival. Thus Alciphron, (π. 3,) makes Menander write to Glycera as follows: *ἰγὼ δὲ καὶ τὰς ἡρακλείους καὶ τὰ παρχήσια καὶ τὰς χρυσίδας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἀνταῖς ἐπίφθονα παρὰ τούτοις ἀγαθὰ φερόμενα, τῶν πατρ' ἔτος χοῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις Ληναίων, καὶ τῆς χθιζῆς ἡμερογίας, καὶ τῶν τοῦ Λυκαίου γυμνασίων, καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς Ἀκαδημίας, οὐκ ἀλλὰττομαι μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον, καὶ τοὺς Βακχικοὺς αὐτοῦ κισσοὺς, ὁρώσης καὶ καθημίνης ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Γλυκίρας.*

Now there is nothing here to shew that the *Choes* and *Lenæa* were distinct *as to their season*, but only *as to their nature*. The expression, *τῶν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις Ληναίων*, is a very remarkable one, and may afford a clue to the unravelling of a difficulty through which Ruhnken did not see his way. That critic supposed that the name *Lenæa*, besides denoting the festival of the *Anthesteria* in general, was applied more particularly to the first day, the *Πυθόγνια*; or else that there was a fourth distinguished by that title. These were mere conjectures, and, the latter particularly, unsupported by any evidence. But from the above passage in Alciphron, we may infer that the name *Lenæa*, applied more especially to that portion of the *Anthesterian* festival which consisted in the theatrical entertainments. Indeed it may be doubted, whether the really classic authors ever called the festival, as a whole, and apart from its dramatic shews, *Λήναια*. The proper name for it was, *Διονύσια ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ*, or *ἐν Αἰμναις*, or *Ἀνθεστήρια*.

According to this view of the meaning of the term *Λήναια*, we shall find little to delay us in the other passages which have been adduced against Ruhnken, and in order to establish the diversity of the *Lenæa* and *Anthesteria*. That in *Athenæus*, (iv. p. 130), offers no difficulty: *οὐ δὲ (μόνον) ἐν Ἀθήναις μίαν· εὐδαιμονίζεις τὰς Θεοφράστου θέσεις ἀκούων, θύμα καὶ εὐζωμα καὶ τοὺς καλ-*

οὐς ἐσθίων στρατεύς, Λήναια καὶ Χύτρους θεωρῶν. On the contrary, it tends to confirm the inference already drawn. The term *θεωρῶν* cannot, with propriety, be applied to a festival lasting three days, or even one; but suits exactly those parts of a festival which consisted in shows and exhibitions: as the procession through the marsh with the *χύτροι*, and the *Λήναια*, or dramatic representations. We may, therefore, dispense with M. Böckh's ingenious, but irrelevant and far-fetched calculations, as to how long it would have taken Lynceus to make the journey to Macedonia; for Hippolochus is alluding to one and the same festival, though to different parts of it.

Neither is there any difficulty in the passage from *Ælian*, (*Hist. An.* iv. 53, (43), *Κεκρήνεται γὰρ Διονύσια καὶ Λήναια καὶ Χύτροι καὶ Γεφυρισμοί*. That from *Suidas* presents, it must be confessed, a greater obstacle, and indeed it is only when we arrive at authors of his kind, and of his age, that we meet with any. He gives the following account of the *σώμματα ἐκ τῶν ἀμαξῶν*—*Ἀθήνησι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Κοῶν ἱερῇ οἱ κωμῳῶντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἱσχυατὸν τι καὶ ἰλοιδόρουν, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἕτερον ἐποίουν*. Now it is hard to imagine that the waggons were introduced into the theatre, though the abuse might have been. But Bentley, in his Dissertation on Phalaris, has illustrated this passage of *Suidas* by a quotation from the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, which may go some way to clear up the difficulty. "It is true," says he, "Harpocration and *Suidas* understand it, (i. e. the proverb, *ἐξ ἀμάξης λίγειν*), of the *pomp* in the feasts of Bacchus; but even there too, they were not the tragic but the comic poets who were so abusive; for they also had their carts to carry their plays in. The comic poets, says the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*, rubbing their faces with the lees of wines, that they might not be known, were carried about in carts, and sung their poems in the highways, from whence came the proverb (*ὡς ἐξ ἀμάξης λαλεῖν*),—to rail as impudently as out of a cart."

As this, then, was a practice of the comic poets, and the *Lenæa* was the favourite season of comedy, we may presume that *Suidas* was here drawing a distinction between the custom as exercised at first only by the miscellaneous mob, and on the day of the *Choes* alone; but which was afterwards extended, especially by the comedians, to the other days of the *Antheateria*. And thus it might have formed either a prelude or conclusion, out of doors, to the representations in the theatre, and might

be said properly enough to be done *ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*, from forming part, as it were, of the dramatic spectacle. And this seems borne out by the passage in Suidas, alluded to by Bentley, where we find under the head, Ἐξ ἀμάξης—ἡ λεγομένη ἱερτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις Δήνια, ἐν ᾗ ἡγωνίζοντο οἱ ποιηταὶ συγγράφουσιν τινα ἄσματα τοῦ γελασθῆναι χάριν· ὅπερ Δημοσδίνης “ἐξ ἀμάξης” εἶπεν. Ἐφ' ἀμάξων γὰρ οἱ ῥέοντες καθήμενοι ἱλεγόν τε καὶ ᾄδον τὰ ποιήματα.

The remaining argument adduced by M. Böckh is, that the Lenæa was a vintage festival, and could not, therefore, have been celebrated in the month of Anthesterion. If we ask how it is shewn to have been a vintage festival, any more than the μέγαλα Διονύσια, in Elaphebolion, we are referred to the etymology of the name, which, it is said, necessarily connects it with the operations of the vintage. To this etymology I have already adverted. That the sacred enclosure called the Lenæon derived its name from a wine-press which existed there in the very early days of Athens, is highly probable; but that the ceremonies and spectacles which took place in it in after times in honour of Bacchus were called Lenæa from the enclosure itself, and thus can be referred only remotely to ληνός, I have already endeavoured to shew. But indeed this argument of M. Böckh's proves too much, as he himself seems to have felt. For if the Lenæa was a vintage feast, that circumstance would certainly go a great way to identify it with the Rural Dionysia, and thus to establish the argument of those who hold with Casaubon and Hermann. It is allowed that the Rural Dionysia themselves, taking place in the month Posideon (December), were late as a vintage feast; what, then, can be said for the following month, Gamelion? By the unimaginative, such a thing would be pronounced simply impossible; but M. Böckh meets the difficulty by the following large draft on the reader's fancy. “It may easily be imagined that, after the general vintage had ended, the fruit of some vines was still reserved to a later season for the purpose of extracting from them a nectar, with which the erection of the first wine-press was commemorated, the successful poets rewarded, and the Lenæan god honoured, and from which the festival itself may have received the name of Ἀμύρσεια.”⁸

How this *nectar* came to be converted into *ambrosia*, the

⁸ *Philol. Museum*, p. 297.

potable into the edible, M. Böckh does not explain; nor is it probable, that in this circumstance, the Athenians would have followed Anaxandrides, Alcman, and Sappho,⁹ rather than the traditions of Homer. It may be doubted, too, whether the Attic poets, if they were as knowing as their brethren of the craft usually are, would not have preferred, as their reward, a cup brewed at the regular period, to this rare and unseasonable nectar. M. Böckh should, at least, have attempted to shew some probable reason why the vintage festival was later with the Athenians than elsewhere; or rather, *why they had any vintage at all*. It may be suspected that the Athenian cockneys only troubled themselves to *tap and drink* the wine which had been *made* in the country.

Such appear to be the arguments that may be adduced on either side of this *vexata quæstio*. The general features of the evidence are these:—On Ruhnken's side, we have the highest classical authorities, but their testimony is not direct; on Böckh's side, we have the very lowest class of writers,—scholiasts and dictionary-makers, whose evidence indeed, from the very nature of their calling, goes directly to the point, but which, partly from the ignorance of the writers, and partly from the corrupt and neglected state in which their works have come down to us, must often be viewed with suspicion and distrust. The want of directness in the testimony of the classic authors, is no objection to it; on the contrary, too much of that quality would render it liable to suspicion, as it would not have occurred to them to identify two festivals, which, in their time, no one thought of separating. The business here is, to draw a correct inference from the *data* which they afford. And if, from several such writers, we arrive at the like conclusion, whilst no contrary one can be obtained from the same sources, we may be said to have got the highest degree of proof short of absolute demonstration.

If we examine the evidence more particularly, we find that the only writers who positively assert the occurrence of the *Lenæa* in Gamelion, are Proclus, and the author of the *Rhetorical Lexicon*. In the passage of Proclus, it has been shewn, (besides the objection which may be taken to the state of the text,) that he is inconsistent with himself. The author of the

⁹ See *Athenæus* II., p. 39. A.

Rhetorical Lexicon, independently of his want of authority, has evidently been led to the assertion from finding *Ἀγναῖνες* in Hesychius, which that author could never have written.

The argument drawn from the name of the Ionic month Lenæon, has, I trust, been shewn to be of little value, as well as the inference from the term *Ἀγναία*, as denoting a vintage festival. Finally, it has been shewn that there is little force in the objections taken to the identity of the Lenæa and the Anthesteria from the passages in Alciphron, Athenæus, Ælian, and Suidas.

On the other side of the question, it will, I think, be difficult to get over the passage in Thucydides, which clearly points to only two city Dionysia, the older belonging to the month Anthesterion; especially as we find this confirmed by Demosthenes, by Apollodorus, quoted by the scholiast on Aristophanes, and by Athenæus, by the omission of the Anthesteria in M. Böckh's inscription, unless it was identical with the Dionysia *ἐν Ἀθηναῖς*, as well as by the fact that the later Lexicographers and scholiasts never mention more than two Dionysia besides the Rural, however they may differ about the season of their celebration. To which may be added, the high degree of probability derived from the Acharnians of Aristophanes.

That the question is a difficult one, must be admitted. But, though the evidence on Ruhnken's side does not amount to a mathematical demonstration, it possesses, I think, so high a degree of probability, as renders it almost a moral certainty.

THOMAS DYER.

VI.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

NOTICE OF THE LATE JAMES MILLINGEN, ESQ.

JAMES MILLINGEN, the greatest English Archæologist of the present century, was born on the 18th January 1774. His father, a Dutch merchant from Batavia, resided at that period in Queen Square, Westminster; and at an early period placed his son at Westminster School, under Mr. Wingfield, since Dr. Wingfield, who was his private tutor.

In the same square resided the celebrated Dr. Crarcterode, who was an intimate friend of Mr. Millingen's family; and who, observing the interest which our youthful antiquarian took in the arrangement of his coins, encouraged this growing disposition to follow numismatic studies, by the occasional gift of duplicate medals, &c.

It is somewhat strange, that while young Millingen assiduously followed this pursuit, his time was devoted, in his leisure hours, to the science of war. He was most anxious to enter the army in the Engineer Department; but having been subject to asthma from his childhood, this desire was over-ruled by his father, who intended to send him from Westminster School to one of our Universities.

Unfortunately, it was about this time that the French Revolution broke out. Mr. Millingen, the father, had experienced many severe losses in various speculations; and, looking upon the recent events in Paris as the harbinger of happier days for that country, until then oppressed and degraded by the most profligate tyranny, he lost no time in repairing to the French capital, and shortly after returned to London, after having viewed with delight the ruins of the Bastile, and bearing with him one of the keys of that detestable fortress, for the Marquis de La Fayette, then in England.

La Belle France, in his opinion, was shortly to become the *El Dorado* of freedom and of plenty. Mr. Millingen collected the wreck of his broken fortune, and hastened over with his family to reside in Paris. In this resolution, he had been confirmed by a connection of his wife, M. Van de Nyver, a banker in Paris, whose *Hôtel* was in the Rue Vivienne, and the house in which the Galignanis now keep their library, until the family were installed in an apartment, Rue de la Michaudière, and James Millingen was received as a clerk in the banking-house.

Most reluctantly did he follow a pursuit so foreign to his taste ; and he still continued to divide his leisure hours between the perusal and the study of Vauban and Vaillant, Belair and Beauvais, Polybius and Pinkerton. When he had taken leave of his favourite medal case, he would pore over the campaigns of the great Condé, with a map of the theatre of war suspended in his room, or displayed upon the floor ; all his savings being applied to the purchase of coins, or of models of cannon, pontoons, and other *matériel* of war.

The events of the 10th August, threw all the English residing in France into a state of consternation ; and Mrs. Millingen, with her two sons, repaired to Calais, on their way to England. But still Mr. Millingen, Senior, hoped for better days, and recalled his family to Paris.

Having quitted the banking-house of M. Van de Nyver, James Millingen obtained an employment better suited to his pursuits, and was appointed to the Mint. There he became acquainted with the well-known mineralogist, Mongèr. The director, while his frequent visits to the Cabinet of Medals of the Royal (then the National) Library, procured him the intimacy of the director Abbé Courcy Barthélemy, brother to the well-known author of the Voyage of Anacharsis in Greece, and of the amiable geographer, Barbié du Bocage ; while at the same time he cultivated the intimacy of Messrs. Walkenaer, De Non, D'Aumont, and several other well-known collectors of antiquities and archæologists. These gentlemen were constant visitors at the house of Mr. Millingen's father, where they usually met the Abbé Servois, who was then tutor to James Millingen's younger brother, (now Dr. Millingen,) and who was subsequently Vicar-General of Cambrai, when that city was the head-quarters of the British army in 1815.

However, these tranquil days were not long to last. A decree of the National Convention ordered the confinement of every British subject until the peace, and in the dead of the night, a Commissary from the Comité Révolutionnaire of the section de la Butte des Moulins, (Mr. M.'s father then resided in the Rue Neuve St. Roch), arrested our youthful antiquary, and conveyed him first to the Prison of the Madelonettes, then to that of the Luxembourg, and finally to the College des Ecosseis, where he remained till the events of the 9th Thermidor.

During this incarceration, M. Van de Nyver, with his two sons, were sentenced to the guillotine. The unfortunate Madame Du Barry, who was comfortable and safe in England, repaired to Paris, to seek her diamonds, which she had concealed in the garden of her country-house she was denounced by a gardener, an Irishman, who had been long in her service, and in her papers were found letters of M. Van de Nyver, by which it appeared that he had transmitted money to her in England during her emigration ; and the same axe struck off the head of the profligate royal courtesan and her unfortunate agents.

James Millingen's father, being a Dutchman, escaped incarceration, but was ordered *en surveillance* out of Paris to Lucy St. Léger; their younger son, under the age of imprisonment, being left in Paris to attend to his brother, and make constant application to Robespierre, Danton, and Barère, to obtain the liberation of his parents.

During James Millingen's confinement in the College des Ecossais, he became acquainted with two fellow-prisoners, Charles Este, son of the well known parson Este, and Sir Robert Smith of Bechurch Hall, Essex; Charles Este married one of Sir Robert's daughters, and opened a banking-house in the Rue Céruti, in which James Millingen was received as a partner.

Previous to this occurrence, our antiquarian, obliged to seek the means of subsistence, entered into various speculations, and settled for some time in Calais, where he remained a short while; he then entered the firm of Sir Robert Smith & Co.

About this period a singular occurrence opened to James Millingen a new field of speculation. As some labourers were working in a field between the villages of Quevauvilliers and Pecquigny, near Abbeville, they discovered a Roman entrenchment, and dug up several earthen vessels filled with gold coins down to Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, most of the latter in rare preservation, as if just struck, and many with scarce reverses. These valuable coins he purchased at their weight, and soon disposed of them, both in France and England, to great advantage; many of the latter were sent to Mr. Miles, the coin-dealer in Tavistock Street, who placed them advantageously in various cabinets; but their state of preservation was so high, that it was not without difficulty that many numismatic collectors could believe that they were not spurious.

From various circumstances, the banking-house in the Rue Céruti failed, and James Millingen was hence thrown on his own resources. His perfect knowledge of coins and the relics of antiquity, had rendered his judgment nearly infallible; and most of the cabinets of the capitals of Europe owe to him their choicest and most valuable specimens of ancient art.

A constant sufferer from the asthma, he was not able to bear the climate of England, and was reluctantly compelled to reside in Italy, where he enjoyed comparative good health. Here he devoted his time both to the collection of antiquities and to the production of various well known works on coins, Etruscan vases, &c. &c. For some time he resided at Rome and at Naples, but latterly Florence was his abode; paying occasional visits to Paris and to London, where his arrival was always gladly hailed by archæologists, as he was ever the bearer of some precious relic of bygone art. He was on the eve of setting out for England, with the intention of settling in London, when he

was attacked by a severe catarrhal affection. During the first days of his illness he thought little of it, and wrote several letters the day before his death; and the very morning of the mournful day, had sat up, and according to his usual habit, had directed the preparation of his coffee. He expired without a struggle on the 1st of October 1845, at the age of 72, and more from the effect of exhaustion than of disease.

James Millingen was of the most studious habits—most abstemious in his living; but unfortunately he knew very little of domestic comfort, for both his wife and daughter had embraced the Roman Catholic persuasion, a circumstance which caused their separation. He was a staunch churchman, and most hostile to popery. In this aversion to the Roman Catholic faith he was confirmed by many circumstances, but more especially when his grandchildren, who were sent by their father, Dr. Julius Millingen, Physician to the Sultan in Constantinople, (the same who had attended Lord Byron in Greece, and was present at his decease,) but were detained at Rome by their grandmother, and placed in a catholic school of the Inquisition by order of the Pope, who appointed Prince Odascalchi their tutor; all applications made by the father and grandfather to claim them, and send them to England, as it was originally intended, being fruitless,—and our minister at Florence, and Lord Aberdeen in England, refusing to interfere in the transaction.

Mr. Millingen has left a wife, a daughter, and two sons; having lost one son (Horace) in India, a Captain in the Madras army. The second son, Julius, as we have already stated, is at Constantinople.

The following is a list of Mr. Millingen's works, and dissertations in various journals:—

Recueil de quelques Médailles Grecques inédites; Rome, 1812. 4to. fig.
Peintures antiques inédites de Vases Grecs; Rome, 1813. Large folio, 63 plates.

Peintures de Vases Grecs, de la collection de Sir John Coghill, Bart.; Rome, 1817. Folio, with 52 plates.

Medallic History of Napoleon, and Supplement; London, 1819 and 1822. 4to., 74 plates.

The same translated into French,—*Idem*.

Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings; London, 1821. 4to. fig.

Ancient unedited Monuments of Grecian Art; London, 1822 and 1826. 2 vol. 4to.

Remarks on the State of Learning and the Fine Arts in Great Britain; London, 1831. 8vo.

Sylloge of ancient unedited Coins; London, 1837. 4to. fig.

Considérations sur la Numismatique de l'ancienne Italie, and Supplement, with 2 plates; Florence, 1841 and 1844.

He wrote many communications to the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, and to the *Annali* and *Bullettini* of the *Istituto Archeologico di Roma*.

The following papers contributed to the former, deserve especial mention:—Vol. I., 4to. Part 1st, 1827. On a coin of Metapontum, p. 142–150. Part 2, vol. I.

On the date of some of the coins of Zancle or Messana in Sicily; with a plate, p. 93–99.

On the Portland Vase, with a plate, p. 99–106. Vol. II.

On the late Discoveries of Ancient Monuments in various parts of Etruria, page 95–102.

On the names of Roman Divinities; and Notice of a Painted Fictile Vase, relating to this subject. Page 136–144. Not complete.

He left a small numismatic work ready for the press, which may probably be published. It will consist of unedited Greek coins, or new attributions of coins already known, or considered uncertain.

THE first part of the new Philological Journal, "*Philologus*," edited by Professor Schneidewin of Göttingen, has just reached us. The original plan of printing all contributions in Latin, (see *Classical Museum*, vol. III. p. 213,) has been given up, for most of the articles are in German. From the great ability of the editor, and the array of scholars who have promised their support to the new undertaking, we have every reason to believe that the Journal will be conducted in a very admirable manner; but we cannot help repeating our regret at seeing the efforts of German scholars becoming more and more weakened by the want of union, which is fostered by the many Journals of the same kind, scarcely one of which is able to maintain itself, and exercise that wholesome influence which it is its object to exercise. The contents of the first number are divided into two parts, the first of which contains original essays, and the second, a number of short papers under the head of *Miscellanies*. Among the essays we notice, as of particular interest,—1. *De peplo Aristotelis Stagiritæ. Accedunt pepeli reliquiae*, by F. G. Schneidewin; 2. *The Rape of the Palladium*, by O. Jahn; 3. *Plato and Aristotle in the middle ages*, by H. Ritter; 4. *Contributions towards the History and Topography of the Roman Forum*, by L. Preller; 5. *On Götting and Zumpt's Views on the Sums of the Servian Census*, by M. Hertz; 6. *Is the fifth Olympic ode the work of Pindar?* by E. Von Leutsch; 7. *On the Tomb of Sophocles*, by the same; 8. *On the connection between Augustus and Horace*, by G. F. Grotefend.

MISCELLANIES.

I.—CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE 10TH VERSE, CHAP. XI. AND OF THE 15TH AND 16TH VERSES OF CHAP. XII. OF ST. PAUL'S FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

THE explanation given by commentators of the above verses, have always appeared to me unsatisfactory. The words in xi. 10. are, *διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους*. The common translation has the appearance of being literal; but, taken in connection with the verses immediately preceding, is utterly unintelligible. "For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head because of the angels." Some of the commentators suppose that *ἐξουσίαν* signifies *a veil*; but the noun, *ἐξουσία*, wherever it occurs in the Classical authors, and also in any other place in the New Testament, has no such meaning; and its derivation from *ἐξεῖναι*, or the participle, *ἐξοῦσα*, gives no authority for such an assumption. Robinson, in his *Lexicon of the New Testament*, translates it thus:—"Prob. 'emblem of power,' i. e. a veil or covering, (comp. v. 13. 16.) as an emblem of subjection to the power of a husband,—a token of modest adherence to duties and usages established by law and custom." But the use of the veil by the Grecian women implied no such subjection. It was worn when they went abroad, to prevent their being gazed at by the licentious young men, and also to distinguish them from the courtezans. Besides, it may be supposed that *unmarried* women would also be present at these assemblies. I think, however, that the word really did signify *a veil* or *covering* for the head, but that it should be pronounced *ἐξουσίαν*, and be derived from the future of the verb *ἔχω*, *scil. ἔξω*. This will appear not improbable, when we consider, that from the same tense of *ἔχω* we have the noun *ἔξω*, *a habit of body*, &c.; and from the kindred Latin verb *habeo*, we have our English word *habit*, a particular kind of dress, as a *riding habit*, &c. According to this derivation, *ἐξουσία* will signify a kind of head-dress, *holding*, *wrapping*, or *covering* the head and face, and worn by the Corinthian women when they went abroad. It is possible that it was a particular kind of head-dress, peculiar to the Corinthian ladies, as the word seems to be a *ἄραξ λεγόμενον*.¹

Various also have been the conjectures regarding the meaning of

¹ What is the origin of our word *hood*? It is not from *heave*, but from the Anglo-Saxon *haed*, from the verb *to hold*.

the words *δια τοὺς ἀγγέλους*. Some suppose *ἀγγέλους* to mean *spies* sent by the heathen to watch and report any improprieties in the Christian assemblies. But the term *ἀγγελος* in the Classical Authors, always signifies *a messenger, one that carries a message or a report*. It is not likely that the apostle would have used this term in such an unusual sense, instead of the common and appropriate one *κατάσκοπος*. Besides, the use of the article would imply that they were well known; whereas we may reasonably suppose, that *spies* in the assemblies of the Christians would be unknown, as they would assume the external demeanour of devout worshippers. Others, again, are of opinion, that *ἀγγέλους* means *Angels*, i. e. *heavenly messengers*; and they translate *διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους*, "through reverence of the angels." But why these "ministering spirits" should feel peculiarly grieved at any such violation of the customary forms of propriety and decorum, as women appearing unveiled in the assemblies of Christians, and not being regarded or mentioned as checks upon grosser violations of duty, cannot be easily explained, (see Dr. Bloomfield's note on the passage.) I have little doubt that the *ἀγγελοι* here mentioned, were *messengers* or *delegates* sent by the different churches to one another to report their state, and the progress of the gospel among them; and that, if they observed the Corinthian women violating the decorum of their sex, by appearing in the assemblies unveiled, they would give an unfavourable report of their conduct to the churches by whom they were sent. Such appears to have been the practice of the apostles on different occasions, (see Acts xv. 25, 28.) The messengers whom John sent to interrogate our Saviour respecting his mission, are termed *ἀγγελοι*. Luke vii. 24. *ἀπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων Ἰωάννου*. In 2 Corinth. viii. 21, they are called *ἀπόστολοι*, a term in this place synonymous with *ἀγγελοι*. *Εἴτε ὑπὲρ Τίτου, κοινωνοὶ ἐμὸν καὶ ὑμῶν συνεργοί · εἴτε ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν, ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν*. They are called *ἀπόστολοι* *when sent*, *ἀγγελοι* *as messengers or reporters*.

The latter clause of the 15th and 16th verses of Chap. xii. of the same Epistle, appears to me to be misunderstood by all the commentators I have consulted on the passage. The words are, *Ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ ποῦν · Ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ χεῖρ, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος · οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος*; our common translation of the latter clause is, "is it therefore not of the body?" Dr. Bloomfield, in a note on the passage, translates, "it does not on this account form no part of the body;" and he adds, "*παρὰ* here signifies *propter*, as Thucydides, ii. (l.) 141. Such is the sense, according to the punctuation I have adopted, with several eminent editors and translators, and as required by the *proprietas linguæ*. Those who adopt the *interrogation* are obliged to sink the second *οὐ*, by calling in the rule that two negatives make an affirmative, which principle will not apply in a construction

like the present." The late Dr. Arnold has remarked in a note on Thucyd. i. 141, *παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν*. "This is exactly expressed in vulgar English, 'all along of his own neglect,' i.e. owing to his own neglect. This sense of *παρὰ* is unusual." I suspect that *κατὰ* would more nearly express "all along" than *παρὰ*; and the citations from Demosthenes, when *παρὰ* occurs, may be translated more in accordance with the common meaning of that preposition. In the passage referred to, *οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος*, I apprehend that *παρὰ* does not signify either *therefore* or *propter*, but, *contrary to*, or, *on the contrary*, one of its most usual significations. According to the common translation, and also that of Dr. Bloomfield, the words lose all their point and force, particularly as given in the non-negative form by the latter. It is not uncommon to find in the Classic Authors the negative repeated to make the expressions more emphatic. Thus Xenophon, *Cyr. i.*, *θάρρει, ἔφη, ὦ Κύρε, οὐδὲ, ἦν μηδεπότε παύσωμαι θεώμενος, οὐ μὴ κρατηθῶ ὥστε ποιεῖν τι ὧν μὴ χρὴ ποιεῖν*. So I apprehend the sentence should be pointed and thus translated:—"Take courage, said he, Cyrus, no, even though I should never cease gazing upon her, no, I cannot be so far overcome," &c. In all sentences where *οὐ μὴ* occurs, *οὐ* ought to be considered as the repetition of the preceding negative, introduced again to make the negative emphatic. Various other passages, of a similar construction, might be produced from Demosthenes. The construction in the clause, v. 15th, is precisely similar. To give force to the interrogation, the negative is repeated; but it is repeated, as in the passage quoted from Xenophon, upon account of the intervening and adversative expression, *παρὰ τοῦτο*. I would therefore point and translate the passage thus:—*οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο — οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος*; Is it not, contrary to this assertion, or, *on the contrary*, is it not a part of the body? This mode of pointing and translating the passage, adds greatly to the force and beauty of the Apostle's expression.

GEORGE DUNBAR.

COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH, January 1846.

2. ON ECCLESIASTICUS, CHAP. XXXVII. VERSE 11.

In the book of Eccles. (LXX.) ch. XXXVII. v. 11, we find: *δὸς εὐωδίαν καὶ μνημόσυνον σεμιδάλεω, καὶ λίπανον προσφορὰν ὡς μὴ ὑπάρχων*; the latter part of which is closely enough rendered in our version: "make a fat offering, as not being." For *ὑπάρχων* I would propose *ἀπαρχῶν*, and render it, "make a fat offering as not of first-fruits."

O. R.

3. ON THE GREEK LIQUIDS, AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE DIGAMMA.

I HAVE so long entertained a theory respecting the Greek liquids, and have so long tested it by observation, that it may be a mere hobby or a mare's nest certainly, but I am inclined to think, with some modifications, it will be found eventually to hold good.

I had continually observed, in common with other persons, the fact, that a *short* syllable preceding a liquid (whether in the beginning or the middle of a word) was made *long*, even when that syllable was in Thesis.

I had observed, that the Attic Scenic Poets retained this practice in the single instance of the liquid ρ , whereas it was common to all in Homer.

I then observed, that words or syllables beginning with any of the liquids, were continually to be found with a consonant *prefixed* or *affixed*, and sometimes omitting the liquid, and retaining the inserted consonant. I found that the phasis of this consonant varied (apparently euphoniæ gratiâ) with the liquid; and sometimes it appeared as β (in $\beta\rho\acute{o}\delta\omicron\nu$), as γ (in $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, *lac*), as δ (in $\delta\nu\omicron\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$). But I remembered that these three forms β . γ . δ . comprised *all* the mutes; and I further expected to find (and found *almost* all, if not all) all the mutes prefixed or affixed to liquids, and not being radical letters of the word.

The conclusion I came to was, that *all liquids* were pronounced (hard or soft according to circumstances) with some mute before or after them, just as still is the case in Welsh with *Ll*.

My reason for believing these inserted letters to be different forms of the digamma, is merely, that undoubted proof can be given of the digamma assuming in other cases the several forms in which it is supposed to appear with liquids, and it is the only letter we know of, that is in Homer's time omitted or inserted apparently *ad libitum*,—as is the case with these liquids and their satellites.

I subjoin some strong instances that occur to me.

β .— $\beta\rho\acute{o}\delta\omicron\nu$ — $\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$. The original word was $\mu\omicron\rho\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, (mors, murder), $\mu\beta\omicron\rho\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ or $\beta\mu\omicron\rho\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$. Omit the *liquid*, $\beta\omicron\rho\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, metath. $\beta\rho\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\rho\tau\acute{o}\varsigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\mu\beta\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$. So $\beta\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$ was originally $\mu\omicron\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$, ($\epsilon\mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$), $\mu\beta\omicron\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$, $\beta\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega$, $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi$, = $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\mu\beta\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$.

γ .— $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$. From $\lambda\alpha\gamma$, *lac*, $\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\gamma$, ($\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$).

δ .— $\delta\nu\omicron\phi\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$. (Buttmann, $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$).

θ .—is *indirectly* the strongest possible evidence for this theory. All the words beginning with θ are followed by a liquid (if by any consonant at all) with or without the intervention of a vowel. The exceptions are a *very few* words with (*that* correlative of the di-

gamma) σ or π , in which latter case, I believe, it is a merely euphonic metathesis, such as $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\psi\omega$ from $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\phi\omega$. Open your Lexicon under θ , and you must be convinced that the Greeks had occasionally the present Welsh pronunciation of *Th* before *all* liquids.

κ.— $\kappa\acute{\nu}\epsilon\phi\alpha\tau$, $\kappa\acute{\mu}\epsilon\lambda\alpha\theta\rho\omicron\nu$, $\kappa\acute{\mu}\epsilon\lambda\alpha\rho$, or $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$. Buttman's *Lexilogus*.

π.— $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$ for $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\alpha$ = *immanitas*, unkindness, (or $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$.)

σ.— $\sigma\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\zeta$, $\sigma\mu\iota\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$.

τ.—cognate with δ and θ .

φ.—The same holds good of ϕ , as of θ . Look at any Lexicon, and nearly every word will give an instance of its affinity to liquids; no other consonants follow it.

χ.— $\chi\lambda\iota\alpha\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$. See Buttman in voc. $\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\zeta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$.

The others are double letters.

C. J. ABRAHAM.

ETON COLLEGE, Feb. 21. 1846.

4. ARISTOPHANICA.

Aristophanes, *Waspi*, l. 524.—BΔ. $\text{Εἰπέ μοι, τί δ' ἦν, τὸ δεῖνα, τῇ διαίτῃ μὴ 'μμένῃς;}$

In this line the student is very apt to be misled as to the proper meaning of $\tauὸ \text{δεῖνα}$. Mitchell, in his note, gives "*Malum*, with a mischief to you;" Voss. "*Zum Unglücke*, unfortunately." In some Latin translations it is omitted altogether; in others, *malum* is given; and in some older editions, *poenam* is the force implied. Mitchell, however, in continuation, correctly observes, that "Schneider and Passow consider it an expression equivalent to the German *Ding*, Italian *cosa*, and French *chose*." Lexicographers generally interpret this Athenian colloquial expression, $\text{δεῖνα}=\acute{\delta}, \acute{\eta}, \tauὸ$,—such a one,—what's his name, some one. And if I may venture a derivation, I should imagine it to be connected with the verb $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega$, to see, in its 2d aor. $\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, and so might be best Englished by, "*let me see*."

We thus at once come to the correct translation of the line, particularly when we consider the relative characters represented on the stage. The father being, in his own opinion, deeply learned in law, while the son, disgusted at the judicial extravagancies of the old gentleman, and pretending utter ignorance of legal terms, *loquitur* :—

"Tell me, but what if you don't abide by the—what do you call the thing,—ah,—the arbitration?"

As if the use of the word $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\iota\tau\alpha$, for public arbitration, had escaped his memory. The line would be properly printed thus,—

$\text{Εἰπέ μοι, τί δὴν—τὸ δεῖνα—τῇ διαίτῃ μὴ 'μμένῃς;}$

Aristoph. *Wasps*, l. 307.

ἔχεις ἐλ—

πίδα χρηστήν τινα νῦν ἢ

“πόρον” Ἑλλαν ἱρὸν” εἰπεῖν ;—

In this passage again, Mr Mitchell, as well as the Scholiast, would lead the student wrong. The former remarks, that “Aristophanes, quoting Pindar, plays on the two meanings of the word πόρος, primarily, a *pass* or *bridge*, and secondarily, *resource*, *income* ;” mistranslating the passage, “Have you a resource to mention, (Helle had a sacred one),” while he fancifully subjoins from his poetical version,

“Over the water and over the sea,

There’s a path made for Helle, but none made for me!”

The Scholiast explains it as a play upon the words πόρον and πορισμόν.

Now, if we look again at the relative characters represented on the stage, the meaning will seem simple and easy ; the boy asks his father, if he has any good hope to tell him of being able to procure a breakfast for themselves, or, must he just go drown himself? But being at that period of life, when the youth of Athens were engaged in the second branch of their education, μουσική, in his fourteenth year, when the poets were the subject of study, instead of asking his father in plain terms, he quotes from his lesson in Pindar, “is it a case of *Helle’s sacred strait*?” Simply hinting, that if he can get nothing to eat, he may as well share the fate of Helle, go drown himself, as die of hunger. Our author, though often enough guilty of a play upon words, is not so in this case.

Aristoph. *Wasps*, l. 325.—τὸν Σέλλου—

the son of Sellus, as it is generally translated, and from the context, understood to be one of the name of Æschines. Now I would rather hold the person here referred to, to be the Socratic Æschines, mentioned by Diogenes Laertius and Suidas, as the son of a sausage-seller, by name either Charinus or Lysamas, and understood σελλός to be a by-name, applied at Athens either to the very poor, (as poor as a Sellus, or priest of Dodona); or to those who boasted themselves rich, while in reality they were in abject poverty,—nobodies pretending to be somebodies, *smoky-fellows*, as they were also called, καπνοὶ καπνώδεις τὴν φύσιν ; therefore translating this passage, “the son of a Sellus.” Which opinion is farther strengthened by l. 459, where the same person is called “the son of Sellartius ;” which I would render, “the son of a perfect Sellus.” It is also just possible that σελλός may have some connection with σελας, and bear to be Englished, “a *flashy-fellow*.”

Aristoph. *Acharnians*, l. 879.—*πυκτίδας*.

In the heterogeneous catalogue of the hale and hearty Bœotian's marketable commodities, are found *pyktids*, in conjunction with a list of many animals wild and tame; it is rendered by Mitchell, *beavers*; and lexicographers give it as some animal, the modern name of which is unknown. Now we have no zoological authority for its being an animal at all, although it may have been a provincial name for one. The word is now known to us only as signifying, *folding writing tablets*, and we may suppose a play of words is here intended, such as is by no means uncommon in Aristophanes, between *πυκτίδας* and *ικτίδας*, which may also be tolerably kept up in our own language, by rendering it thus, "*easels and weasels*." As the article in question, moreover, was not likely to be in much request among the *hunic* Bœotian multitude, it may imply a hit at their ancient reproach. The animal *τροχιλος*, mentioned in the same category, is most probably the *ficedula* or *beccafica*, certainly not the wren, as often translated, though whether that bird act as the crocodile's tooth-pick, which Herodotus and Aristotle would have us to believe, is a matter of doubt.

W. B. M.

VIII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

ARISTOPHANIS RANÆ. Emendavit et interpretatus est F. V. Fritzsche.
Turici, 1845. 8vo. London: Williams & Norgate.

M. FRITZSCHE has been long favourably known in the classical world by some editions of Lucian's Dialogues, a Dissertation on the *Lenœa*, &c.; indeed, the notes to his present work, bear ample testimony to his Lucianic studies. In his preface, he tells us that he has devoted more time to this single play of Aristophanes, than certain other editors have done to the whole works of that author; and when we look at the bulk of his Commentary, which consists of 450 closely printed 8vo pages of Latin notes, we can readily believe him. If M. Fritzsche had devoted still further time to his task, he might have succeeded in making his book smaller, and at the same time, more valuable. Not the least duty of a writer, and especially of a commentator, is that of abridgement. In the present case, the accompaniment drowns the air. This has arisen partly from M. Fritzsche considering the play as a series of ænigmas; partly from his scrupulousness in

assigning to every former commentator that which belongs to him ; and partly from his taking occasion, by the way, to give emendations and remarks on other authors. Of these reasons, the first we take to be exaggerated ; the last, if not positively inadmissible, should at least be very sparingly presumed upon. The day is, we trust, fast going by, in this country at least, in which comments intended chiefly to display the writer's own learning or ingenuity, will be tolerated. Let editors recollect that all we want of them, is to understand the author whom they propose to illustrate. We do not read the book for the sake of the commentary, but of the text.

Amongst the notes which might well have been spared, is one of five pages on the well-known line of Euripides' Hippolytus, ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμωμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρήν ἀνώμοτος, which M. F. undertakes to justify, on the ground that *id demum juratum est quod mens conceperit* ; a true Jesuit doctrine, which might justify any sort of mental reservation, and of which we have recently had but too many pitiable examples. It by no means follows, as M. F. asserts, from Hippolytus' remark to the nurse, v. 608, (τί δ' εἶπερ ὦν φῆς μηδὲν εἰρηκας κάκον), that he had made any conditions ; in fact, it is *after* this remark, that she reminds him of his oath. If M. F. was right, he proves too much, for if Hippolytus was really not bound by the oath, it was the duty of that chaste and pious young man—the Joseph Surface of Greek tragedy, with his own praises always in his own mouth—to have communicated the matter to his father. M. F. himself raises this difficulty, but does not solve it. In fact, the attempt to justify the line, is refuted by Euripides himself, who, after all, makes Hippolytus keep his oath. The ridicule of Aristophanes is, however, rather directed against the absurdity than the wickedness of the line ; viz. that the tongue should be competent to swear, without the participation of the mind.

We frankly confess that we have not had phlegm enough to read M. Fritzsche's volume of commentary through, and can therefore only offer a stray sample or two of his readings and emendations. One of the most striking of the latter, is that of the *scabrous* passage, which meets us on the very threshold of the play, (v. 12, foll.) and which M. F. corrects as follows :—

τί δῆτ' ἔδει με ταῦτα τὰ σκεύη φέρειν
εἶπερ ποιήσω μηδὲν ὥσπερ Φρύνιχον
εἴωθε ποιεῖν καὶ Λυκισκαμειψίας
σκευηφόρους ἐκάστοτ' ἐν κωμῳδίῃ ;

We are half afraid of criticising this emendation, after the eulogium which M. F. himself passes on it : "Jam totus locus recte emendatus *splendebit*." To speak boldly, however, we have some doubts whether its splendour be not of a false water. Indeed, we confess that we

should hardly have been able to construe the words as they stand, without the assistance of M. F., being puzzled by the syntax, εἴπερ ποιήσω μηδὲν ὥσπερ Φρύνιχος εἶωθε ποιεῖν σκευηφόρους. Here is M. F.'s version: "Quid tandem oportebat me has sarcinas ferre si non licet poetari eo modo quo Phrynichus et Ameipsias fere semper inducere solebant bajulos in comœdia." Here the difficulty in M. F.'s Greek is attempted to be got over in his Latin, by shuffling the terms, and making ποιεῖν do double duty, first as poetari, and then as inducere. Before we emend an author, it is necessary to understand the context. Putting aside the absurdity of making Xanthias stand for Aristophanes, and talk about poetizing, and not to mention that we should at all events want εἴπερ ποιήσω μηδένα, and not μηδέν, the answer of Bacchus plainly shews that Xanthias could not have used the verb ποιεῖν in the sense of poetari; for, says he, — μή νυν ποιήσης, ὥς ἐγὼ θεώμενος ὅταν τι τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων ἴδω, κ. τ. λ., plainly alluding to something done and acted on the stage. But, proceeds M. F.—"Luce clarius est scribi omnino non potuisse, 'εἴπερ ποιήσω μηδὲν ἄνπερ Φρυνίχου κ' Αμειψίου σκευοφόροι ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν.' Nam etsi Xanthias bajulus cum aliis bajulis videbatur comparandus esse, ipsorum tamen poetarum ineptiæ, non bajulorum ab iis inductorum, reprehendi debebant; ita ut Xanthias cum ipsis poetis, non eorum personis, rectissime argutissimeque componatur. Etenim verba εἴπερ ποιήσω μηδέν Xanthias dicit ex animo ipsius Aristophanis." This distinction between the absurdity of a poet and that of his characters, is amusing. According to it, Aristophanes, we may say, here launches no satire against Phrynichus, Lycis, and Ameipsias; it is only their porters whom he is ridiculing, with whose absurdities, the poet who drew them, has nothing to do! We may abuse Phrynichus's porters as long as we please, without casting the slightest reflection upon Phrynichus himself. Again, Xanthias, it appears, here stands for Aristophanes, though anxious to make himself as ridiculous as any porter ever drawn by Phrynichus. This is all we can make of the expression, that he speaks *ex animo ipsius Aristophanis*; and, if it does not mean that, it means nothing; for, in an ordinary sense, every character speaks *ex animo poetæ*. Truly a great compliment to Aristophanes. We take precisely the opposite view of the passage from M. Fritzsche, and think that Aristophanes meant to write exactly what he says it is clearer than light he could not have written. No one can read the scene without observing that Xanthias wishes to be a fac-simile of the porters of Phrynichus and Ameipsias, for the express purpose of giving Bacchus an opportunity to criticise them: what Aristophanes meant to say was, we think, to the following effect, though we do not exactly propose it as an emendation, as the alterations might be considered too violent; though if verses 14. and 15.

had been by some accident transposed, it might be easy to account for the change of the genitives *Φρυνίχου*, &c. into nominatives :

τί δὴτ' ἔδει με ταῦτα τὰ σκεύη φέρειν
εἴπερ ποιήσω μηδὲν ὦνπερ Φρυνίχου
σκευοφόρων ἕκαστος ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ
εἴυθε ποιεῖν καὶ Λύκιδος κ' Ἀμειψίου.

At v. 117, M. F.'s correction *νῦν ὁδόν* for *τῶν ὁδῶν*, is, we think, a happy one. At v. 159, he has shewn that the common interpretation of the words *ὄνος ἄγων μυστήρια* is wrong, viz.: *asinas portans (vehens, ferens) mysteria*. He remarks, very truly, that *μυστήρια* is never said, "*de rebus mysticis quæ tanquam onera transportentur.*" According to him, *μυστήρια ἄγειν* is equivalent to *ἄγειν Λιονύσια*, &c.; and he therefore translates, "*Asinus qui mysteria festum celebrat.*"

They who wish to know every thing that has been, or can be, said, on every line of the *Ranæ*, may consult the edition of M. Fritzsche.

THE LIFE OF HERODOTUS DRAWN OUT FROM HIS BOOK, by Professor Dahlmann. Translated by G. V. Cox, M. A. London, J. W. Parker, 1845. Small 8vo.

WE are delighted at length to see this master-piece of German criticism translated into English, and thus made accessible to all scholars of this country. Dahlmann's Life of Herodotus has been known for years, and been duly valued by those scholars who are conversant with German; and the publication of an English translation, which had been contemplated by the late Mr. Talboys of Oxford, has since been recommended by several competent judges. The present translator, as well as the publisher, therefore deserve the gratitude of English scholars, for having rendered this treasure generally available. The great merits of the little work have been so universally acknowledged, that it is unnecessary for us to bestow any further praise upon it, and we shall, therefore, confine our remarks to the translation, and the notes appended by the translator. The translation is accurate and conscientious, which is a great recommendation in these days, since we are inundated with miserable translations, executed by persons who are just beginning to learn German, and do not scruple to burthen their own ignorance upon the shoulders of the author whom they distort and mutilate. Mr. Cox, however, is not satisfied with the humble office of translator, for he has added a considerable number of foot-notes. We could wish that they were more numerous, but we should have liked them to be of a different kind from what they are; for the dissertations upon the life and writings of Herodotus which

have appeared since the publication of Dahlmann's work, in this country as well as Germany, might have furnished abundant material for interesting notes, and upon some very important questions. But of these, Mr. Cox has taken no notice, and generally speaking, he has confined himself to explaining passages in the text which might be obscure to the English reader. It is only in a few cases that his notes are of a controversial kind, and most of them are on passages where Mr. C. thinks he has caught his author indulging in some heretical religious idea, as note 1, p. 1; note 1, p. 19; note 10, p. 56; note 9, p. 79; and note 4, p. 102. Most of them are futile, and certainly not called for by the remarks in the text. The unfortunate German word *aufklärung*, i. e. clearing up, or enlightenment, in the second of the above notes, seems to be a stumbling-block in the way of our translator, and he cannot pass it without remarking that its real meaning is but too often infidelity; hence an enlightened Christian, in his opinion, cannot be very different from an infidel. Surely it would almost seem as if with some Oxonians, every kind of light was a source of alarm and uneasiness. In a note on p. 55, Mr. Cox, in speaking of Niebuhr the traveller, says: "he *was* considered of high authority on matters of geography." Now Mr. C. either knows something of Niebuhr the traveller, or he knows nothing; and if he knows something, why does he say that Niebuhr *was* considered? and how is it that he is now no longer considered an authority? In a note on p. 111, Mr. C. speaks of Gesenius, the late Professor of Oriental Literature at Halle, as if he were still alive, though Gesenius has been in the grave for nearly four years. In p. 99, note 1, Dahlmann speaks of the Eddas, and Mr. C., apparently unable to find any information upon the Eddas in our own literature, transcribes a passage from the *Conversations Lexicon*, a source of information which Dahlmann will be ashamed to find quoted in his work. Is there no account of the Eddas in the English language equal to that in the *Conversations Lexicon*? We may indeed question the propriety of quoting a German work which has never been translated into English, by an English title, without the addition of the German, as is the invariable practice of Mr. C.; but it is obviously absurd to refer to a German translation of Mitford's Greece, (see p. 35), in a work destined for English readers, who are not likely either to possess or to read Mitford in German.

We admit that all these points are of minor importance; but it cannot be denied that an intelligent translator ought scarcely to treat a great author in this manner, and that the space which Mr. C.'s notes occupy, might have been employed far more profitably.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE GREEK CLASSIC POETS. Designed principally for the use of young persons at School and College. By H. N. Coleridge. Third Edition. London, Murray, 1846. 12mo.

It is a good sign of the times, to see the publication of the third edition of a work which contributes so much to place the study of the ancients, and more especially of the ancient poets, in its right light; and we gladly seize this opportunity of recommending its perusal most heartily to those students of ancient poetry, who are not already familiar with it, and who wish to gain a clear insight into the peculiar nature and beauties of the Greek poetry.

ENGLISH SYNONYMES, Classified and Explained, with Practical Exercises, designed for Schools and Private Tuition. By G. F. Graham, Author of *English, or the Art of Composition*, &c. Longman & Co., 1846. 12mo.

THE publication of this little volume is the first attempt that has been made in this country, to introduce the study of Synonymy into our schools as a branch of practical education, and as such, it deserves every encouragement.

The works hitherto published with the title of Synonymes, whatever be their merits, or the assistance they may afford to those engaged in authorship, are totally unfit for educational purposes, both from their size and want of systematic arrangement. We therefore have an additional motive for giving a favourable reception to one which, while sufficiently comprehensive to be of great use to adults, aims at laying the foundation of an essential branch of knowledge at an earlier period of life. In the book before us, the words compared, are classed under the five distinct heads of Generic and Specific—Active and Passive—Intensive—Positive and Negative—and Miscellaneous, the latter class comprehending words, to the explanation of which, none of the properties of the preceding classes can be strictly applied.

This system of classification, based on sound principles, is a feature in the work that distinguishes it from all that have preceded it. Here nature is the guide, which undoubtedly modifies the operations of mind and language, the expression of them, by a law as fixed as that which regulates the corresponding properties and actions of the external world. If not of universal application, it has at least enabled the author to avoid the errors of those who place their sole dependence on etymology and derivation, as a test of the exact modern acceptation of the words of which they treat.

Another great advantage of this arrangement, and one which cannot be too highly valued, is the tendency it has to develop the thinking faculties and promote the spirit of enquiry, by its power of suggesting a rational process by which the learner may at any time fix, with tolerable accuracy, the meaning of any word that may be the subject of doubt. The explanations accompanying each exercise, exhibit the words compared in such a variety of bearings, as to render the distinction perfectly clear; and wherever derivation is available, it has not been neglected. We heartily recommend Mr. Graham's work to the attention of teachers, and to all who consider a correct knowledge of the English language a desirable attainment.

HANDBUCH DER LATEINISCHEN LITTERATURGESCHICHTE. Nach den Quellen bearbeitet von Dr. Reinhold Klotz. Erster Theil, Leipzig, 1846, 8vo. (London; Williams & Norgate.)

A good history of Latin Literature has long been a desideratum, more especially in this country, where there is absolutely no work on this important branch of philology, except Dunlop's work, (published at Edinburgh in 1816, in 3 vols. 8vo), which, although useful in many respects, is yet not a book that can at all satisfy the wants of either the student or the advanced scholar in our days. Germany had long possessed a variety of works on the history of Latin literature, the most popular among which are those of Baehr and Bernhardy. The latter, though very valuable, on account of the philosophical spirit in which it is written, is too brief to satisfy the demands of most readers; and the former, which is indeed of far greater bulk, (especially the third edition, which appeared in 1844 in 2 vols.) is more a compilation than a work based upon independent and philosophical investigation of the ancient authors themselves. Professor Klotz of Leipzig has now undertaken to supply the scholars of Germany with the above mentioned work, which, in his opinion, will satisfy every reasonable demand that can be made on a history of Latin literature. The first volume, which shows that the author means to devote a series of volumes to his subject, consists of four chapters:—1. A general Introduction; 2. a Dissertation upon the sources of a History of Latin Literature, and those modern works from which assistance is to be derived; 3. on the origin of the Latin language; and 4. on the gradual development of the Latin language, and the first beginnings of Latin literature. These four chapters occupy no less than 381 pages; and we have no hesitation in saying, that, if the author had bestowed some care upon the revision and condensation of his work, it would certainly not exceed half its present size. The style is extremely pro-

lix and diffuse, and more like learned gossip, than the deliberate and matured thoughts of a writer, desirous to give to his readers not merely the results of his studies, but also some idea of the process and method by which he has arrived at those results. This carelessness in the composition of the work is further evident from the innumerable repetitions that occur in it.

But let us turn from these mere formal defects, and look at the substance of the work. In the chapter on our resources for a history of Latin literature, Professor Klotz justly insists upon the necessity of distinguishing between external and internal evidence, that is, between the records of others that have come down to us respecting an author, and the evidence that may be derived from his own work or works. The evidence of the latter kind is in most cases the best and most authentic, and frequently serves to correct and complete the former. But when the Professor seems to claim for his work a superior merit on this account, he appears to us to undervalue the labours of his predecessors, all of whom have more or less attended to, and valued both kinds of evidence, though they may not always have set forth the distinction as prominently as he does. In the same chapter, M. Klotz also discusses the merits of all the more important Roman writers, in reference to the information they afford to the historian of Latin literature; he points out the value of each, and shows how far and why each of them may be considered to contain satisfactory information. This part is one of considerable merit, though it is wanting in precision. The list of modern works that are available to an historian of Latin literature is not complete.

In the chapter on the origin of the Latin language, M. Klotz mainly follows the opinion of Grotefend and others, who think that the chief element of the Latin language is Celtic or Teutonic, and that only a very small portion of the early language was a kindred dialect of the Greek, whereas, the later resemblance between the Greek and Latin languages, is regarded as the result of the influence which at a later time the Greek language exercised upon that of the Romans. The author, in order to show the existence of Celts in Latium, draws attention to the fact that the Siculi or Sicani, who are mentioned as the earliest inhabitants of Latium, occur also among the Ligurians; and he is inclined to identify these Siculi or Sicani with the Sequani in Gaul, from whence they migrated southward, settled in Latium, and at length in Sicily, which derived its name from them.

The fourth chapter, on the gradual development of the Latin language, till the time when a real literature sprang up in Latium and Rome, is one of particular interest. It contains discussions on the probable time at which the Latins became acquainted with the art of writing, which the author considers to have been known to the Ro-

mans in the reign of their earliest kings; on the purposes for which writing was used in those early times, and on the earliest literary monuments, those still extant, no less than those which are lost; and each is discussed with considerable minuteness. In regard to the earliest inscriptions and literary monuments that have come down to us, M. Klotz's opinions are not always founded upon personal examination, and must therefore not be taken without caution. He considers, e. g., the marble slabs containing the record of the naval victory of C. Duilius over the Carthaginians, to be the original slabs from the basis of the columna rostrata, whereas there can be no doubt that the inscription on the slabs now existing in the capitol, is a restoration made in the time of the emperors.

The many defects which disfigure this otherwise very useful work, incline us to think, that the author, if he goes on in the same manner as he has begun, will produce a very voluminous, but by no means a satisfactory work. What a good history of literature ought to be, has recently been exemplified in the second volume of Bernhardt's *History of Greek Literature*, which is a real masterwork, and cannot be sufficiently recommended to those who are anxious to gain a deep insight into Greek literature, and the spirit which pervades it.

EUCLID'S ELEMENTS OF GEOMETRY. With Notes, an Introductory Outline of the History of Geometry, and a Selection of Geometrical Exercises. By Robert Potts, M.A., Trinity College. Cambridge, 1845. 8vo.

THE ancient geometry has retained its place as an important branch of general education, from the time when Plato forbade the man ignorant of its truth, to enter his school, to the present day. It deserves this place, not less from the valuable truths it expounds, and the wide field of science to which it forms the key, than from its influence in training the mind to accurate reasoning, and to habits of unremitting attention to the various steps of any argument presented to its notice. Euclid's *Elements* are perhaps the oldest text-book of science in existence; for more than two thousand years, it has formed the manual of the young geometer, and notwithstanding all the objections urged against it, and all the attempts to supersede it, promises to retain its place for many generations of scholars to come. For nearly a century, Dr. Robert Simson's translation has formed the standard text in the English Universities. To this text, Mr. Potts has in general adhered, except in some cases where his own notes show that slight alterations were desirable. The most important change which he has made, is in the mode of arranging the text, the successive steps of the demonstra-

tions being printed in separate paragraphs, so as to exhibit themselves at once to the student. This method seems well adapted to facilitate the progress of the beginner, and to aid him in apprehending the connection of the reasoning, but might, we think, have been advantageously discontinued in the later portions of the work. The introductory sketch of the origin and progress of the science of geometry, may be useful to the student, as pointing out the various steps by which the science has attained its present state of perfection. We should, however, have preferred this dissertation, had it omitted the names of several individuals, of whom little or nothing is known, and entered more fully on some of the interesting problems of the early history of geometry. Of this kind, is the relative merits of the Egyptians and Greeks, as the discoverers of this science, and the traces of a more profound knowledge of its principles that have been observed in the ancient sacred literature of the East. The claims of Sir Gardiner Wilkinson for the Egyptians, are not to be set aside on the mere affirmation of the Greek historians, whose good faith is the very matter in dispute. The merits of Euclid also deserve a fuller elucidation, and we are not satisfied with describing him as the "*compiler and improver* of the Elements of Geometry." History indeed shows that he received many, perhaps most of the propositions from his predecessors; but the classification of geometrical truths as an harmonious and connected system, seems to us a work of far higher merit, and requiring a mind of more elevated and philosophic cast, than the mere discovery of independent theorems and problems. Now, to this merit we think Euclid has strong claims, both from the statements of Proclus, and from the internal evidence of the book, which exhibits a unity and compactness in its various parts inconsistent with its being the work of a mere compiler.

The notes which Mr Potts has attached to the various books, appear, so far as we have examined them, judicious, and well fitted to smooth some difficulties which the student may find in his way. As already remarked, they often suggest improvements which we should have been better pleased to have seen in the text. Mr. Potts assigns experience as the basis on which our belief of the geometrical axioms rests, and consequently as the foundation of the whole science. In this theory we can by no means coincide, as it seems to destroy the certainty of our favourite science, and to reduce its necessary and immutable truths to the rank of merely contingent and probable facts. This, however, is a question of mathematical metaphysics, on which this is no place to enlarge; and we shall conclude by recommending this, as a useful and elegant edition of the Greek Geometer, to those who prefer the text of Simson to the later recension of Playfair. Teachers will find the selection of exercises from the Cambridge Examination Papers exceedingly convenient.

ELEMENTARY GRAMMAR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE. With a Series of Latin and English Exercises for Translation, and a Collection of Latin Reading Lessons, with the requisite Vocabularies. By Dr. Raphael Kühner. Translated from the German by J. T. Champlin. Boston, 1845. 8vo.

THIS is an American translation of the second Edition of the original work, which is intended to be an introduction to the larger Latin Grammar, by the same author. The characteristic feature of this Elementary Grammar, is the plan by which, from the very outset, the learner is trained to translate from Latin into English, and from English into Latin, each chapter having its corresponding sets of Exercises. Of course, verbs are immediately required for this, and a succession of lessons increasing in difficulty. Of Etymology, there are accordingly three courses. In the first, after treating of the sounds and letters, and of syllables, the Grammar takes up, at the very first, a partial treatment of the verb, giving the present indicative, active and passive, and the imperative active of the four conjugations. This renders translation immediately available. Then follows a chapter on the substantive and adjective; and then four chapters on the adverb, (why introduced here, we cannot see, as nothing follows in the way of exercise), the pronoun, numerals, and a table of prepositions, complete the first course, the necessary exercises and remarks on syntax being introduced. The second course enters into details regarding nouns, principally as to speciality of declension, and genders. In the third course, we have three chapters, one on the verb, one containing a few remarks on prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections, and a third on the formation of words. The syntax next follows, first of simple, then of compound sentences. The American edition has added the appendix, without the exercises that are interspersed throughout the rest of the work, principally from Kühner's large Grammar, on prosody, on abbreviations, and on the Roman calendar; the whole concluding with a short collection of reading lessons in prose, with the necessary Latin and English, and English and Latin Vocabularies.

The main idea of the work we like exceedingly,—that of interesting the young pupil, and of forming him to intelligent thought, as well as of furnishing his memory, from the beginning. We have seen grammars on a similar plan attempted in this country, though not with the same full developements, and precisely the same plan has long been pursued in many parts of the Continent. This Grammar, besides, gives many proofs of the author's learning and experience as a practical teacher. Still, we must confess, that we do not rate its ex-

cellence so highly as the translator. As in mechanics, what we gain in power we lose in time ; so in a too extensive series of progressive grammatical exercises, what we gain in extent, we lose in the fixing of elementary knowledge. The great defect here seems to be, that the Grammar is not elementary, and it is not full. It infers several years of study, which, in our opinion, would be better spent in gradually acquiring, in a course of reading the best classical authors, the details here prematurely brought forward. At the close of the book, a youth's mind would be fitted, in its maturity, for the advanced study of the more difficult writers, but he would still be translating fables and Cornelius Nepos. There is a palpable inconsistency between the things required of him to understand in the subtleness of syntactical distinction, and the work required to be done in the way of reaping fruit from his labour, as a gleaner in the great harvest of antiquity.

Considering this as an elementary work, we had several remarks to make. But so far as the author is concerned, they seem all to revolve into this cardinal error, so natural to a book which is necessarily intended for the study of a number of years ; the writer does not well know how to distinguish between the simplicity necessary for the very young, and the fulness necessary for the more mature. We shall give an illustration or two. The definition of a verb is thus given. "The verb expresses an *action*, (something which an object *does*), as : *to bloom, to dance, to sleep, to love, to praise*, e. g. the rose *blooms* ; the boy *dances* ; the child *sleeps* ; God *loves* men ; the teacher *praises* the scholars." (p. 15). This is the elementary notion given of the verb, by the very author who, in his Greek Grammar, says, "The verb expresses the notion of an *ENERGY, ACTION, OR STATE*, and this action (?) is conceived of as one of these three motions or directions in space—*whither, whence, where*." (Jelf. p. 8). Supposing it necessary, from the age of the pupil, to give so defective a notion of the verb, surely such useless minuteness as this is not necessary in the very first course. "Masculine are *dies, a day*, and *meridies*, mid-day ; yet *dies* in the singular is *feminine*, when it signifies a *definite day, a day fixed upon*, or appointed, as : *dies dicta, dies constituta, a day appointed* ; also when it signifies length of time, as *dies perexigua*, a very short space ; still, in both these meanings, it is sometimes used as *masculine*." (p. 35). A reference to supposed progress will mar the classification. Thus, we find most of the Tenses and Modes of the Verbs which belong to etymology, thrust into the syntax. (p. 219). In regimen, we approve of the plan followed by our author, of taking all the words that govern the different cases, in one view. This is at once philosophical, and more likely to impress the memory. But it is essential in an elementary work, that the rules should be such as can

be easily learned by boys at the time of life when they generally are set to such work. Think of the dismay with which a boy would commence the learning of such a rule as the following: "The genitive with *esse*, signifies: a.) the object (person or thing), in which something is *inherent*, or to which something *belongs*, (possessive genitive): b.) the object to which something is *peculiar*, in which case that which is peculiar to the object is commonly expressed in the infinitive: this last genitive may be translated by, It is the *part, manner, custom, characteristic, duty, sign, mark* of some one; it is *incumbent on one*, and the like. *Hic liber fratris mei est*, (belongs to my brother). *Petulantia est adolescentium*, is inherent in. *Imbecilli animi est superstitio*, belongs to. *Virorum fortium est*, toleranter dolorem pati."

The translator seems to have executed his part fairly, except in the typography, which is very faulty. There are some odd uses of words, as that of *indeed*, for especially. "The ablative expresses the measure and *indeed*: a. In answer," &c. (p. 112). We do not understand how, when writing for English youths, he should admit such a rule of syntax as the following: "The conjunction *quominus*, with the subjunctive, stands after the verbs and phrases, which signify a hindrance, and is to be translated into English by *that*," (p. 112.) since this is accompanied by a foot-note: "Or more elegantly, often, by the prepositions, *of, from, to*, with a corresponding modification of the words which stand in connection with it." But the same remark is repeated, p. 271. Surely, the meaning of *quominus* is *so that not*, while the idiom of the English language absolutely requires a modification of expression in most instances. The English imperfect, is said to correspond to the Latin historical perfect, and the English perfect to the Latin proper perfect. (p. 220). But it would have been better to have introduced this at once into the verb, *Amavi, I loved*, or *I have loved*. The list of verbs that govern the dative is ludicrously scanty. Why make such a statement as this? "The following verbs take the *dative* in Latin; while in English, they take the *accusative*: *nubo, parco, benedico—maledico, supplico—obtrecto, studeo—arrideo*," (Eng. accus.?) "*invideo, persuadeo, medeor, and patrocino*." (p. 234). Since we have *sub, ob, ad, in, and per*, we could swell the list with words compounded with prepositions; but waving these, why not *suadeo, impero, satisfacio, pareo, minor*, and a host of others, making such a list worse than useless? We doubt, however, whether our vernacular ever boasted of any thing superior to the following gender rules, accurately taken from p. 21.

- " 1. Nations, men, rivers, winds,
These and months are *masculines*.

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2. Women, isles, lands, trees, and town'
These as *feminine* are found.
3. Whatever cannot be declined
This is of the *neuter* kind.
4. *Common* is whatever can
Include a woman and a man."

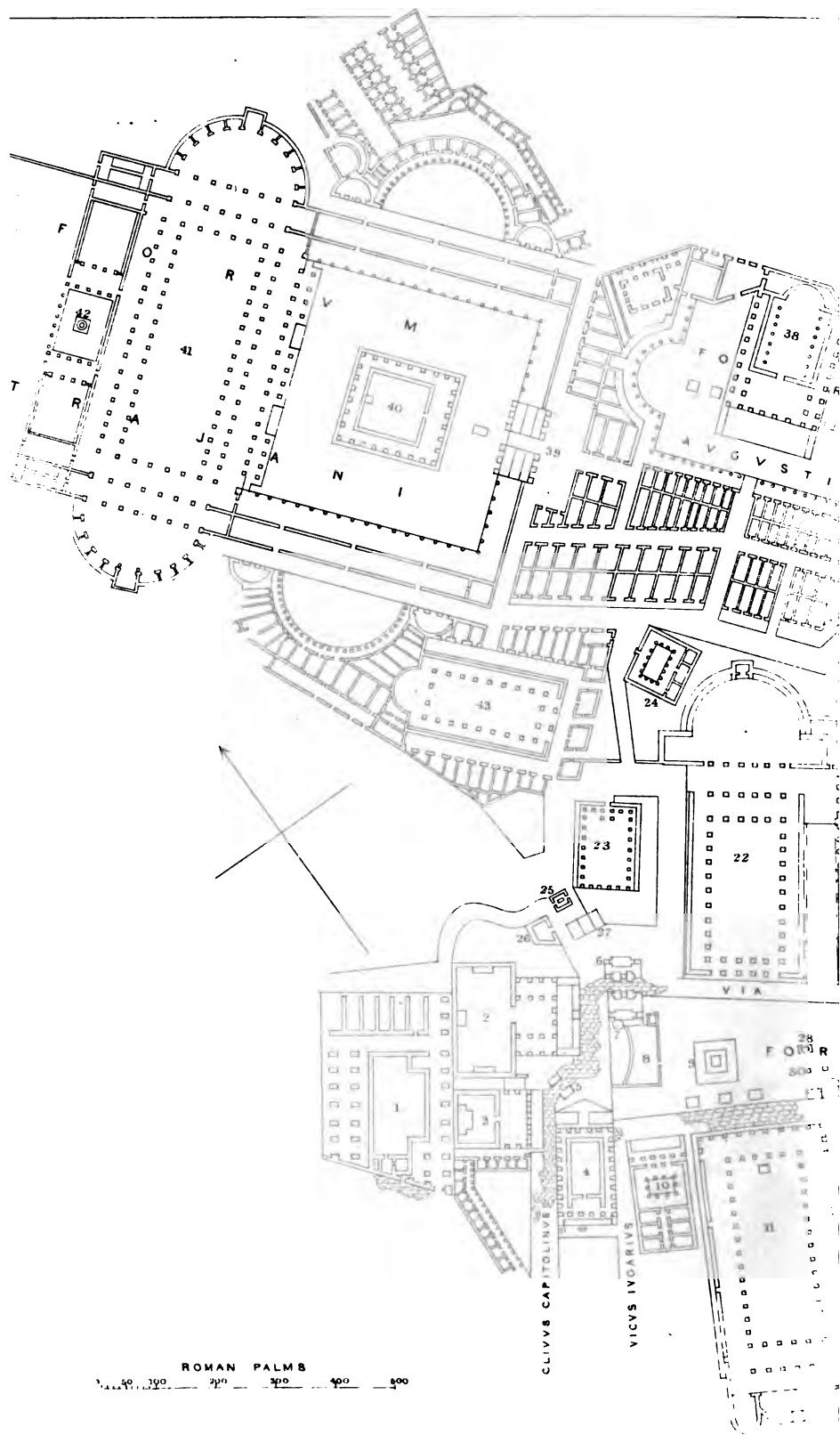
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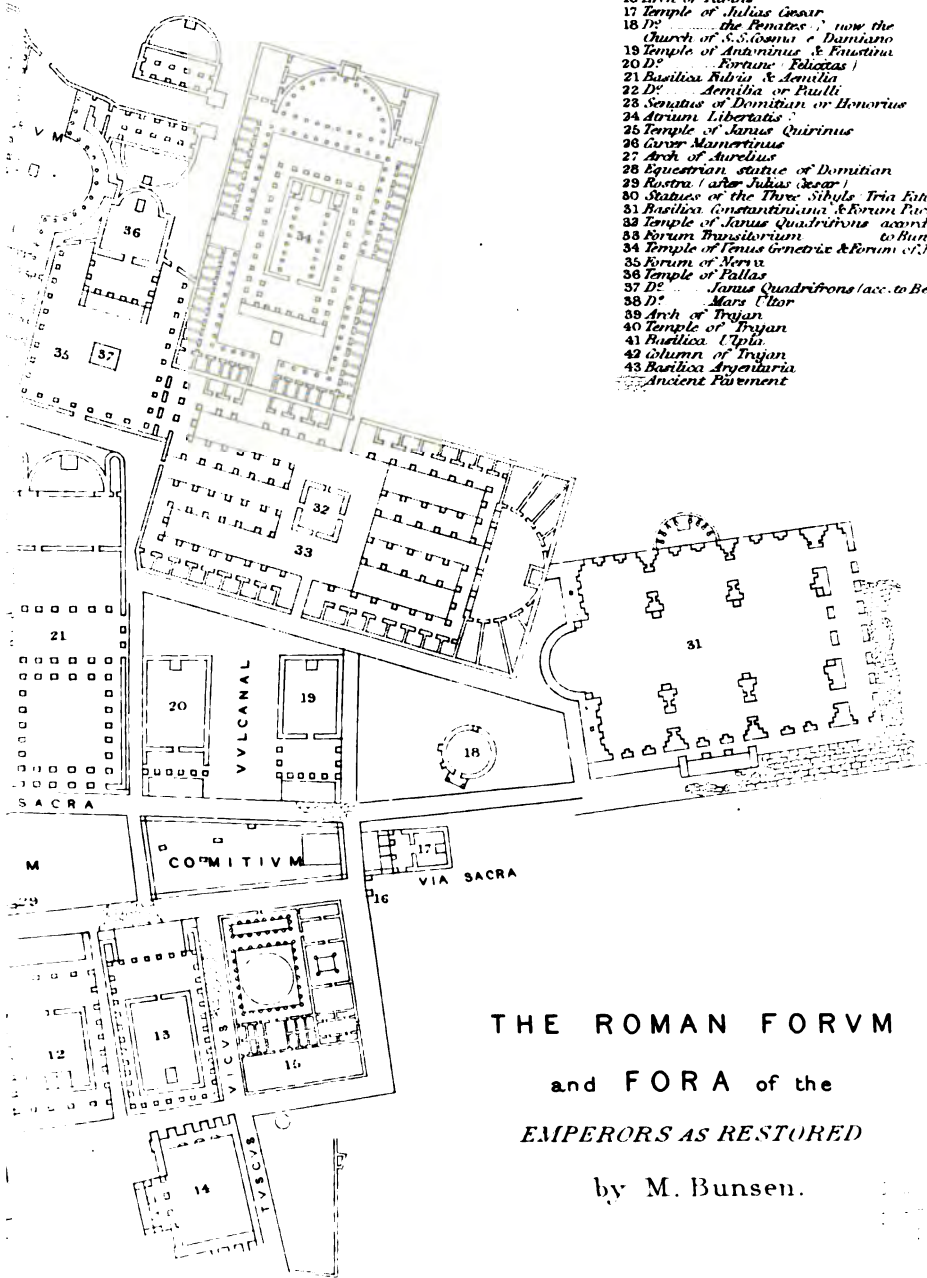
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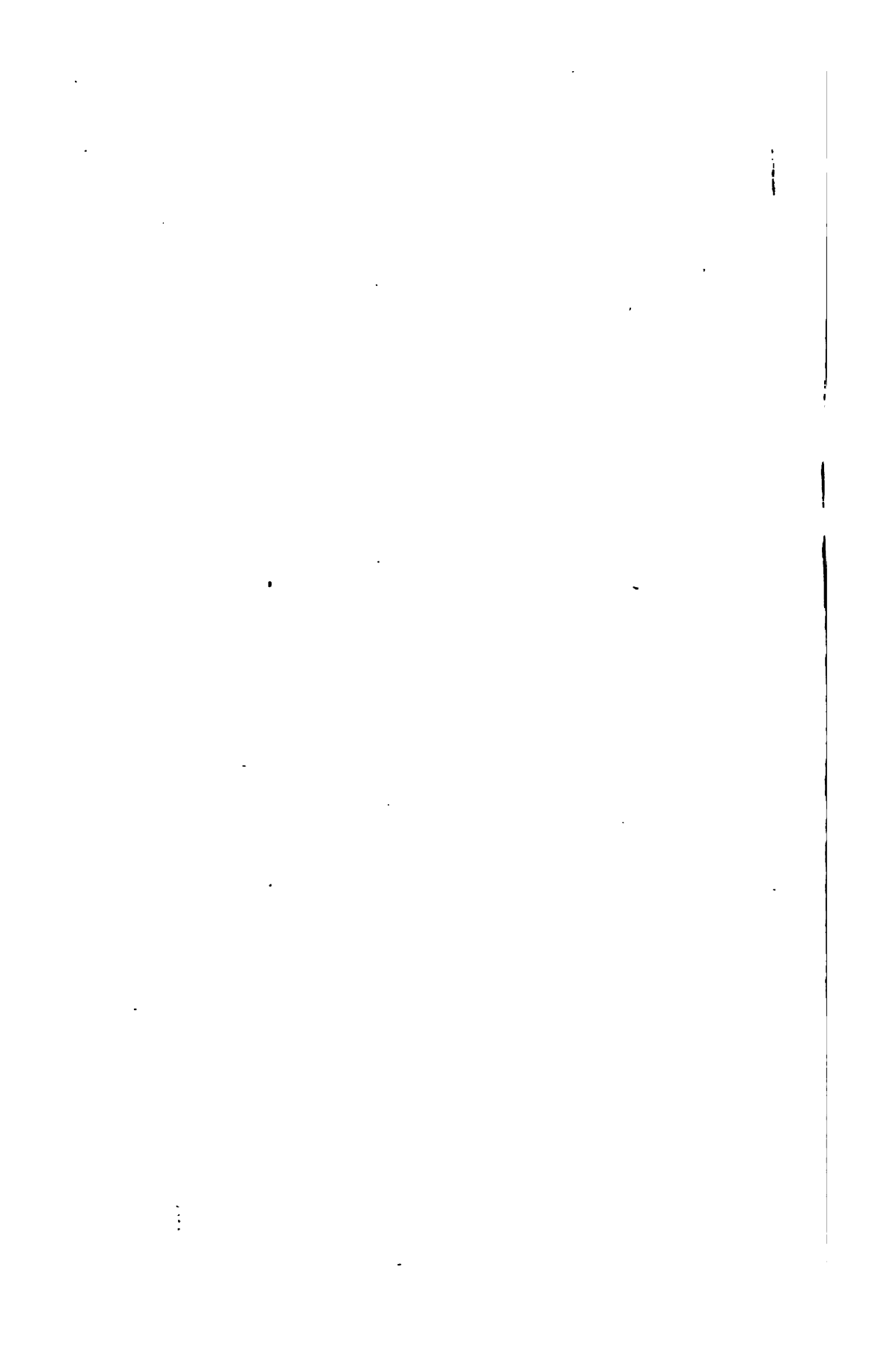




- 1 Tabularium
- 2 Temple of Concord
- 3 D^o Saturn
- 4 D^o Jupiter
- 5 Arch of Tiberius
- 6 D^o Saturnus
- 7 Milliarium Aureum
- 8 Forum Flavianum
- 9 Column of Phocas
- 10 Constantinian Forum
- 11 Basilica Julia
- 12 Temple of Castor and Pollux
- 13 D^o Minerva (Chalcidica site of Curia Julia according to Gilling and Becker)
- 14 Basilica Julia (according to Bunsen)
- 15 Temple of Vesta with its appurtenances
- 16 Arch of Atrium
- 17 Temple of Julius Caesar
- 18 D^o Venus (now the Church of S. Silvestro e Damiano)
- 19 Temple of Antoninus & Faustina
- 20 D^o Antoninus & Faustina
- 21 Basilica Julia & Antonia
- 22 D^o Antonia or Paullina
- 23 Temple of Domitian or Honorius
- 24 Forum Libertatis
- 25 Temple of Janus Quirinus
- 26 Curia Martiana
- 27 Arch of Atrium
- 28 Equestrian statue of Domitian
- 29 Forum (after Julius Caesar)
- 30 Statue of the Three Sibyls, Tria Fata
- 31 Basilica Constantiniana & Forum Paule
- 32 Temple of Janus Quadrifrons according to Bunsen
- 33 Forum Traianum
- 34 Temple of Venus Genetrix & Forum of Julia
- 35 Forum of Nerva
- 36 Temple of Follas
- 37 D^o Janus Quadrifrons (acc. to Becker)
- 38 D^o Mars Ultor
- 39 Arch of Trajan
- 40 Temple of Trajan
- 41 Basilica Ulpia
- 42 Column of Trajan
- 43 Basilica Atriana
- 44 Ancient Pavement

THE ROMAN FORVM and FORA of the EMPERORS AS RESTORED

by M. Bunsen.



THE CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

X.

ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ROME.

PART III.

5.—THE FORA OF THE EMPERORS.

WE have seen that the Roman Forum had undergone no change in its position or extent from the earliest times to the end of the republican period. It had indeed long ceased to be the scene where the Comitia for the election of magistrates were held; but it must still have been found very inadequate for the various purposes which it was destined to serve, when the population of the city, and the amount of judicial business transacted at Rome, had increased to so enormous an extent. The pressure of the latter evil had been indeed considerably lightened by the construction of the numerous basilicas already mentioned, but it was nevertheless severely felt; and hence, among the various plans early devised by Julius Cæsar, for the improvement of the city, was that of the construction of a new forum, which should be wholly and exclusively devoted to judicial objects. This work, though apparently commenced by him before the breaking out of the civil war, was not completed at the time of his death, but was terminated, together with many others of his plans, by Augustus. Not many years, however, elapsed before the new master of the Roman world found himself compelled to follow the example of his predecessor, and Augustus himself constructed a third forum, destined, like that of Cæsar, for judicial and not for political purposes, and surpassing that of the dictator both in extent and magnificence.

Both these new structures were adorned with splendid temples : the one dedicated by Cæsar to Venus Genetrix, the reputed parent of the Julian Family; the other, by Augustus to Mars Ultor, the avenging deity who had aided him on the plains of Philippi. It was some time before the example thus set was again followed. Domitian appears to have been the first who conceived the idea of connecting these two fora with the noble structure of the temple of Peace already erected by his father, so as to combine them into one magnificent whole; perhaps also he already entertained the project of continuing the series in the direction of the Campus Martius.¹ But he lived to accomplish a small part only of this extensive scheme; which was however carried out by his immediate successors in a manner probably far exceeding all that he had contemplated. A small forum which he had himself nearly completed, was consecrated by Nerva, whose name it consequently bore, though frequently distinguished also as the Forum Palladis, or Palladium, from a temple of Minerva, which formed its most conspicuous ornament. But all former works of this kind were altogether eclipsed by the magnificent Forum of Trajan, which extended from that of Augustus, between the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, until it almost joined the great works of Cæsar and Agrippa in the Campus Martius. Such was the extent of this crowning glory of the Imperial magnificence, that, as M. Bunsen has observed, the church of St. Peter's and the Coliseum might both have found place within its precincts. Yet the area thus appropriated had in part to be gained by cutting down the surrounding hills; and immense obstructions on both sides, but especially on that of the Quirinal, attest at the present day the extent of these gigantic labours.

The series of magnificent structures thus raised by successive emperors, has probably never been surpassed in point of archi-

¹ This seems the only way to explain the strange expression of Aurelius Victor concerning the great works of Trajan: "Adhuc Romæ a Domitiano coepta fora, atque alia multa, plusquam magnifice coluit ornavitque." *De Caesaribus*, c. 13. Some such expression as this must have given rise to the startling statement of Camodorus and the other

chroniclers, who mention the *Forum Trajani* among the public works of *Domitian*! It seems scarcely possible that the confusion which we know to have existed in the middle ages, should have begun at so early a period; and that the Forum of *Nerva* should be that meant.

tectural splendour; but they are of comparatively little interest to the scholar, from the absence of all those ennobling associations which have hallowed the precincts of the Republican Forum. Still they formed so important a feature in the Imperial city, the ruins of them remaining at the present day will necessarily attract so much of the attention of every one who visits Rome, that it is impossible to pass them over without examination. Two attempts have recently been made, by collecting together the notices we find in ancient writers, and comparing them with the still existing remains, and with those of which the memory has been preserved to us as extant at a late period, to restore, as far as possible, the form and arrangement of these monuments of imperial greatness. The one of these we owe to M. Canina, whose architectural attainments have here been of the greatest advantage; while M. Becker, who has adopted his views on this subject almost without alteration, has illustrated them from the ancient writers with great learning and ability. The other system is that of M. Bunsen, which he has brought forward as a sort of sequel to that elaborate restoration of the Roman Forum, the leading points of which have been already discussed. If his efforts in the present case seem less successful, it is but justice to him to bear in mind that they are only put forth as an attempt, and with a very just sense both of the difficulty of the undertaking, and the uncertainty of the results obtained. In this respect, the tone adopted both by him and by M. Canina, presents a most agreeable contrast to that which has unfortunately marked the controversy between MM. Becker and Urlichs. I shall endeavour to state, as briefly as I can, the outlines of both systems, and the leading arguments advanced by their supporters. It will be readily seen that those on neither side can be considered as entirely conclusive; and the decision of the question can only be looked for from future excavations, unfortunately rendered very difficult by the new streets and masses of houses which have grown up here since the days of the earlier topographers. Much that even Palladio still saw, has since utterly perished: much more which could then have been explored and laid open with comparative ease, is now buried, it is to be feared, for ever.

It will be convenient to deviate from a chronological arrangement, in order to begin from what we are fortunately able

to regard as a fixed point—the Forum of Augustus. All antiquarians are now agreed in recognizing in the noble ruins adjoining the Arco dei Pantani,² the remains of the temple of Mars Ultor, which, as already mentioned, constituted the principal ornament of that Forum.³ This view was already put forward by Palladio, in whose days the whole subject was rendered much more easily intelligible by the remains still existing of the temple of Minerva, which belonged to the Forum Palladium:⁴ and it is perhaps the most inexcusable of all the errors of Nardini, that he confounded these remains with those at the Arco dei Pantani, and thus assigned the latter to the Forum of Nerva, instead of that of Augustus. Yet this blunder was followed as implicitly as most others of the same author, by all succeeding writers down to our own days. Piale was the first in modern times who cleared up this confusion, and returned to the opinion of Palladio.⁵ The subject was afterwards fully examined in a masterly dissertation by Niebuhr, in the third volume of the *Beschreibung*.

The extent of the Forum of Augustus towards the south, is not clearly defined; but it seems certain that it did not reach so far as to communicate with the Roman Forum. The inter-

² These ruins (still commonly known as those of the Forum of Nerva) are regarded by the earliest topographers as those of the *palace of Nerva*, (palatium Nervæ,) an appellation which appears to have been derived from the middle ages. In the *Mirabilia* we find “Palatium cum duobus foris Nervæ,” which may at least as well refer to these ruins with the two Forums of Cæsar and Augustus, as to the temple of Minerva, with the two adjacent Forums, according to M. Bunsen’s explanation. Palatium seems at that period to have been applied to the whole series of buildings which adorned an ancient Forum. Thus we find in the same work “palatium Trajani et Hadriani—ubi est columna miræ altitudinis;” and again, “In palatio Antonini, templum Divi Antonini,”—pp. 292, 293, ed. Montp.

³ This temple must not be confounded with the one erected by Augustus to Mars Ultor, after the recovery of the

standards from the Parthians, which stood in the Capitol. (Dion Cass. liv. 8.) It is the latter, which appears to have been of a circular form and of small size, that appears on the coins of Augustus.

⁴ It stood immediately opposite the half-buried columns, known by the name of the Colonnacce, which, with the portion of the ancient wall adjoining them, are the only vestiges now remaining of the Forum Palladium. The temple itself was destroyed by Pope Paul V. in order to make use of the masses of stone for the fountain of Acqua Paola. Fortunately we have the plan of it preserved to us by Palladio, and a view of the temple, together with the other remains of the Forum by Desgodetz, a copy of which is given among the plates to the *Beschreibung*.

⁵ Del tempio di Marte Ultore, e dei tre fori antichi, di Cesare, di Augusto e di Nerva. 4to. Roma, 1819.

vening space was filled, according to M. Bunsen, only by unimportant buildings, while it is here that M. Canina has placed the Forum of Cæsar. The position thus assigned to the latter, seems to possess a kind of inherent probability, from its immediate contiguity to the original Forum of the Republic, to which it was designed as a sort of subsidiary or accessory, something in the same manner as the Basilicas had previously been; while it seems equally natural, that the Forum of Augustus, which was, in great measure, an extension of the same plan, should also have been adjacent to the one previously constructed. Too much stress certainly must not be laid upon this kind of argument; but it derives an important confirmation from the passage of Ovid, where he describes the temple of Janus, (situated, as already pointed out, at the north-eastern angle of the Roman Forum,) as placed at the junction of, or as itself adjoining, two different Forums.⁶ We cannot indeed, for various reasons, suppose this sanctuary to have been *immediately* adjacent to the Forum of Cæsar; but no latitude of interpretation that can be reasonably allowed, even to a poet, can reconcile this passage with the supposition, that the Forum of *Augustus* is the second of those meant. To this argument, must be added the very important fact recorded by Palladio, of the discovery, in this neighbourhood, of a temple, which, from the *pycorostyle* arrangement of the columns, would accord perfectly with the description given by Vitruvius of the temple of Venus Genitrix, which stood in the Forum of Cæsar. Unfortunately the locality of these remains is not indicated in very precise terms; but the expressions used by Palladio, would seem to point with sufficient clearness to a situation between Marforio,—the spot where the celebrated statue bearing that name was then placed,⁷

“ Cum tot sint Jani cur stas sacratus
in uno,
Hic ubi juncta foris templa duobus
habes.”

I must add, that notwithstanding the strongly expressed warning of M. Bunsen, (*Les Forums de Rome*, p. 1, 2, 10,) it seems to me likely enough that the expression of Ovid in another place,

“ hæc sunt fora Cæsaris,”

may relate to the two fora in question, which were in such immediate juxta-

position, though I am quite willing to allow that we could not safely draw this inference from those words *alone*.

⁷ The name of this statue is considered by M. Bunsen as derived from *Martis Forum*, which he supposes to have meant the Forum of Augustus, distinguished by the temple of Mars Ultor. Tempting as this etymology is, I can hardly bring myself to assent to it: 1st, Because the statue, from the time when we first hear of it, appears

—and the temple of Mars Ultor; thus agreeing precisely with the position, where the arguments already adduced would lead us to place the temple of Venus that adorned the Forum of Cæsar.⁸ The last argument would seem entitled to the more weight, because it is unlikely that there should have existed a temple,—of great splendour, and belonging to the best period of architecture, such as this is described by Palladio to have been,—in the immediate vicinity of the Forum, of which we find no trace in any ancient author; and such is certainly the case with the one in question, if it be not that of Venus Genitrix.

M. Bunsen, on the other hand, has sought a clue to the position of the Forum of Cæsar,—concerning which we have unfortunately no *express* statement, though it is the point upon which the arrangement of all the others mainly depends,—in a well-known passage of Pliny,⁹ in which he mentions that a lotus-tree, situated on the Vulcanal, and supposed to be as ancient as the city of Rome, had extended its roots under the *Stationes Municipiorum*, as far as the Forum of Cæsar. M. Bunsen has assumed (it is not very easy to see why,) that this tree must have driven its roots in a direction *opposite* to that of the Roman Forum,¹⁰ and that the site of which we are in quest,

to have always occupied the same place, near the Carcer Mamertinus, and therefore at a considerable distance from the Forum of Augustus: and *2dly*, because no trace of the name “Martis Forum” is to be found, so far as I am aware, in the middle ages; and all knowledge of the true name and origin of the temple of Mars Ultor, appears to have been early lost. In the *Anonymus* the statue bears the appellation—probably the correct one—of “Tiberis.”

⁸ I certainly cannot believe with M. Bunsen, that the remains of this temple could have been situated near the church of S. Quirico. Such a position would naturally have been described by Palladio, as “dictro il tempio di Marte,” not “incontro;” and why should he in that case have thought of mentioning Marforio at all!

⁹ *H. N.* xvi. 44, (86.) Verum altera

Lotos in Vulcanali—æqueva Urbi intelligitur. Radices ejus in forum usque Cæsaris per stationes municipiorum penetrant.

¹⁰ M. Ulrichs (*Röm. Top. in Leipzig*, p. 68,) indulges in a sneer against M. Becker, for having removed the Forum of Cæsar to such a distance from the Vulcanal, as renders it necessary to suppose this lotus-tree to have extended its roots a distance of 170 or 180 metres. But M. Bunsen, by throwing back the Forum of Cæsar to the neighbourhood of the Tor dei Conti, has done nearly the same thing: the distance from the centre of the Vulcanal to the nearest point of the Forum of Cæsar, as measured on his own plan, is just 500 Roman paces; while, according to M. Becker's arrangement, it is less than 600. The truth or probability of Pliny's statement, is a matter for which he alone

must therefore also be sought in that direction, that is, towards the Viminal hill, or the opening of the Suburra. This led him as far as the Tor dei Conti, and it was found on examination, that that structure rested on ancient walls of peperino, which appeared to have belonged to the *cella* of a temple. Here, therefore, M. Bunsen places the temple of Venus, and with it, of course, the Forum of Cæsar.

It might perhaps be objected that it is strange that Cæsar should, in the first instance, have removed his new Forum to such a distance from the ancient one, when their common judicial objects required at least some connection between them; but such an argument is far from conclusive: and it may perhaps be admitted, that M. Bunsen's theory is as tenable as that of M. Canina, so far as the very scanty evidence which relates *immediately* to the Forum of Cæsar is concerned. But by far the strongest argument against the former appears to me to be that derived from the Notitia, in order to understand which, it will be necessary first to speak of the third imperial Forum—that of Nerva.

Suetonius, in a passage in which he is enumerating the public works of Domitian, reckons among them "the Forum which then bore the name of Nerva." Again, Ælius Lampridius expressly tells us that the "Forum of Nerva," was also called "Transitorium;" and Aurelius Victor speaks of Nerva as "*dedicating* the Forum which is called Pervium, in which rises a lofty and magnificent temple of Minerva."¹¹ From the com-

is answerable; but it would be difficult to prove that it is credible in the one case, impossible or absurd in the other. M. Urlichs adds, that on M. Becker's hypothesis, the roots must have gone considerably out of their way to pass under the *Stationes Municipiorum*,—apparently forgetting that the position of the latter has only been assigned by a *conjecture*, derived from this very passage. (Ibid. p. 60.) If this statement of Pliny is to be regarded as the decisive authority on the subject, it would seem more natural to follow Lucio Fauno, (*Antichità di Roma*, Lib. II. c. 23,) and place the Forum of Cæsar immediately behind SS. Cosma e Damiano. But this locality is wanted by M. Bun-

sen for his Forum Transitorium; hence the necessity of throwing back that of Cæsar to so considerable a distance from the Roman Forum.

¹¹ "Plurima et amplissima opera incendio absumpta restituit: . . . Novam autem excitavit ædem in Capitolio Custodi Jovi, et forum quod nunc Nerva vocatur." (Suet. Domit. 5.)—"Statuas colossas . . . divis Imperatoribus in foro Dicit Nerveæ, quod Transitorium dicitur, locavit." (Æl. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 28.)—"Nerva . . . semet imperio abdicavit, *dedicato prius foro, quod appellatur Pervium, quo sedis Minervæ eminentior consurgit, et magnificentior.*" (Aur. Vict. de Cæsaribus, 12.)

bination of these various statements, it would appear to result as clearly as can well be, that they all relate to one and the same Forum, which was begun by Domitian, but not having been completed by him, was consecrated by his immediate successor, whose name it consequently bore, though also frequently designated by the epithets Pervium and Transitorium, probably from its being traversed by some public street or thoroughfare, which was not the case with any other of the imperial Fora.¹² In it was situated a temple of Minerva, unquestionably the same of which the remains were still visible in the days of Palladio, bearing on their front the name of the Emperor Nerva. From this temple the Forum appears to have derived the epithet of "Palladian," by which it is designated by Martial.¹³ Again, in the same Forum stood also the shrine or sanctuary of Janus *Quadrifrons*, placed here, as we learn from Martial, by Domitian: Servius tells us that it was situated in the *Forum Transitorium*, while a later writer expressly speaks of it as still existing in the *Forum of Nerva*.¹⁴

In opposition to these explicit testimonies, it cannot but seem strange, that M. Bunsen should have ventured to put forth the theory, that the Forum Transitorium was in fact *distinct* from that of Nerva,—that *both* were begun by Domitian, but the first alone completed by him, while the second was terminated

¹² The necessity for such a thoroughfare will be readily seen, when we consider that the range of these imperial structures was gradually interposing itself between the Roman Forum and the crowded and populous quarter of the Suburra.

¹³ *Limina post Pacis Palladiumque forum*, lib. i. ch. 2, v. 5.

¹⁴ *Serv. ad Æn.* vii. 607. "Unde quod Numa instituerat translatum est ad Forum Transitorium, et quatuor portarum unum templum est institutum.—Joannes Lydus de Mensibus, iv. 1. Ἰδίον καὶ τετραμέροον· καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ φέρῃ τῇ Νερβᾷ ἵσται καὶ νῦν λίγισται σισωμένην. The authority of Joannes Lydus, a Byzantine writer of the sixth century, may not indeed seem entitled to much considera-

tion, but it accords so perfectly with the passages already quoted, as to afford a strong presumption of its correctness. M. Bunsen, in whose system one of the most essential points is, that the Janus Quadrifrons stood in the *Forum Transitorium*, but not in that of Nerva, appears to have overlooked this decisive passage, which the industry of M. Becker has brought forward.

This temple of Janus is mentioned as still existing, both in the *Mirabilia* and the *Ordo Romanus*, and some remains of it were preserved down to the days of Labaus. But the words in which that writer describes its situation, are not sufficiently precise to afford us any assistance.—See Bunsen, *Les Forums de Rome*, pt. 2, p. 19.

and consecrated by his successor,—that in the centre of the Forum Transitorium, stood the temple of Janus Quadrifrons, while that of Minerva alone adorned the Forum of Nerva. An hypothesis so directly opposed to the mass of evidence above cited, would appear to require for its support some most decisive authority, and can be justified only—if at all—by absolute necessity. But the necessity in this case, when carefully examined, appears to be in great measure of M. Bunsen's own creation.

The Notitia distinctly places the Forum Transitorium in the *fourth* region, which derived its name from the Temple of Peace; we here find the following enumeration:—"Metam sudantem, Templum Romæ. Ædem Jovis. Viam sacram Basilicam novam,¹⁵ et Pauli. Templum Faustine. Forum Transitorium. Suburam." The order here followed seems simple and obvious enough: the boundary-line between the fourth and eighth regions, must have followed the course of the Via Sacra as far as the Basilica of Paullus, when it appears to have turned away nearly at right angles towards the Suburra; thus *including* the Forum Transitorium, and *excluding* that of Augustus. But, by taking this line, it must also have excluded the Forum of Cæsar, if the latter was situated where M. Canina has placed it, and, accordingly, we find the "Forum Cæsaris" mentioned, *not* in the *fourth* region, but in the *eighth*, immediately before that of Augustus. If, on the contrary, we are to place the Forum of Cæsar in the position assigned to it by M. Bunsen, it becomes physically impossible to trace the boundary of the two regions, so as to leave this Forum in the one; and place that of Nerva in the other. Hence we are driven to the necessity, either of rejecting altogether the views of M. Bunsen concerning the Forum of Cæsar, or of maintaining, in opposition to the authorities above adduced, that the Forum Transitorium was distinct from that of Nerva. M. Bunsen has preferred the latter alternative; I should unquestionably be disposed to adopt the former.

¹⁵ This evidently means the Basilica of Constantine; the name of which is given in the later edition of the Notitia, as published by Pancirolli and Labbe. The same edition inserts the Templum Faustine in its true place, *between* the

two Basilicas, thus, Viam sacram, Basilicam Constantinianam. Templum Faustine. Basilicam Pauli. Both these variations have much the air of *corrections*.

It must, however, be admitted, that the *Notitia* may be considered as supplying an argument on the other side. That catalogue, as published both by Muratori and Pancirolli, enumerates in the eighth region, "Forum Cæsaris, Augusti, Nervæ Trajani;" the two last words being separated by no punctuation, and thus appearing to refer to one Forum only,—that of Trajan. And though it may seem strange that this celebrated Forum should be called not simply Forum Trajani, but Forum Nervæ Trojani,—this conclusion had been hitherto adopted by all antiquarians.¹⁶ M. Urlichs, however, states that the most ancient MSS. of the *Notitia* in the Vatican, all read "Nervæ, Trajani;" thus making four distinct Forums, instead of three, and compelling us to suppose that the Forum of Nerva here mentioned, is distinct from the Forum Transitorium in the eighth region. I must leave it to those better versed in ancient manuscripts to determine what amount of confidence can be placed in them in a question of mere punctuation: but it certainly seems to me that the authority of the *Notitia*, *depending entirely upon a point of this nature*,¹⁷ cannot possibly be put in comparison with the express statements of Aurelius Victor and Lampridius, already quoted, neither of which can be explained away, or attributed to any erroneous reading.

The other arguments brought forward by M. Bunsen, appear

¹⁶ There are not wanting indications of such a mode of expression being common in the later ages of the empire: thus, in a passage from Sidonius Apollinaris, cited by M. Bunsen,—

"Cum meis poni statuam perennem
Nervæ Trajanus titulis videret
Inter auctores utriusque fixam
Bibliothecæ."

And in the Summary or "Breviarium" subjoined to the *Notitia* itself, we find the Fora again enumerated thus,—

"Cæsaris.

Augusti.

Nervæ Trajani."

In this case, unless Muratori has strangely misrepresented his manuscript, there can be no doubt as to the division. I do not observe that any attempt has been made to explain the

strange name "Ænebarbi," which follows in this list. Is it possible that the Forum Transitorium, which is otherwise wanting, is disguised under this appellation?

¹⁷ I have already expressed my opinion that we must be careful not to place too much reliance on the *Notitia* in its present state, at least in regard to those points which can be affected by the errors of those copyists. Whatever may be the antiquity of the existing MSS., they must be far removed from their archetype, and the work must have passed through the hands of many copyists, or very barbarous ones, before it could obtain its present form. At the same time, I am fully disposed to recognize its authority wherever there can be no question as to the reading.

to me to be perfectly *neutral*, being equally susceptible of interpretation in favour of either view. Thus, the portion of wall which he regards as belonging to the Forum Transitorium, may equally well have belonged to the *περίβολος* of the Temple of Peace; and the vague passages in Statius and Martial concerning "the three fora," or that in which the latter poet speaks of the Janus Quadrifrons as surrounded by *four fora*, are equally applicable on either hypothesis.¹⁸ In regard to the mode by which he seeks to evade the evidence of the identity of the Forum Transitorium with that of Nerva,—that the two were so closely connected as to be considered as forming one whole, I can only observe that it is difficult to discover from his own plan in what respect they were more closely connected than any other two of the series. The objection urged by M. Urlichs,—that the Forum of Nerva appears too small for the statues and other monuments we know to have been erected in it, in addition to the Temple of Janus, and that of Minerva,—would be of much weight as opposed to a conjectural restoration, but cannot be allowed to prevail against express testimony.

Immediately connected with the above subject is that of the position of the Temple of Peace: indeed, our conclusions with respect to this edifice, are necessarily dependent in some measure upon the view adopted in regard to the Forum Transitorium. All antiquarians, from the time of Poggio to our own days, had agreed in regarding the mighty ruins still remaining between the churches of SS. Cosma e Damiano and Sta Francesca—certainly among the most imposing at Rome, from their massive grandeur, as those of the celebrated Temple of Peace, erected by Vespasian, and destroyed by fire in the reign of

¹⁸ M. Urlichs indeed appeals in a triumphant tone to these lines of Martial, (x. 28.)

"Nunc tua Cæsareis cinguntur limina donis,

Et fora tot memoras, Jane, quot ora geris."

The last line he renders "*welches nach der Foren hinschaute*," which is considerably more precise than the expres-

sion of Martial, who probably meant to count the Forum in which the Janus itself stood, as one of the four. Even on M. Bunsen's arrangement, it would be difficult to fulfil *exactly* the conditions imposed by M. Urlichs; but all that the lines really require, is, that the Janus should have stood somewhere in the midst of four fora; and this we obtain in either case.

Commodus—an opinion which seems to have been already current as early as the twelfth century.¹⁹

Nibby was the first²⁰ to call in question this long-received appellation, and to prove by satisfactory arguments, that the remains now visible belong to an edifice of much later date, being, in fact, those of the Basilica erected by Maxentius, and to which, after the defeat of that emperor, the name of Constantine was given; and this attribution obtained a decisive confirmation some years after it was first brought forward, by the discovery of a medal of Maxentius in a fragment of the ruins recently fallen. This point, then, being satisfactorily ascertained, the next question that arises, is, whether the Basilica, that we now behold, occupied the site of the far more celebrated Temple of Peace; or we have still to seek a position for the latter edifice elsewhere. In favour of the former view it may be alleged, that the name used by Poggio appears to have been then a received appellation, and to have been handed down, as already stated, from the middle ages. On the other hand, there is a passage of Procopius,²¹ from which it would appear to result distinctly, that the ruins of the Temple of Peace were still visible in his day, long after the construction of the Basilica of Maxentius, and that consequently the latter edifice could not have occupied the site of that celebrated temple. In accordance with this view, M. Canina has assigned to the temple a place adjoining the Basilica; and behind the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano, a portion of wall of a very good style of construction,²² still remaining on this very spot, is regarded by him as a part of the *cella* of the temple itself. M. Becker refers it

¹⁹ Thus, we find in the *Mirabilia*, (p. 294, ed. Montf.) “Retro (S. Cosmam) fuit Templum Pacis et Bellonæ.” Martinus Polonus (a writer of the following century,) has the same expression: “Item retro S. Cosmam fuit templum Pacis.” This designation would indeed apply as well, or even better, to the situation which I am disposed (with Canina and Becker) to assign to the true Temple of Peace, but I think it scarcely probable that any ruins of the latter were still visible at so late a period.

²⁰ *Foro Romano*, p. 189—208.

²¹ *B. Goth.* iv. 21. βῶν δὲ τῆς ἀγίλης ἐς τὴν ἀμφὶ δούλην ὀψίαν ἐξ ἀγγρῶ ἔκκει δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἢ φέρον Εἰρήνης καλῶσι τῶμασι· ἰνταῦθα γὰρ πρὶ τῆς Εἰρήνης τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου γινόμενος ἐκ παλαιῶν κτίται.

²² This wall had been already drawn into their service by former antiquarians, who regarded it as belonging to the Forum of Cæsar. See Nibby,—*Foro Romano*, p. 188.

rather to the *περίβολος*, which is expressly mentioned as surrounding the Sacred Area, a view in which I should be disposed to concur. M. Bunsen, on the contrary, who assigns this wall to his Forum Transitorium, maintains that the Basilica of Maxentius was erected on the site of the Temple of Peace, and that the name, "Forum Pacis," was used to designate the Basilica, together with the elevated open space around it, which has been recently laid bare by excavations.

It must be admitted that our topographical data, with regard to the celebrated edifice of Vespasian, are not sufficiently precise to decide between these two suggestions. Suetonius only tells us, it was *near* the Forum, (*foro proximum*, *Vesp.* 9;) and the Notitia places it in the fourth region, where it occurs after the Temple of Rome, and before that of Faustina. From another statement, it appears to have been situated near to the Sacred Way, an expression equally applicable on either hypothesis. If we next turn to the historical evidence concerning this edifice, and its supposed successor, we find it as follows:—The Temple of Peace, erected by Vespasian, was not merely a simple building, but was surrounded by an open space, and an enclosing wall or *περίβολος*; hence it is expressly called by Greek writers a *τέμενος*,²³ and must have presented very much the same aspect as the Temple of Venus Genitrix, with the surrounding Forum. That we do not find this enclosure mentioned as the *Forum Pacis* in any early writers, may be purely accidental, but it more probably arose from the surpassing splendour of the temple itself, and the circumstance that the area around it was not applied to the judicial objects of a proper Forum. It was, however, like others of the Imperial Fora, adorned with innumerable statues and works of art, collected from all parts; in addition to which, it contained an extensive library; and on this account, it became a favourite resort of literary men, who still continued to assemble there, as we are expressly told, after the conflagration.²⁴ It seems clear, notwithstanding this expression, that the temple was never rebuilt after the calamity already alluded to,—a circumstance attri-

²³ Josephus, *de Bel. Jud.* vii. 5, § 7. Galen. *de compos. med.* i. 1, (cited by Nibby and Becker.)

²⁴ Galen, l. c. *καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς*

τὸ τοῦ Εἰρήνης τέμενος ἐφικνούμενον καθ' ὅσον καὶ πρὸ τοῦ καυθῆναι αὐτοῦ ἦν ἴσως ἀδελφίζεσθαι.

buted by Niebuhr to religious awe, the fire being supposed to have been caused by lightning; but some temporary accommodation was probably provided for the grammarians and rhetoricians, whom we still find assembling there as late as the time of Diocletian.²⁵ Shortly after this, comes the building of the Basilica by Maxentius, concerning which, we have no other express statement than the very brief one of Aurelius Victor, "Adhuc cuncta opera, quæ magnifice construxerat (Maxentius,) Urbis fanum, atque *Basilicam*, Flavii meritis Patres sacravere," (*De Cæsaribus*, 40,) a passage which evidently furnishes no indication of any connexion between the Basilica here mentioned and the Temple of Peace. After this, again, in the reign of Constantius, Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the "*Forum Pacis*," (an expression which here occurs for the first time) as one of the most splendid sights of Rome: and Procopius, as already mentioned, not only speaks of the "*Forum of Peace*," but says, the *temple was still lying there in ruins*. When we consider how long Procopius himself was at Rome, and how accurate is almost all his topographical information concerning the city, it seems difficult to believe that so precise a statement as this can have arisen from a mere misconception.²⁶ M. Bunsen, however, supposes that the term "*Forum Pacis*," used by Ammianus, and other subsequent writers, was applied to the Basilica of Maxentius, which, with the surrounding open space, constituted a kind of Forum, occupying the site once marked by the Temple of Peace; and this might well be admitted, though we must remember that it is a mere hypothesis; but it seems more difficult to believe that the same meaning should be attached to the term "*Forum Vespasiani*," which also occurs in late writers. Lastly, a passage brought forward both by M. Bunsen and M. Urlichs in support of their views, decidedly seems to me to tell, so far as it has any weight, *against* them. The anonymous catalogue of the emperors, published by Eccard and Roncalli, mentions among the edifices of Domi-

²⁵ It is mentioned by Trebellius Pollio in terms that prove it was there he expected to meet with the severest critics. "Nemo in templo Pacis dicturus est me feminas inter tyrannos posuisse." (*Trigint. Tyranni*, c. 31.)

²⁶ M. Urlichs endeavours to evade the force of this passage, by attaching a degree of importance to the particle *en*, as giving a general vagueness to the statement of Procopius, which it is difficult to believe that author intended.

tian, "*Horrea piperataria, ubi modo est Basilica Constantini-
ana et Forum Vespasiani.*" Now, if these two last names are
meant to mark the *same* locality—just as if the neighbourhood
of the Arco dei Pantani were designated as the spot occupied by
the Temple of Mars Ultor, and the Forum of Augustus—the
unanswerable difficulty arises, how *could* Domitian build these
Horrea piperataria on the ground where the Basilica of Con-
stantine afterwards stood, if that space was then actually occu-
pied by the Temple of Peace? If, on the other hand, he really
built the Horrea *adjoining* the latter edifice, and on the site
where the Basilica was afterwards erected, though the state-
ment is still incorrect in part, the origin of the mistake becomes
intelligible. And it is a strong confirmation of this view, that
we know these Horrea to have been in fact adjoining, or at
least, near to the temple, because they are expressly mentioned
by Dion Cassius, as involved in the conflagration which de-
stroyed the latter.²⁷

It may, therefore, I think, be confidently asserted, that all *ancient* testimonies point to the same conclusion—that the Forum of Peace was nothing else than the area around the temple of that name, which continued to subsist long after the time of Constantine, though the temple itself had never been rebuilt; and that the Basilica of Maxentius was erected between the enclosure of this Forum and the Temple of Venus and Rome, on the site occupied in the reign of Domitian by the Horrea pipetraria, of which we find no mention after the conflagration. That the name of an edifice so celebrated as the Temple of Peace, should have been erroneously transferred in the twelfth century to the only imposing ruins still visible in that neighbourhood, can hardly surprise any one familiar with the character of mediæval tradition.

In this case, then, as well as in regard to the Forum Transitorium, M. Bunsen's views appear to me liable to the grave objection of being opposed to more positive and explicit statements of ancient writers, than any that can be urged against the opposite theories ; while I cannot perceive that the arguments on which they rest are of that cogent and convincing character

²⁷ Dion Cass. LXXII. 24. πῶς τι σύ- | ἀποθήκας τῶν τι Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῶν Ἀρα-
 τας ἔφθι, καὶ ἰς τὸ Εἰρηναίων ἱμασθὲν τὰς | βίων φορτίων ἱσχυίματος.

that would lead us to adopt them in opposition even to such express testimony.

It is important to bear in mind how closely the various questions that we have been just examining are connected with one another. If the Temple of Peace did not stand where we now see the massive ruins of the Basilica of Maxentius, it can hardly be placed elsewhere than just behind the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano ; but this is the very site which M. Bunsen has occupied with his Forum Transitorium ; the latter must therefore be surrendered, if it be once established that the Forum of Peace existed independently of the Basilica just mentioned. But again, if the Forum Transitorium be no other than the Forum of Nerva, as we have seen so much reason to conclude, it has been shown that the Forum of Cæsar could not, consistently with the Notitia, have stood where M. Bunsen has placed it, and we must endeavour to find some other attribution for the ancient remains discovered at the Tor dei Conti. Conversely, if we could ascertain beyond a doubt that the temple of which the foundations were discovered by Palladio, near that of Mars Ultor, really belonged to the Forum of Cæsar, it would supply an almost conclusive argument against the whole order of M. Bunsen's arrangement. For these reasons it seems by no means hopeless, that we may some day or other attain a solution of all our difficulties by excavations. We can indeed hardly ever expect to see all the space occupied by modern streets and buildings in this quarter laid bare ; but enough may be discovered at some particular points to enable us to fix those with certainty, and the rest will then follow of necessity.

It only remains to speak of the Forum of Trajan : and concerning the situation of this, there is fortunately no question, for the lofty column has always remained in its original position to mark the site of this noble work. But, as if it was fated that no monument of antiquity at Rome should escape without a controversy, a question has recently been raised in regard to this column, concerning which it is necessary to say a few words, because it has been put prominently forward in a work destined for general circulation—the abridgement of the *Beschreibung*, in one volume, by Urlichs and Platner,—by far the most complete and satisfactory guide-book of Rome yet published. I have already adverted to the extensive works necessary in order to gain in part from the neighbouring hills, the level area re-

quired for the Forum. Dion Cassius expressly tells us that one of the objects of the column was to commemorate these. "Trajan (he says²⁸) set up also in his Forum a column of immense size, destined both to serve as his own sepulchre, and to bear testimony of the labour which the Forum had cost; for the whole of that space being hilly, he cut it down to as great an extent as the height of the column, and by this means rendered the Forum level." This passage would seem to remove all doubt—if any could otherwise have existed—as to the meaning of the inscription still legible on the base of the column, which records that it was erected by the Roman Senate and people in honour of Trajan,—AD . DECLARANDVM . QVANTAE . ALTITVDINIS . MONS . ET . LOCVS . TANT[IS . OPERI]BVS . SIT . EGESTVS. It is not necessary to suppose that the ground had been cut away to this height just where the column itself stands, far less that the whole extent of the Forum had been excavated to this enormous depth; it was enough to justify the flattery of the Senate that a part had been so; and that there is nothing incredible in this, will be readily seen by any one who looks at the profile of the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, with the intervening column, from the upper stories of the Coliseum. This explanation has been accordingly received by all persons from the days of Dion Cassius to our own; it was reserved for M. Urlichs to bring forward the strange suggestion, that the inscription refers to the height, not of the column, but of *the base itself*. It strikes one as an obvious objection to this idea, that, as in all other cases, the inscription on the base of a monument refers not to the base, but to the monument; if it had been otherwise in this instance, the fact would surely have been more precisely indicated. Or is it possible to conceive, that in an inscription at the foot of so magnificent a work, surrounded on all sides by others of a similar scale, the words "quantæ altitudinis mons," should refer to a height of about twenty feet! If M. Urlichs is content to receive such a piece of *bathos* as worthy of the age of Trajan, he can hardly expect that others should concur with him. But all question as to the fact, appears to be set at rest by the au-

²⁸ Lib. LXVIII. c. 16. καὶ ἵσταντο ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ καὶ κίονα μέγιστον, ἅμα μὲν ἵς ταφῇ τῷ αὐτῷ, ἅμα δὲ εἰς ἰσθμὸν τοῦ παρὰ τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἔργου. παρὰ τὴν γὰρ τοῦ χειρίου

ἐκείνου τῆρου ὄντος, κατισκαφὴ τοσούτου ἔσται ὡς κίον ἀνίσχου, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐν τούτῳ πεινῶν κατισκαφύσεται.

thority of Dion Cassius, who, it must be remembered, began to write his history less than a century after the erection of the monument in question.

For the attempts that have been made to restore the other details of the magnificent structures that adorned the Forum of Trajan, the reader must be referred to the works of Bunsen and Canina. All that can be regarded as certain, is derived from the excavations made during the period of the French government; but it must be remembered, that the portion thus exposed to view, though it forms a piazza of considerable extent, constituted but a small part of the original Forum.

E. H. BUNBURY.

(*To be continued.*)

APPENDIX.

I HAVE adverted in my former article, (*Class. Mus.* vol. iii. p. 335,) to the ingenious attempt of M. Bunsen to explain the various designations of the buildings and other monuments mentioned in the *Ordo Romanus* of Benedict, a document addressed to the Cardinal Guido di Castello, who was afterwards Pope, under the name of Celestine III., and, therefore, undoubtedly composed before 1143, the year of his accession to the pontificate. As probably few readers have the original at hand, it may be worth while to insert here the route of the procession from St. Peter's to the Lateran.—“*Coronatur autem Pontifex ante basilicam Sti Petri—et coronatus revertitur ad palatium per hanc vitam (in) Sacram, per porticum et per praelibatum pontem, (the Ponte S. Angelo,) intrans sub arcu triumphali Theodosii Valentiniani et Gratiani Imperatorum et vadit juxta palatium Cromacii, ubi Judæi faciunt laudem. Prosiliens per Parionem inter circum Alexandri (Piazza Navona) et theatrum Pompeii,* descendit per porticum Agrippinam: ascendit per Pineam juxta Palatinam, prosiliens ante Sanctum Marcum ascendit sub arcu Manus Carneæ per clivum Argentarium, (Salita di Marforio,) inter insulam ejusdem nominis et Capitolium, descendit ante privatam²⁰ Mamertini, intrat sub arcu triumphali inter templum Fatale (probably the temple of Janus,) et templum Concordiæ, progrediens inter Forum Trajani et Forum Casaris; subintrat arcum Nerviæ (sic) inter templum ejusdem Dææ (!!!) et templum Jani (the Janus Quadrifrons,) ascendit ante asylum per silicem ubi cecidit Simon Magus, juxta templum Romuli, pergit sub arcu triumphali Titi et Vespasiani, qui vocatur Septem Lucernarum, descendit ad Metam*

²⁰ *Privata*, (custodia &c.) had at this | with *carcer*, that in the *Mirabilia* we
period become so entirely synonymous | even find *privata publica* !

sudantem ante triumphalem arcum Constantini, reclinans manu læva ante amphitheatrum, et per Sanctam viam juxta Colosseum, revertitur ad Lateranum." (Mabillon. *Mus. Ital.* tom. II. p. 144.) M. Bunsen has explained many of these designations in accordance with his own arrangement of the Imperial Fora; it would not be difficult, were it worth while, to interpret some of them at least so as to favour the contrary view; but I really cannot bring myself to attach any value to such an authority, in regard to the *ancient* topography of the localities concerned. At the same time, the last part of the progress—from the Arch of Titus onwards—is so clear, that it is probable the rest would be equally so, if the localities were still in the same state as in the twelfth century; but in that case we should not require the assistance of this auxiliary. Without questioning, therefore, the value of the *Ordo Romanus* as throwing light upon the state of the city in the middle ages, and assisting the antiquarian in tracing the history of the ancient edifices then still subsisting, I cannot but doubt the importance to the Classical scholar, of an authority which is only intelligible where it is superfluous.

E. H. B.

XI.

1. *THE EGYPT OF HERODOTUS*, with Notes and Preliminary Dissertations. By John Kenrick, M.A. London: Fellowes, 1841. 8vo.
2. *THE HISTORY OF THE PERSIAN WARS*, from Herodotus, with English Notes, Examination Questions, and Indexes. By Charles William Stocker, D.D., formerly Fellow of St. John's College, and late Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford. London: Longman & Co., 1843. 8vo.

THESE two commentaries on Herodotus are contrasted in every thing, from their first conception to the last details of their execution; yet each professedly deals with only a select part of the author. Mr. Kenrick indeed writes for young men at a college, Dr. Stocker for boys at school; so that it would be unreasonable to judge of their productions by the same standard. Both nevertheless are thoroughly English in their character, and might serve to give foreigners a not unfair view of two types of mind and attainment co-existing among us; the former, however, it must be confessed, not too plentifully.

Mr. Kenrick's notes appear to be addressed to a young student who has already gained a fair acquaintance with the Attic Greek, but who is now introduced to the Ionic peculiarities. It is only in debated questions, or those on which a learner is peculiarly liable to be uninformed or misled, that he steps aside into the general Greek grammar. The great object of his explanations, is to impart a deeper and more delicate sense of the original, and save minute distinctions from being overlooked. This part of his work, however ably and satisfactorily executed, might have been well done by many besides: not so of the rest. He has evidently gained an intimate knowledge of the labours of the great German scholars, concerning the mythology and antiquities alike of Egypt and of Greece; and after duly digesting them, has reproduced for our use so much as he judged to be sound, and illustrative of his subject. His acquaintance with the Greek classics in general, and with the subsidiary sources of knowledge, is never obtruded upon us, yet cannot be concealed; while his extensive reading and judicious selection from modern travels and other illustrative works, give accuracy to his conceptions of Greek and Egyptian geography and antiquities, and shed a general light over all his annotations. The whole book bears abundant marks of an erudition far beyond what is displayed; and his *Dissertations* belong to an order of writing seldom seen in England. The First is, on Greek History before Herodotus: in which he has traced the gradual decline of Epic poetry into flat versified narrative, under the continual striving of the mind to gain a complete historical picture of the heroic ages.¹ The Cyclic poets were, in will, little else than historians in metre, differing from the rhymers of the Middle Ages in the want of new and living originals; and as soon as materials for writing were abundant enough to allow of prose narrative, the *Λογογράφοι* naturally displaced the versifiers. A concise notice is bestowed on the successive names which have been preserved to us, of men who prepared the way for a genuine recording of facts. The first who can distinctly be shown to have employed himself on *contemporary narrative*, is Xanthus the Lydian, to whom Herodotus seems to have been much indebted. On this Mr. Kenrick observes:

¹ It will be interesting to compare and contrast Mr. Kenrick's views with Mr. Grote's; whose two volumes on

Greece have appeared since this article has been out of hand.

"It marks a step in the progress of the art of history, that it had thus begun to occupy itself with contemporaneous events. While confined to the fabulous times, it was impossible that it should form any sound principles of criticism; the very materials being wanting, by comparison of which truth is drawn forth; and what seemed like a critical judgment, was only an arbitrary preference." (p. x.)

The Second Dissertation is on the Life and Writings of Herodotus; in which the writer somewhat differs from Dahlmann concerning the time of the composition of the Greek history; and is disposed to believe that the well-known story in Lucian concerning the Olympic recitation in the presence of young Thucydides, is more likely to have been exaggerated and inaccurate in detail, than totally false. The travels of Herodotus have been discussed by many modern commentators. Here shall only be quoted a remark by Mr. Kenrick concerning the river Araxes:—

"That Herodotus had not seen the shores of the Caspian, is evident from his extraordinary mistakes about the Araxes. (I. 202, iv. 40.) Of the three circumstances which he mentions, its rising in the mountains of the Matieni and flowing eastward, belongs to the true Araxes, the northern boundary of Media; its numerous islands and channels, to the Wolga; its flowing through the country of the Massagetæ, to the Oxus or Iaxartes." (*Foot note.*) "The unwillingness of his editors to acknowledge an error in Herodotus, has led them to do violence to his meaning. Wesseling supposes him to have intended the Wolga. Schweighæuser maintains that *ῥέων πρὸς ἡέλιον ἀνίσχοντα* means, 'flowing in a country which lay towards the east,' though with a westerly course; and renders *στόμασι δὲ ἐρεύγεται τεσσαράκοντα*, 'gushes out from forty springs,' instead of, 'discharges itself by forty mouths.'"

That his geography of the Araxes is mythical, is surely beyond doubt. Schweighæuser, however, was probably aiming to reconcile Herodotus with himself, and not merely with the results of modern research. His descriptions of the Araxes are so definite, as to appear those of a man who is writing with a map before him; and a commentator may seem to be bound to endeavour to give form to that which the author states. It is perhaps in this case impossible. To reconcile his different notices of this river, no other method occurs, but to believe that they

were written at different times, and with different conceptions of its position. Mr. Kenrick, however, would cut this knot by denying universally that the author had *any* defined conceptions of his own geography, (p. 32); which is very difficult to admit.

The excellent judgment and discriminating remarks which pervade the whole discussion concerning Herodotus's writings, allow only of general commendation and acknowledgment. No specimen of them can be given; nor could it well be attempted, without the danger of assuming a patronizing air. The Third Dissertation applies itself more particularly to the Egyptian History of Herodotus, in which Mr. Kenrick enters into remarks in detail concerning the separate reigns, and shows how maturely he has weighed the whole subject, and how competent he was to enlarge upon an inviting field, if his caution and anxiety for truth had not prevailed over all enthusiasm or desire of display. The foot-notes abundantly manifest the close study which he has bestowed on the researches of the moderns into Egyptian antiquities; and it may be hoped that he will yet give us, in a still more complete form, the bearing of their discoveries, not on Herodotus only, but on all the ancient accounts of Egypt.* These three Dissertations occupy 58 pages, and are followed by another on the Dialect of Herodotus. In the form of a note at the end of the volume, we have a very ample Appendix on the curious subject of the *Phœnician Cabiri*, which he connects with numerous parts of the Greek and Roman superstitions, and with the mythical tales of Ulysses, Jason, and Æneas. The unhesitating adoption of the mythical view by so accurate and sound an intellect,—so little capable of being carried away by German fancies or by love of novelty, and other secondary motives,—is as signal a triumph of this doctrine, as the successive reluctant acknowledgments which it wrung out of Arnold. His Dissertations, and the very form of his notes, unavoidably remind us of Arnold, enormous as is the difference of genius between the two men, and of the work which they undertook. It may safely be said, that the comparison is not disadvantageous to Mr. Kenrick. His task did not suggest or require political discussions, such as those in which Arnold

* Since the above was penned, Mr. Kenrick has announced, in his *Essay on Primæval History*, that he has in

hand a work on the ancient history of the earliest civilized countries.

excelled; but it did require local and scientific illustration, and very various scholarship. In his philological notes, we meet none of that timidity, which so oddly disfigures many of Arnold's explanations, who will advance sound, and one might have thought obvious and certain, interpretations, with the uncertainty of a learner; but Mr. Kenrick is perhaps strongest, exactly where Arnold was weakest. Few scholars indeed among ourselves are so well read, as to be above profiting by this discussion on the Cabiri; in venturing which remark, I do not pretend to know how much of it is strictly original with the writer, and for how much he is indebted to Gesenius, Müller, and Welcker. One thing is certain, that he has exercised his independent judgment on every point, and gone to the fountain-head himself.

The foot-notes are for the most part confined closely to an elucidation of the text, though occasionally they lead us into some interesting etymological speculations. If any thing in these should here and there seem doubtful, or if his criticism of the author be sometimes over-minute, yet nothing is ever met that can interfere with full respect for his critical ability. Two cases of what may seem to be excessive refinement, are found in the very first page. At least, I cannot convince myself, that in *ὡς δούλους εἶντας ἐνόμισε*, the formula *ὡς εἶντας* is more emphatic than the infinitive *εἶναι* would have been, or that the two expressions differ more than, "he considered them as his vassals," and "he considered them to be his vassals." *Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτες* is also rendered by Mr. Kenrick, "those of the Greeks of whom he had the *recently* acquired dominion." Is there any greater distinction between *κρατεῖν* and *ἐπικρατεῖν*, than between, "to master," (or "hold the mastery,") and "to *over* master?" In the passage from Xen. *Cyr.* i. 1, which he quotes, *Κῦρος ἤρξε Βακτριῶν—ἐπῆρξε δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήνων*, the word *ἐπῆρξε*, contains a tacit reference to the word *ἐπαρχία*, a province attached to a kingdom of which it was no part; but *ἐπὶ* does not appear to express "*recently* acquired" dominion.

The characteristic of Mr. Kenrick's etymology, as opposed to a modern and dangerous tendency, is, his effort to exhaust the Greek sources, before fleeing for help to Orientalism. He appears to have been a diligent student of Hesychius and of other less used writers, and has gleaned an uncommon familiarity with antique, perhaps pre-Hellenic, words. As a single ex-

ample, how close at hand the etymology of important particles may sometimes be found, I will venture to refer to Mr. Kenrick's derivation of μέν, δέ, δή. He starts (p. 151,) from the acknowledged fact, that the Ionians habitually use μέν for μήν; and infers that μέν is only a less energetic, and therefore shortened form of μήν. How this should ever have been overlooked, may seem wonderful. The Latin use of *quidem*, *sane*,—as that of the English *indeed*, without an impulse of the voice,—testify to its accuracy. To the same effect Mr. Kenrick appeals to our different enunciation of *that*, (the demonstrative,) and of *thāt*, the conjunctive or particle. So too δέ, is regarded by him as a shortened form of δή; which is perhaps corroborated by the homely Attic δαί. As for δή, he maintains, (p. 122,) that it is probably the same as the intensive prefix δα in δάσκιος, δάφεινος, “and hence gives emphasis to the clause which it introduces; *scilicet ut*.” Slight as this matter may appear, it exhibits no bad specimen of Mr. Kenrick's unpretending etymologies. Some scholars, indeed, have derived μέν from an imaginary ancient numeral, μεις μία μέν (= εἰς μία ἐν): but as to μήν and μέν, Hartung agrees with him. The last named inquirer however regards the derivation of δέ from διν and δύο, as beyond doubt; and deduces δή from ἡδη. That μέν did *not* mean “one,” might be perhaps inferred even from the frequent substitution of μέν — μέντοι for μέν — δέ; and from the use of μέν in the *second* of two clauses; as,

οὐ γὰρ πῶ ποτ' ἐμὰς βούε ἤλασαν, οὐδὲ μέν ἵππους —

though in fact the *general* Ionic use of μέν seems to me decisive. It is equally hard to imagine how οὐδὲ could have meant “not even,” if δέ concealed the notion of “twice” or “again,” as Hartung will have it. But if δέ, as Mr. Kenrick holds, is a softened form of δή, οὐδὲ, in the sense of “not even,” is not far removed from the Latin *ne—quidem*. The only objection that occurs, is from such formulas as τί δέ δή; yet, allowing that some uncertainty must rest on the identity of δέ and δή, on no account does it seem possible to concede to Hartung, that δή is a syncopation of ἡδη. If any thing is clear concerning δή, it is, that its pervading and primitive sense is to impart energy. In a lively writer like Herodotus, δή—or yet more, καὶ δὴ καὶ,—has the effect of *nudging* the reader when the narrator desires to excite attention. It is eminently δεικτικόν, like our antique *Lo!* at the apodosis of a sentence, or like the familiar, *So you see*, in a gossiping

tale. Undoubtedly one class of phrases occurs, of which $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\ \delta\eta$ is a type, in which it *may* be taken as a particle of time; but on comparing these with $\iota\upsilon\alpha\ \delta\eta$, $\delta\iota\omicron\ \delta\eta$, and contrasting $\delta\eta\ \pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$ with $\eta\delta\eta\ \pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$, all argument from this head vanishes. Since Hartung regards $\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ as compounds of $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, it would seem more reasonable to derive $\eta\delta\eta$ from η and $\delta\eta$: and in fact it seems almost to result from Hartung's own discussion, that $\delta\eta\nu$, *diu*, is at the bottom of $\eta\delta\eta$. On the other hand, in $\delta\eta\tau\alpha$, $\delta\eta\theta\epsilon\nu$, we see the intensive force which characterizes $\delta\eta$. Mr. Kenrick compares this with δa , and thereby virtually with ζa . Is it too fanciful to think that $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$, *vivo*, was related to ζa , as *vivo*, *vigeo*, to *vis*, *vires*, and $\beta\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$, $\beta\acute{\iota}\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$, to $\beta\acute{\iota}\alpha$? One general conclusion seems to result from the comparison of languages, viz., that though certain pronouns and prepositions have a wide extent, yet *particles*, in the more confined sense, are generated within the limits of each language. They are not wanted at all in a barbarian idiom, and are invented only when the tongue begins to receive its characterizing peculiarities. It is, therefore, seldom that we can expect light on their etymology from foreign languages even of the same stock.

It would be presumptuous to attempt here to enter into any of the numerous and difficult questions which arise in commenting on the antiquities, natural history, and geography of Egypt; yet one or two small points of philology *not* adverted to by Mr. Kenrick, may be here noticed. Egypt, he observes from Eustathius, (p. 27,) was the ancient name of the *Nile*; might it not have been added, that *Nil* is the Arabic for "indigo," or "dark blue;" so that in all probability the name was equivalent to "The Blue River?" This appellation may have been brought down into Egypt by the Ethiopian dynasty. The island $\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\mu\psi\omega$ of ch. 29, may be safely translated "Crocodile Island." The author himself tells us that the Egyptians called crocodiles $\chi\acute{\alpha}\mu\psi\alpha\iota$, and $\tau\alpha$, we know to be the feminine article. Mr. Kenrick there notes, that Amsah or Hamsah, is the Coptic for this word: in modern Arabic it is *Timsahh*, which is clearly abridged from *Tihamsahh*.

The word $\Lambda\sigma\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi$, in ch. 30, is explained by Herodotus $\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\grave{\iota}\xi\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\eta\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \tau\eta\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}$. There can be no doubt that it really means $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$. Pliny names the place *Esar*, which in Arabic means "Left," but the Arabs have another word for Left, viz., *Shemal*; facts which lead Sir G. Wilkinson

(if I remember) to the ingenious conjecture, that 'Ασμάχ is a corrupt text for 'Ασμάλ; the modern Greeks, indeed, so writing λ below the line, that it is easily mistaken for χ. In thus interpreting Νεῖλος and 'Ασμάλ, it is not imagined that Arabic and Coptic have any general close affinity; but that, as most languages when locally conterminous, they had adopted many words from one another. The ancient names for the upper streams of the Nile ought to admit, (one may think,) of elucidation. According to Pliny, it would seem, *Astapon* meant "aqua e tenebris,"—and so says Diodorus,—while *Astusape* is "aqua latens tenebris," and *Astabore* is "ramus aquæ e tenebris;" out of which data we get *Ast* = aqua, *Ap* or *Ab* = tenebræ, *Us* = latens, and *Ore* = ramus. Such translations from one unacquainted with the language, are liable to many errors; yet it would not be absurd to inquire, whether in any of the Nubian or Sennaar languages such elements as *Ast*, *Ap*, *Us*, *Ore*, are found, in senses at all similar to these.

But it is time to turn to Dr. Stocker's volumes. He also has selected from Herodotus, but with this important difference, that while Mr. Kenrick's main subject is but a fragment of the original, Dr. Stocker has for his main subject the very same series of action as Herodotus himself, viz., the Persian wars. In consequence of this, he is not able after all to effect any such abridgement of the narrative, as to bring it within the limits of size and price desirable for a schoolbook, and yet he exposes the purchaser to the disadvantage of not having the whole of the author. The inconvenience is the greater, because his publishers, while advertising "Stocker's Herodotus, two volumes, price 18s.," have a rule, not to send any copies to their correspondents, except upon positive order. I recently knew a case, in which the book was ordered for a boy at school, under the idea that it contained *all* of Herodotus; but when it came, the schoolmaster refused to admit it, because of the omissions; urging that if one boy only had it, it would give the trouble of marking all their books to agree with it; and that while Long's Herodotus sold for 6s., the parents of his pupils would not like to pay 18s. for Stocker's. This is certainly a preliminary difficulty, which shows that it is not the book for schools in general; nevertheless it may not be the worse suited for schools of

a wealthier sort, if the notes are intrinsically valuable and appropriate.

Dr. Stocker has certainly shown prodigious assiduity in the getting up of the book, and a most scrupulous anxiety to take no credit to himself which is not due. He has a list of near 150 learned men, of whose labours he has availed himself; and every time he borrows, he is careful to make acknowledgment even for the slightest and most unpretending remark. To call this array of names ostentatious, might be unkind; it may proceed from conscientiousness. Minds greatly differ. Some so take up and assimilate to their own substance what they learn, that only in exceptional cases can they tell to whom they are indebted for knowledge and suggestions: few perhaps would submit to the drudgery of noting down from whom they have learned that *δρα* means "therefore," *οὐδαμῇ* "nowhere," *μέντοι* "however;" that *οὐτε* may be followed by *τε*; that *συναμωρεύειν* is "to do mischief," and a hundred other points which belong to a general knowledge of Greek. Dr. Stocker must however have the responsibility of the remarks which he selects, quite as much as if they were original with him; and, in fact, so great is the labour which he has imposed on himself, that no human diligence can be expected to avoid erroneous representation of the commentators whom he quotes. Having opened at random in his 19th page, I read as follows:—"49. *προετρέψατο* is variously interpreted; 'egged on,' by H. Stephens, Valla, Wesseling, Larcher, Borheck, Steger; 'admonished,' by Schweighæuser; 'disconcerted,' by Wandler and Schæfer." Dr. Stocker does not take on himself to decide between champions so able to plead for themselves; but as I felt no doubt whatever, that the word meant—"stimulated so as to draw his attention,"—and was surprised that Schweighæuser should render it "admonished," I turned to his Dictionary, which lay at hand, and found, "*προετρέπεσθαι*, Excitare, Monere, Attentum reddere." Dr. Stocker has picked out and isolated the word *Monere*, whereby he alters Schweighæuser's interpretation; who manifestly understood the verb to mean "*Monendo attentum reddere*." Whether many similar cases may exist, it would require great labour to ascertain. Supposing the contrary, we, who enjoy the labours of great scholars who have preceded, must not shelter ourselves under their names, or fear to say that in hundreds of small points they are wrong; nor am I deterred from posi-

tively disapproving of many of Dr. Stocker's notes, by his references to names of good or high authority.

To speak of the notes as a whole, the great objection to them is, not that they are erroneous, but that they are useless. Four-fifths of them are unintelligible to anybody except to a scholar: no one who can understand them, needs them. Dr. Stocker indeed, in his preface, explains that he has deliberately introduced the very numerous Greek quotations for the benefit of clever school-boys; and that "a few of the references are inserted rather for the convenience of the master than for the use of the scholar." Besides the difficulty of the Greek to a pupil, the grammatical explanations are conveyed in general propositions, which demand a painful effort of mind, and would often convey no idea at all to boys; or if at all, only to those who were already beyond the need of the annotation. Vague and abstract phraseology is Matthiæ's great fault, from whom I quote at random this note in Dr. Stocker's 13th page. "If a word is put in apposition with a substantive, in order to define it more accurately, but without a copula, then this word will have an article, but the substantive will in general be without one." A *word* means an adjective, and by *apposition* is meant concord; and all that the proposition intends is, that *Βίαντα τὸν Πριηνέα* and *τὸν Βίαντα τὸν Πριηνέα* are both³ good Greek, the former being the phrase in Herodotus which, it seems, needed illustration. But how very false or misleading is the proposition! If to *ἀνὴρ* I add *ἀγαθός*, "in order to define it more accurately," (for surely *ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ* is more definite than *ἀνὴρ*;) the note tells me that I *must* annex the article to *ἀγαθός*, and *may* do so to *ἀνὴρ*. Such, at least, is the only idea which a learner would be able to extract. He would infer that *ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ*, "a good man," is bad Greek; but that *ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ* and *ὁ ἀγαθὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ* are both good! As far as appears, no difference of *meaning* would be implied by these phrases; much less could a pupil guess that the last is barbarous. What moreover is meant by "without a copula?" It affects precision. It seems to say that *ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀνὴρ* would *not* need to have the article, nor *Βίαντα καὶ Πριηνέα*; but how a copula could possibly occur

³ CAN such an expression as *τὸν Βίαντα τὸν Πριηνέα* be actually found? unless the latter part were a correction or after thought, as *διὰ τοῦ τὸν Βίαντα*, I hardly know how to conceive of it, — *τὸν Πριηνέα* (λίγα.)

in the case supposed, is perplexing. All such vague grammatical precept is happily lost on boys, because they refuse to make an effort to understand it; otherwise it would infallibly lead them into the most ridiculous errors. Why is it not enough to teach that *Βίαντα τὸν Πριηνέα* means "Bias the Prienian;" and when *τὰ τεῖχη τὰ μακρὰ οἱ δὲ δοῦλοι ὁ καλὸς* occurs, then comment on the peculiar emphasis or sarcasm which the former article superadds?

On glancing over Dr. Stocker's notes, the eye is caught by certain words printed in wider type, as of peculiar importance. In the two first pages alone, are found thus signalized, *antithesis*, (four times,) *paragoge*, *dialysis*, (twice,) *diæresis*, *syncope*, and *antimeria*; nor do they appear less frequently afterwards. I had really imagined that these things belonged to a past age, and had been banished out of good schools five and twenty years. The use of such phraseology in these volumes appears in the form which has been so often stigmatized as peculiarly mischievous, from its tending to inculcate that there is a virtue or magic in "figures" to transform sounds. Nearly all of them are uncalled for, and some are perplexing, from their contrariety to common use. *Antithesis* is a well known word, and is now good English; although the words *contrast* or *parallel* will often replace it. With Dr. Stocker, it has a different sense. *Ἀλικαρνησῆος* = *Ἀλικαρνησσέως*, "by the figure of diction which the grammarians call Antithesis." This is as valuable a remark, as to tell a Frenchman who is studying Burns' Poems, that "braw" = "brave," by the figure of diction which grammarians call *putting-instead*. The accumulation of such "figures" on a single unhappy word, is surprising. Thus in p. 2. we learn that *ἑσαπικνέεσθαι* = *εἰσαπικνεῖσθαι* by Syncope, Antithesis, and Dialysis." The doctrine of Putting-instead might have seemed by itself equal to effect any transformation required, since the annotator gives not the least clue to the limits or checks under which the transforming power acts. Besides all other objections, such phrases tend to confound rhetoric with grammar. But to reason against all this, is to slay the slain.

While discussing more in detail the assistance which he offers to boys, especially his grammatical annotations, concerning which, in his Preface, (pp. vii, viii,) he states his "hope that they leave little more to be desired;" I shall begin from his

first page, and continue in order, that I may not inadvertently pick out his weak points from distant parts of the volume.

P. 1. Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ. "When a proper name is followed by a national name, the article is often omitted, as Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος." The remark leads the reader to suppose that the article is omitted by licence in *this passage*, and in the opening sentence of Thucydides; whereas these are precisely cases in which the definite article would have no place. "Herodotus a Halicarnassian," and "Thucydides an Athenian," are the right mode of speaking, when a person is introduced to the reader for the first time, which no learner could have guessed from Dr. Stocker's note; nor that such English is a proper translation of the Greek. In Xen. *Hell.* i. 2, 13, we read of Ἀλκιβιάδην Ἀθηναῖον, ἀνέψιον Ἀλκιβιάδου, "Alcibiades an Athenian." Here the writer could not have inserted τὸν, without seeming to mean the celebrated Alcibiades.

Τὰ γεγόμενα, "has here the force of the perfect." A very needless making of difficulties. Take it as aorist or historical:—the things which *were done*;—and the sense is perfectly good.

Γένηται, "occurs in Homer with a past signification, as if for γεγένηται. Οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ, οὐδ' ἔσσεται οὐδὲ γένηται,—*Od.* π. 437." If this were ever so true, it could do nothing but lead the pupil astray here, since μὴ γένηται in the passage before us clearly means *that they may not be*, and is *not* a short form of γεγένηται. At the same time, it appears quite gratuitous so to interpret the passage in Homer. Undoubtedly γένηται in the subjunctive *cannot* mean "he has been;" and although in δέκτο, βλήτο, and some other forms, the reduplication is dropt, this does not establish a general law so as to accredit γένημαι, τίμαι, τίμημαι, λύπημαι, as perfects passive, none of which, I imagine, are admissible.

P. 2. ἀποδεχθέντα, "achieved." Would not "set forth," or "displayed," be more exact?

Λογίος, "one versed in history." In spite of Hesychius, it seems to me that "a literary man" would more truly express the Greek word.

Φοίνικας, &c. "The Persians had perhaps heard of the passage of the Israelites from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. That the name of Phœnicians was often applied to this people is evident. Herodotus mentions their practice of circumcision, ii. 104, and that they came over land, and settled in Palestine,

vii. 89." These references do not bear out the deductions. In ii. 104, the author clearly distinguishes the Phœnicians "with whom the Greeks have intercourse," (*i. e.* those on the sea coast,) from the Palestinians; stating that the latter alone are circumcised. It is extraordinary to alledge this in proof that he may have confounded nations so different. In vii. 89, he does not state that the circumcised people came from the Red Sea, and settled in Palestine, but that certain Phœnicians, *whom he distinguishes from them*, came from the Erythræan Sea, and settled *along the coast of the Mediterranean*. Under the word *Palestine*, he comprises a larger tract than that which the genuine Hebrews inhabited; but he names the latter *Syrians*, as an inland people, and the maritime Philistines, Amorites, Canaanites, or Sidonians, he calls, by way of contrast, *Phœnicians*. Dr. Stocker's very next note tells us that the Erythræan Sea includes the Persian Gulf, which is true; but might have suggested how little ground there was for here thinking of the Israelitish passage of the *Red Sea*.

'Επὶ θάλασσαν, "denotes coming *by land* to a sea, i. 154; ἐν θάλασσαν, coming *by water*." Rather, ἐπὶ means *to, up to, down to*, and ἐν, *into*. Surely a person may go ἐν θάλασσαν, "into the sea," without coming by water. He could not very well proceed "to the water's edge," without coming by land: nevertheless πλεῖν ἐπ' ἄλλην θάλασσαν is as good Greek, though of course seldomer needed, than πλεῖν ἐν ἄλλην θάλασσαν. If an English writer had the phrase, "they came to the sea," what should we think of the annotation, "*To the sea*, denotes coming by land; but *into the sea*, would have meant, coming by water?" Such a comment will not deceive one who is acquainted with the language, but it will mystify the tyro.

P. 3. τε καὶ. "This redundant use of τε is very frequent in Herodotus, and is termed polysyndeton; so μέγала τε καὶ θουμαστά." Such a note serves only to make a boy think that τε καὶ means *and*. Of course, Dr. Stocker intends to tell him τε means *both*, and καὶ *and*; but it would be shorter and clearer to say this, than to call τε "redundant."

Καὶ δὴ καὶ, "denotes a transition from a general statement to a particular instance more in point; 'and what is more to our present purpose.' There is, no doubt, a practical truth in this proposition; but it would seem more instructive, when possible, to *translate* the words:—"Women came down to the

sea, both others in great number, *and lo! also* the king's daughter." If a French boy did not understand the words, "and lo! also," what English teacher would think of explaining them by saying, "They denote a transition from a general statement, &c. &c.?"

Ἐν, "in; ἐν, Æolic, = ὄν, a thing being; ἑν, one thing; sent." It must surely be by oversight that Dr. Stocker interprets ἐν, "sent." If the word exists, it is the *active* aorist participle of ἵημι; but to obtrude on a boy a word which is, at best, so rare, was needless.

P. 5. Ἐσβάλλεσθαι "signifies, to put on board *by force*; ἐσπιβάζειν, to embark, transitively." This is an approximation to truth, but not, I think, true. In vi. 95, we read, ἐσβαλόμενοι τοὺς ἵππους, "having put the horses on board;" not, by violence. Yet ἐσπιβάζειν and ἐσβάλεσθαι probably differ nearly as ἀγειν and φέρειν, the former being used of *men*, the latter of *things*. A notion of rudeness, though not of violence, is thus perhaps conveyed. Compare Thucyd. viii. 31, τὰ μὲν διήρπασαν καὶ ἀνάλωσαν, τὰ δὲ ἐσβαλόμενοι. The middle voice in ἐσβάλεσθαι might also deserve to have been remarked on, especially since ἐσπιβάζεσθαι seems to give a *passive*, not a middle, sense. May we not render ἐσπιβάζω, "I *send* or *bring* on board," and ἐσβάλλομαι, "I *put* on board (of my own ship)?" Indeed, Dr. Stocker's rendering, ἐσπιβάζω, "I embark," is every way unexceptionable.

P. 6. εἴησαν δ' ἄν, "*were perhaps*. The optative with ἄν denotes a conjecture." Rather, in the passage before us, it denotes an *inference*; "they must have been Cretans." Of course, every inference involves an uncertainty. In provincial English, and that not bad, the thought is expressed by, "They *would be* Cretans."

"The date of the Argonautic expedition was 1350, B.C." Does Dr. Stocker believe it to have been a historical event? or does he wish to teach his pupils that we have an exact knowledge of the chronology of those ages?

P. 7. εἶδοσαν. "In indirect speech, the indicative is much more used by the Greeks than by the Latins. . . . A Latin writer, instead of *dederunt*, would say *dedissent*." Dr. Stocker would scarcely suggest to us as good Latin, "Responderunt *quod* ne illi quidem poenas *dedissent*." He must have written *dedisse*, through haste, for *dedisse*.

Πριάμον. "He was originally named Podarces; after Her-

cules had sacked Troy, he was *ransomed* by his sister Hermione, and hence called *Priam*." I would not willingly impute to Dr. Stocker notions of etymology so crude, as that the μ of *Πρίαμος* is due to the μ of *πρίαμαι*: yet his note (unless it remains, as is probable, a perfect riddle to a school-boy) must suggest this belief. But besides this, it passes off as historical fact the fanciful speculations of old and very erroneous etymologists.

'Επιστάμενον πάντως, "firmly believing." 'Επιστάμενος, in its peculiar Herodotean sense, may be generally rendered "making sure;" but πάντως, if I mistake not, means, "at any rate," and not "*firmly*;" and it is to be joined with the next clause.

P. 9. "εἶναι, to be, *to be going*; εἶναι, to send; second aorist." I am not aware that εἶναι ever means, *to be going*: has Dr. Stocker confounded it with ἰέναι? In the next page, we have a new statement. Wishing to warn his pupils *not* to confound like words, he writes, "Εἰ, if; εἰ, thou art, *thou art going*; go thou; εἰ, *be thou, thou wert [wast] going*." It would have been well to verify, by references, meanings so strange. The compounds ἀπει, ἔξει, &c. from εἶμι, are well known; but εἰ, *thou art going*, is a word which I have never seen. What to make of his εἰ, I cannot conceive: is it Greek at all? ἴσθι, *be thou*; ἦεις or ἦεισθα, *thou wast going, or wentest*, certainly are the Attic Greek.

Οὐκ ἔρχομαι εἰρῶν, "I am not going to say." This rendering is rightly disapproved by Mr. Kenrick. Closer to the Greek would be, "I am not *coming* to say."

P. 11. "τύραννος is used here as synonymous with βασιλεύς." By no means. Cræsus had conquered the nations within Halys, and held over them an unlimited sway, neither hereditary nor otherwise legitimated. This was strictly a τυραννίς.

P. 12. Ἰδμεν, "Ionic or Doric, = ἴσμεν, and this by syncope for ἴσαμεν." The crude form is ἰδ or Γιδ, Latin *vid*, and ἴδμεν is likely to be a softening of οἶδαμεν, as πέπιθμεν for πεποιθαμεν. Ἰδμεν would change into ἴσμεν by known laws of euphony, though ἴσμεν, as ἴσασι, may have come from a secondary root *Fi*,—in English *wit* and *wise*.

Ἐὼν, "Ionic," = ὦν, by prothesis." This again is misleading. Ἐὼν is not formed from ὦν, but ὦν from ἑών.

P. 14. Περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. "The Greeks use *περὶ* instead of *ἐν*, with the name of a country, when they do not speak of any

particular cities or definite part of the land." As if they could *not* say, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, without speaking of some particular cities, &c.! Dr. Stocker adds, "Any where on the coast of; somewhere on the coast of; about the coast of; all round the coast of." It might seem, that when he had said *about* and *round*, he had said enough for περι, without adding "the coast of." There is no question that Dr. Stocker would translate ἐλκυσεν Ἑκτορα περι τεύχη, "he dragged Hector *round* the walls," not "round *the coast of* the walls;" and πλανᾶσθαι περι τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, "to wander *about* Cithæron," not "about *the coast of* Cithæron." What else then does he here, but set learners astray? Nay, he does not even call attention to the accusative case, which was particularly needed.

"Que loses its copulative sense in *Itaque*." But how is this? *Itaque* means, "and so." Dr. Stocker would not write, "Et itaque," or, "At itaque," or, "Quia itaque," I presume.

Ἀρώμενοι. However difficult it may be to attain the true text, it seems impossible to me to defend this reading, which makes pure nonsense.

Δούλωσας ἔχεις, "*holdest* enslaved." It is not possible always to make out this sense, any more than in the English, "thou *hast* enslaved." What are we to make of Ἐπεοκλέα προτίσας ἔχεις,—ἔχεις τάραξας νεῖκος?

Enough perhaps has been written of this sort to show that Dr. Stocker's notes admit of improvement. Weary of such criticism, I have opened at random in p. 91, and read the following note:—

"Μαίανδρον,—Boyuk Minder. More correctly written *Beyug*, great. This is the same as *Beg*, (*Beyg*), a governor or chief of a province or department, so contracted from frequency of use. *Beyug*, *Beyg*, singularly like our word *Big*, is from the Persian *Buzurg*, great.—Communicated in 1830, by Mirza Ibrahim, one of the Assistant Professors at Halebury College, (who was then translating Herodotus into Persian,) through Professor Jeremie."

This must have been a note added "for the master, not for the pupil;" who would not find the *Μαίανδρος* much illustrated by a discussion whether the Turkish word *Boyuk*, "great," is or is not more properly written *Beyug*. But what if this important correction be incorrect? The true Turkish pronunciation may, in German orthography, be denoted by *Büyük*, which

the English write *Boyük*, as an approximation to the sound. It is impossible to judge whether these were the vowels which Mirza Ibrahim intended. If, however, the learned Mirza means to correct the Turkish *k* into a *g*, the English may well decline attempting to mediate in so great a strife. One thing is certain, that the Turks think they can talk their own language rightly, and insist on saying *Büyük*. Perhaps the Germans might tell us that we ought to say *Hass* and *Fuss*, not *Hate* and *Foot*: but if they did, it would tempt us to recriminate.

Turning to Dr. Stocker's second volume, I opened on a long note (p. 31.) from Richardson, elaborately attempting to prove his well known paradox, that we ought to believe the *poems* of Firdusi, written three centuries and a half after the Mahommedan conquest in Persia, in preference to the almost contemporaneous prose narratives of Herodotus and Thucydides, and the universal belief of ancient Greece. He writes indeed as if the Persians had authentic records, and as if the Greeks followed "the inventions of superstition," and "the fictions of poets." One might have expected that Dr. Stocker, unless he believed Richardson's fancies, would have quoted such views only to refute them. Not at all so. Plausible and broad statements are left on his page, to decoy or perplex the youthful and uninformed reader, which inculcate that no king of Persia ever invaded Greece, but that the Persian war, so called, was nothing but an attempt on the part of the satraps of Asia Minor to enforce from the nations of Southern Greece their customary tribute! Dr. Stocker gravely quotes Richardson's argument,—that "minutely attentive as the *Persian historians* are to their numerous wars with the kings of Turan or Scythia; and recording, *with the same impartiality*, whatever might tarnish, as well as aggrandize the reputation of their country, we can, with little pretence to reason, suppose that they should have been silent on events of such magnitude, had any records remained of their existence, or the faintest tradition commemorated their consequences." We can forgive Richardson for his enthusiasm; as an oriental scholar, who had perhaps little studied the early Greek history, and on whose mind new visions had seemed to flash. But these matters have now been again and again maturely discussed, and no commentator on Herodotus deserves the same allowance as Richardson. Is Dr. Stocker ignorant that the whole foundation of the native Persian history is the poem of the oriental

Homer ? that it is as silent concerning the Hellenic revolution under Alexander the Great, as of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes ? that no idea either of the Seleucidæ or of the Parthian dynasty can be gleaned from it ? that the wars between Rome and Persia are as little named as those between Persia and Greece ? that their most vain-glorious historians are unaware that their monarch at one time had a Roman emperor as his captive, and used to mount his horse by stepping on the prostrate back of his foe ? If Dr. Stocker knows all this, and sees that Richardson's objections are futile, why does he quote them, and leave them unrefuted ? If he knows it, yet thinks that there is after all weight in Richardson's theory, far be it from me to refuse him his right of judgment : but then, I cannot but ask, if Herodotus is so deplorably in error about the events which occurred in the days and country of his immediate father, (to say nothing of Thucydides and the rest,) what sort of credit is due to the fortunes of Priam, *alias* Podarces, and to the date of the Argonautic expedition ?

I do not pretend to have examined more than a fifth part of Dr. Stocker's commentary ; but I have sought to take as fair a sample of it as possible. I procured his work in the hope that it might assist a young pupil ; and if it has disappointed that hope, and I am not able to write in so high terms of it as could be wished, this I very much regret myself.

One particular in his plan must not be omitted, since he lays much stress upon it. Whoever makes a selection from Herodotus, would be certain to omit those parts which offend modern delicacy ; and which, whatever may be said to the contrary, make the book extremely disagreeable to a schoolmaster. I cannot use the phrase "licentious anecdotes," (as a favourable critic in Dr. Stocker's Preface,) concerning such parts of this author. In simple artlessness and want of disguise, his tone on all such matters is more fairly compared to that of the Old Testament : and though there are many things which it must be absurd and hurtful to force on the attention of boys, there is exceedingly little in the book which one could wish omitted for men. The inconvenience of having a mutilated edition of *such* a writer, whose most revolting facts are often eminently instructive, increases the practical difficulty of the case. One method has nevertheless occurred to me, which, not for this purpose only, nor to this author only, might possibly be of ser-

vice ; and I will take this opportunity of opening my ideas on the subject.

The modern art of book-writing has attained its present perfection, not without some aid from the form of the book itself. Our volumes are divided into leaves and pages, and it is easy to refer to any part at will ; while at the bottom of every page we have room for foot-notes, as ample as the case may require. As a result of this, we can throw into our notes any subsidiary proofs or illustrative matter, which would embarrass the text and obscure the connexion of the lines of thought ; or, if still ampler notes are occasionally needed, or documents are to be appended, we annex them at the end of the volume. Even in the most perfect state of ancient parchments, the margin would have been an inconvenient place for notes by the author's hand, as an essential part of the work ; for the margin did not enlarge and contract according to the abundance of matter. In consequence, an ancient author works up into his text the materials which we should distribute, in part, into foot-notes and appendices : whence arise entanglements, and frequently inconvenient digressions, which offend our taste.

It appears to me to deserve inquiry, whether more than one ancient author might not undergo with advantage a slight dislocation, accommodated to the form of our printed books ; and whether this is not peculiarly true in the instance of Herodotus. Many of the passages omitted by Dr. Stocker as tedious or uninteresting to the general reader, might be retained as foot-notes. With a wide page and fair-sized type for the text, but double columns and small type for the notes and appendices, so large a portion of the author might be printed in a condensed form, that the whole would occupy one moderate volume, as handsome and pleasant as Gaisford in two volumes. At the same time, those portions of the author which our greater refinement desires to cast into the back-ground, might be reserved for appendices, as well as those digressions which are too long for foot-notes. Where requisite, I would propose boldly to alter the very words of the writer ; but in the appendix, give them as they are actually read in our MS. As one example, a sentence which Mr. Kenrick has modified will serve, which might be printed in the text, nearly as Aristotle gives it in his Rhetoric :—

Τῶν δέ τινα λέγεται εἰπεῖν,—ἐνθα ἂν αὐτοὶ ἔωσι, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι
ἐνταῦθα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας.

This could not be omitted in the narrative without spoiling the whole story; but by retaining it with this slight alteration, the opposite advantages would be reconciled. The historian and the scholar would have a perfect text of the author, while unseemly tales or over-curious points would not be obtruded on readers unprepared to profit by them. A method nearly the same might be pursued in translating this valuable and highly interesting classic for English readers; except that greater liberties might suitably be taken, and the substance of his meaning be easily preserved, in most cases, under expressions unexceptionably decorous. I have not attempted to go through the work in order to ascertain what amount of abridgment might be thus effected; but even if no important saving of space were gained, (which is after all a secondary matter,) the perusal of the author,—in Greek or in English,—would be made far more agreeable.

F. W. N.

XII.

ON THE ROMAN FESTIVAL OF THE AGONALIA.

THE Agonalia, or Agonia, as it is also written, was one of the most ancient festivals at Rome. Its institution¹ was attributed to Numa Pompilius; and its importance would seem to be indicated by the fact of its being celebrated at least three, if not four, times in the year. The ancient calendars record, *a.d.* v. *Id. Jan.* (the 9th of January,) *a.d.* XII. *Kal. Jun.* (the 21st of May,) and *a.d.* III. *Id. Dec.* (the 11th of December,) as the three days on which it was celebrated. Ovid² expressly mentions the two former of these days, and Varro³ places the

¹ "Antias Agonaliorum repertorem Numam Pompilium refert."—Macrobius, *Saturnal.* i. 4.

² *Fasti*, i. 317, 318; v. 721.

³ *De Lingua Latina*, vi. 12, ed. Müller.

festival in January. To these three days we ought probably to add a fourth, *a.d. xvi. Kal. Apr.* (the 17th of March,) since the Liberalia, which was celebrated on that day, was also called Agonia, or Agonium Martiale.⁴ The chief rite of the festival was the sacrifice of a ram by the rex sacrorum in the regia;⁵ and it has been well observed by Hartung, in his work on the Religion of the Romans,⁶ that these facts give us a clue to the purpose and meaning of the festival. The ram was the usual victim offered up to the guardian gods of the state; and the rex sacrorum and the regia would be employed only for such ceremonies as were connected with the highest gods, and affected the interests of the whole state. Considering then the antiquity assigned to this festival, the victim that was sacrificed, the place where the sacrifice was offered, and the person who offered it, it seems certain that the Agonalia was originally a sacrifice offered by the kings on behalf of the whole state, and that, after the abolition of the kingly dignity, it accordingly continued to be performed by the rex sacrorum.

We should not, however, have troubled the reader with the preceding remarks, were it not that we have never seen any satisfactory account of the etymology of this festival, while we believe that its real origin may be explained with hardly any doubt. Its etymology was a subject of much dispute among the ancients themselves, as we see from the following lines of Ovid:⁷

“Nominis esse potest succinctus causa minister,
Hostia cœlitibus quo feriente cadit.
Qui calido strictos tincturus sanguine cultros,
Semper, agatne rogat, nec nisi jussus agit.
Pars, quia non veniant pecudes, sed agantur, ab actu
Nomen Agonalem credit habere diem.
Pars putat hoc festum priscis Agnalia dictum;
Una sit ut proprio littera demta loco.

⁴ Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, vi. 14; Macrobius, *Satura*. i. 4; *Kalendarium Vaticanum*.

⁵ “Agonales (dies) per quos rex in regia arietem immolat,”—Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, vi. 12; “Agonium dies appellabatur, quo rex hostiam immola-

bat,”—Paulus Diaconus, p. 10, ed. Müller; and Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 333, 334.

“Rex placare sacrorum

Numina lanigeræ conjuge debet ovis.”

⁶ *Die Religion der Römer*, vol. ii. pp 33, 34.

⁷ *Fasti*, i. 319–334.

An quia prævisos in aqua tenet hostia cultros,
 A pecoris lux est ista notata metu?
 Fas etiam fieri solitis ætate priorum
 Nomina de ludis Græca tulisse diem.
 Et pecus antiquus dicebat agonia sermo:
 Veraque iudicio est ultima causa meo."

Of these various etymologies, the first which derived the word from *agone* was the one generally received among the ancients: *agere* was used euphemistically in reference to sacrifices in the sense of "to kill." The attendant, whose duty it was to sacrifice the victim, asked the ministering priest, *agone*—"am I to kill it?" to which the priest replied, *hoc age*. We are surprised to find that Hartung acquiesces in this etymology, and accordingly maintains that *Agonalia* meant originally nothing more than a victim or a sacrifice. But it hardly needs remark, that no word could be formed from the termination *one* in *ag-one*, but that it must be derived simply from the root *ag*. It is true that Festus, or rather his epitomist, Paulus Diaconus, says, "hostiam antiqui *agoniam* vocabant;" and that Ovid seems to refer to the same fact at the latter end of the passage quoted above, "pecus antiquus dicebat *agonia* sermo;" but it is difficult to say whether this word had any real existence in the language: it seems to us far more likely to have been a word formed from *agone* by the antiquarians, on those false principles of etymology which we know prevailed among the ancients.

We would therefore submit an entirely new etymology. It is well known that the Quirinal was originally called *Agonus*:⁸ may we not then conjecture that the sacrifice of the *Agonalia* was originally offered on the Quirinal, and that the sacrifice received its name from that of the hill? That there was a tradition that this sacrifice was once offered on a hill, seems clear from the following words of the epitomist of Festus, when he is speaking of the etymology of the word: "Sive quia agones dicebant montes, Agonia sacrificia, quæ fiebant in monte; hinc Romæ mons Quirinalis Agonus et Collina porta Agonensis." This conjecture, however, which appears probable of itself, is turned almost into certainty by a passage of Solinus,⁹ which is evidently no invention of his, but from the connection in which it stands, must have been copied from

⁸ Festus, p. 254; Paulus Diaconus, p. 10, ed. Müller.

⁹ l. 21.

some ancient source. His words are,—“*Numa habitavit in colle primum Quirinali, deinde propter ædem Vestæ in Regia, quæ adhuc ita appellatur.*” Now, when we recollect that the festival of the Agonalia is said to have been instituted by Numa, and that it was afterwards celebrated in the Regia by the rex sacrorum, who succeeded the kings in their religious duties, and then find Solinus stating that Numa first dwelt on the Quirinal, and afterwards in the Regia, the very place where the sacrifice was offered, it seems to us a legitimate conclusion that this sacrifice was originally performed on the Quirinal, before the hill received the latter name.

This subject is of more importance for the early history of Rome than it may at first sight appear; but we cannot follow it at present into the various considerations which it suggests. We would merely remark, that it points attention to a fact, which has not yet received the attention it ought to have done from most modern writers, that the Quirinal was one of the chief seats of the early religious worship of the Romans; and it might perhaps be shewn, that more of their religious rites and ceremonies may be traced to the Sabines, than is generally supposed.

WILLIAM SMITH.

XIII.

SOME ENQUIRY INTO THE MYTHUS OF IO.

It would be superfluous to preface an investigation of a legend so celebrated as the subject of the present essay, by a statement of its details; more especially when such details, here, as in most other instances of mythological narrative, must be regarded, for the major part of them, as additions and embellishments by later hands, rather than as essential and consequently valuable portions of the original story. Our first task, therefore, and one on the right conduct of which, if we may credit Müller, the success of the enquiry is mainly dependent, will be to separate, if possible, such subsequent interpolations from the primitive nucleus. The development, as we

may call it, of a legend is generally two-fold ; First, in proportion to its celebrity, or from other causes, it has a tendency to enlarge its horizon geographically, as well as to be charged with various minutiae of time and circumstance, naturally attending such an expansion : Secondly, its internal structure is also modified by the introduction of *causes*, these being invented by a natural tendency of the mind at a later period, by way of accounting for phenomena of which the real origin has been lost, and which frequently constitute some of the most characteristic features of the story. Both these principles are exemplified in the case before us. That the former or geographical development has been at work in the mythus of Io, has been satisfactorily shewn by Müller in his "Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology," where he explains the account of the passage of the Bosphorus by Io, to be an extension of the original legend by the Argives, who colonized Byzantium, and who merely brought with them, and applied to their own neighbourhood, the traditions of their native country. So also he refers that part of the story which represents Io as visiting Egypt and giving birth to Epaphus, to the discovery of the Egyptian Isis by Greek travellers to that country, and the natural disposition to identify her, in consequence of the similarity of appearance and attributes, with their own Io ; and thus again her son Epaphus is no other than the Egyptian Apis or Pe-Apis. As for the minute account of her wanderings by Æschylus, it is sufficiently obvious, (not to mention the discrepancy of the two relations in the Prometheus and the Supplices,) that the language of poetry does not aim at furnishing a faithful narration either of facts or of fables. Our conclusion on the whole is, that the wanderings of Io are an essential portion of the original legend, but that the details of them are mostly the additions of a later period.

The legend, however, may be still further simplified, by an application of the second of the above-mentioned causes, by which a fable becomes liable to subsequent interpolations. This was stated to consist in the tendency to systematize and reconcile the different portions of the narrative, by the solution of apparent difficulties or inconsistencies in it. Now, the practice of employing the notion of Hera's jealousy as an universal solvent of these difficulties was so general, that we should naturally fasten at once on that part of the subject before us in

which this notion is introduced, as a probable interpolation by a later hand, framed to explain the metamorphosis of Io into a cow, or, at any rate, her representation under the figure of that animal. We may refer in illustration to the analogous instance of the Arcadian nymph Callisto, whose transformation into a bear is effected in the legend by the intervention of precisely the same agency,—the interpolation in this instance being sufficiently established by Müller's ingenious solution of the whole fable, which we shall have occasion to allude to farther on. Setting aside, therefore, the narrative of the marriage of Io with Zeus, Hera's consequent jealousy, and the *persecution* of Io as connected with this, we have remaining the mysterious circumstance of her transformation,—a most characteristic portion of the legend, and which cannot be got rid of by any artifice of explanation. Accordingly, the wanderings and the transformation are the nucleus of the fable—the two factors of our calculation. And thus, if the *wanderings* can receive a probable and natural interpretation on the one hand, and if, on the other, the *transformation* can be explained satisfactorily by a chain of argument deduced legitimately *from* the interpretation of the wanderings, this coincidence will necessarily produce for the argument itself a multiplied probability beyond that attaching to any independent proofs employed in it.

Returning then to the consideration of the wanderings of Io, we shall have no difficulty in understanding them to represent an extensive national migration, of which Io (whatever her name indicate) is the symbol: the memory of such an event, supposing its occurrence at a remote period, being of all others most likely to be perpetuated by a continuous tradition, and that too in a mythical form. Further, Argos itself is clearly to be taken as one of the two poles, the whence and the whither of this migration. If we were to venture on any speculations as to the other of them, we might perhaps not unreasonably look in the direction of the Caucasus. At least, it is conceivable that an express tradition of the Caucasus being a stage in the migration, might have been Æschylus' warrant for introducing Io to the scene of the Titan's punishment, with which she is otherwise unconnected. Again, if we call to mind Niebuhr's¹ well known principle, which he supports by a variety of

¹ *Hist. of Rome*, i. p. 40.

instances, that such traditions frequently reverse the points of arrival and departure, and that East and West, like all other diametrical opposites, are interchanged in them; we shall be scarcely unprepared to expect that, in this case likewise, Argos, given in the legend as the starting point, may be in reality the termination, and that the current of the migration set, not eastward but westward. The antiquity of the fable itself, it being one of the oldest in Greece, known in its essential portions to the oldest Greek writers, and therefore undoubtedly very much older than them all, leads us necessarily to an ante-Hellenic period, in other words, the Pelasgic, as beyond this we cannot penetrate; but the proofs of the extent and duration of Pelasgic rule are sufficiently established.

Now, are there grounds for attributing to this people any important original migration? Certainly the legends current in the Greek period, which described them as a race driven without rest over all lands by the anger of heaven, in themselves favour this supposition, although these may perhaps, after all, be adequately accounted for on Niebuhr's hypothesis, which regards them as simply indicating the scattered and separated condition of a community once powerful, but known to the Greek world only in its fragments.² But a more certain and satisfactory evidence to this effect, is furnished by comparative etymology. The Pelasgic language, the common basis of Latin and Greek, is closely connected with the Sanskrit.

The following passage from Cuvier, (quoted in Dr Pritchard's *Treatise on the Celtic Nations*), seems decisive on this subject:—"The Pelasgi were originally from India, of which the Sanskrit roots, which occur abundantly in their language, do not permit us to doubt. It is probable, that by crossing the mountains of Persia, they penetrated as far as the Caucasus, and that from this point, instead of continuing their route by land, they embarked on the Black Sea, and made a descent upon the coasts of Greece."

Assuming, therefore, the fact of a great Pelasgic migration, and following its progress to the Greek shores, among the various states or races which claimed kindred with them in later times, or whose connexion with them has been otherwise estab-

² Compare the parallel legend of the Gypsies, whose wanderings were similarly attributed to a curse.

lished, we find the well known names both of the Argives and the Ionians. "The Arcadians," writes Niebuhr,³ "the ancient Argives and the Ionians, were all of the Pelasgian race, and so also probably were all the original inhabitants of Peloponnesus." The Ionians are similarly regarded by Bishop Thirlwall as almost undoubtedly Pelasgian, and as such connected with the Argives, about whom there is still less question. Now, among these two nations we find a variety of names and designations intimately connected with our present subject: First, Io herself, who is located at Argos in the capacity of priestess to the Pelasgian Hera; next, we have the title of Argos, the "Iasian," (*Ἰασον* "Ἀργος") and its earliest designation, which subsequently gave way to the name "Achæan." To these may be added the mythical names of Iasus, (according to one form of the legend, the father of Io,) Iasius, or Iasion, and Jason, who is identified by Müller with the preceding personage. Lastly, the national name itself, Ias, Iaones, or Ionia, the impossibility of tracing which to any Hellenic or Thessalian family, is remarked by Bishop Thirlwall. Now, on searching round for some clue whereby to analyse and interpret this family of names, we cannot but be struck by the fact mentioned both by Suidas and by Eustathius in his comment on the *Periegesis* of Dionysius, as well as otherwise indicated, that the Argives identified Io with the moon. Suidas writes, (*s. v.* *Ἰώ*), "Inachus, king of the Argives, builds a city after the name of the moon, Io, for so did the Argives call the moon." This statement, perplexing as it seems at first sight, is, however, most valuable. Io must be considered, not indeed as the moon originally, but as her correlative Deo or Demeter—the earth goddess, who, as she became connected with the nether world under the title of *χθόνια*, became similarly identified with the moon, who presided in the upper sphere, in accordance with the well known lines of Virgil,

"Vos, O clarissima mundi
Lumina, labentem cœlo quæ ducitis annum,
Liber et alma Ceres."

"In the elementary worship of the Pelasgians," writes Mr. Donaldson,⁴ "there were two leading divinities; these were the Sun and the Moon, worshipped under the related names

³ *History of Rome*, i. p. 29. | ⁴ *Theatre of the Greeks*, p. 14.

of Helios and Selene, and by the Pelasgian old inhabitants of Italy, as well under names connected with the Greek, as under the names of Janus or Dianus, and Diana. In Greece, however, the original names of these divinities fell into disuse at an early period, and were rather employed to designate the natural objects themselves, than the celestial powers whom they were supposed to typify; and Bacchus or Dionysus was adopted as a new name for the Sun-god, and Deo or Demeter for the goddess of the Moon." Should, however, the argument from analogy appear insufficient of itself to establish the identity of Io with Deo or Demeter, the goddess of the Earth, the following considerations would seem to decide the question almost beyond the possibility of doubt. Homer⁵ tells us how Iasion (the Samothracian god or hero) wedded Demeter *νεῦν ἐνι τριπόλῳ*, "in the thrice-ploughed field," and Plutus, according to the old legends, was their offspring. Some said, apparently in explanation of the story, that after the deluge, Iasion was the only person who had grains of wheat in his possession. Now, the obvious conclusion to be drawn from this legend is, that Iasion was none other than the male deity, the Earth-God; this *double* representation of the several powers of nature being characteristic of the Pelasgian religion, and similarly exhibited as well in the above-mentioned instance of Janus and Diana, who are the representatives of light or heaven, as in Ops and Saturnus,⁶ god and goddess of the Earth, the Iasion and Demeter of ancient Italy. To these might be added the instances of Hecatus⁷ and Hecatè, Vertumnus and Fortuna; in which the almost complete disappearance of the name Hecatus in the former example, and the variation of the two names in the latter, are equally noticeable. When, therefore, we consider the mythological connexion of the name Io with that of Iasus, (Iasus being by one account the father of Io, and by another her son,) the conclusion is inevitable that Iasion and Io occupied originally the station in the Pelasgic religious system afterwards held by Demeter singly.

"Mythic names," says Müller,⁸ "often lead to roots no longer extant. There can be no doubt that Ζεὺς Ἀνκαίων was

⁵ *Odyssey*, v. 125.

⁶ Niebuhr, i. p. 83.

⁷ Donaldson, i. 1.

⁸ *Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology*, p. 230.—Translation.

so called from 'light,' but the real primitive is only in the Latin, 'lux,' though in the Greek λευκός, λύχνος, and other words are derived from it." In this case, however, there seems no necessity for supposing a new root, there being good reasons for regarding 'ια (from which we suppose 'Ιω to be formed as Καλλιστώ from καλλίστη, or Δηώ from δη,) to be merely an earlier or Pelasgic form of αια or γαια. This connexion is strongly indicated by the legends themselves, which, by representing 'Αίσων as father of 'Ιάσων, clearly imply that the former name is only a variation of the latter. The same may be said of the form 'Αετίων,⁹ who is represented as brother of Dardanus, either conjointly with, or as substituted for 'Ιασίων, and with whom we may compare Æetes, the mythic king of the Colchian Æa, (or Land.) Thus 'Αίσων, 'Ιασίων, and 'Αετίων, would be a proper name formed from ια or αια, like 'Ακταίων from ἀκτή. As to this supposed form ια, it may be observed generally, that the ι sound was, according to Plato, the oldest in Greek;¹⁰ thus, Teanum was spelled Tiano on the medals; ἡμέρα was pronounced ιμέρα, and in the Laconian dialect, the connexion of which with Pelasgic was very close,¹¹ θεός, as is well known, was σιός; so, also, for γέφυρα they said δίφουρα. Again, ἴσχω and ἴσπω are old forms of ἔχω and ἔπω; ἰν (Latin in) is Æolic for ἐν, the Latin ire is from a form io, which eo has replaced. Finally, the Greek αι (μουσαίς) is represented in Latin by the long i occasionally, (musis.)

Further, if we examine the variations of the word γῆ itself, we shall find the ι predominating in them more or less remarkably. The following are from Hesychius:—Γιγαλία . ἡ γῆ . (Cf. γίγας &c.) 'Ιωνή . αἰγιαλός . 'Ιώλκα . αὔλακα . 'Ιωρος . τὸ ὀρεινὸν χωρίον . καὶ τὸ ὄρον . καὶ οἶκος . καὶ ὁ τοῦτου φύλαξ. The note on this last interpretation refers us to Γέωρες, (i. e. γεωφύλακες, Hesych.) and quotes the following passage from "Apollon. Dyscol. Grammat. ined." "τὰ φυλασσόμενα περιέχει ἡ τοῦ 'Ορείν σύνθεσις . τὸ πύλην φυλάσσει πυλωρός . τὸ θύρην θυρωρός . οὕτω καὶ οἱ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως φύλακες 'Ιωροι." All these passages seem to indicate a form ια or ιω equivalent to γῆ. The same may be said of the four following names of plants, with all of which the notion of earth is closely connected, as being all plants growing

⁹ Eustath. ad Hom., l. c.

¹⁰ Thiersch, Greek Grammar, § xiv. 4.

¹¹ Thiersch, Greek Grammar, § v. Note.

close to, or trailing on the ground, yet not agreeing among themselves in any other features:—1. *Iasione*, commonly translated the *Convolvulus*, of which *Stephanus* gives the following account: “*Iasione olus silvestre habetur repens in terra cum lacte multo*,” &c.;—2. *Ἰωνία*, the ground-pine or *χαμαίπιτυς*. “*Alioquin Ἰωνία Athenis dicitur ἡ χαμαίπιτυς*.”—*Stephanus*;—3. *Ἰάλιον*, which is given in *Hesychius* as the Cretan name for “*ἐρέβινθον*.” Now, the *Erebinthus* is a trailing plant of the pea or vetch kind, connected with *ἔροβος*, Latin, *ervum*; German, *erbse*; ¹² and we can scarcely be mistaken in tracing it to the Homeric, *ἔρα*, “earth,” which apparently is the root of *ἔρεβος*, *ἐρεμνός*, &c.—If so, the two words are probably as identical in their manner of derivation as in their meaning. The termination —*λιον* of *ἰάλιον*, may be illustrated by forms of *χαμαί*, such as *χαμαλός*, *humilis*, and the Slavonic *Zembla*; as also by the form *γυγαλία*, which occurs above;—4. *Ἰον*, a *Violet*, which needs no comment. To these, *Ἰάσμη*, the *Jasmine*, may perhaps be added.

Further, if there be any truth in the above analysis, then the national name *Ionía*, (*Ἰόν*, *Ἰόνες*, &c.) admits of a simple and natural explanation as the “people of the land,” a mode of expression to which there are many parallels. Thus, for instance, the *Argives* are the people of “*Argos*,” and *Argos* was, as we know, a *Pelasgian* term signifying “land,” or “plain.” Similarly, the *Ἀττικοί*, or *Ἀκτοαῖ*, are the people of the *ἀκτὴ*; and the name *Æolia*, compared with *γυγαλία* and *ἰάλιον*, would suggest a corresponding derivation from *αἶα*. But, perhaps, the most conclusive illustration is furnished by the old Italian nations, whose names, whether *Oscans* or *Ausonians*, *Apulians*, *Iapygians*, and the like, were, as *Niebuhr* has pointed out, every one of them connected with that of *Opican*; nay, the old Greek word *Apia* (*ἀπίη*) has served to establish their connexion even with the *Pelasgian Peloponnesus*.¹³ It is most remarkable also, that the old Italian Earth-goddess, *Ops*, (the same surely with the Earth-goddess *Apia*, so called according to *Herodotus*¹⁴ among the *Scythians*,) stands in exactly the same relation to the *Opici* and their kindred names, that *Io* does, by our present hypothesis, to the families of the *Ionians*.

¹³ See *Liddell and Scott's Lexicon*, s. v.

¹⁵ *Buttmann's Lexilogus*, s. v. *ἰωνία*.

¹⁴ *Lib. iv. 59.*

How then, if Io be the Earth, which the above-mentioned proofs variously combine to establish, are we to explain her connection in the legend with Hera, and who is Hera? The answer is, that Hera and Io are merely different names for the same personages. Their separation took place when the name Io had changed its original meaning for another, cognate indeed, yet distinct from it, and when Hera, on the other hand, had passed from a title of honour (Hera or Mistress) similar to that of *Δέσποινα* in Arcadia,¹⁵ into a proper name. The separation is in fact only the same in kind with the instances of *Αἴων* and *Ἰάων* formerly referred to, with that of Lavinus and Latinus, which are mere varieties of dialect,¹⁶ and a number of similar cases, two or three of the most apposite of which shall be here given. Thus the Arcadian nymph Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, and attendant of Artemis, has been shewn by Müller to be no other than Artemis herself, who was worshipped under the title of *Καλλίστη* in Arcadia and elsewhere.¹⁷ So again, according to the same writer, Clymenus and Chthonia, a reputed son and daughter of the Argive Phoroneus, who were said to have built a temple to the goddess Demeter at Hermione, are proved by actual inscriptions to be themselves Hades and Demeter.¹⁸ Again, in his explanation of the story of Jason and Medea, which has received the sanction of Bishop Thirlwall, as the only one which meets all the difficulties of the legend, he regards Medea as only another name of Hera. Hera, notwithstanding, protects and attends on Jason as his patron goddess. Now, if Jason be, as Müller supposes, the same with the Samothracian Iasion, then Hera, in the Argonautic legend, takes the place of Demeter in the other, and is thus identified, even if there were any doubt of it, with the Earth goddess. It is in fact to this circumstance that we may trace the inferiority of position attaching to Hera, even though the wife of Zeus, as compared with the Roman Juno. "In Greek," writes Müller elsewhere,¹⁹ "one Deity, the God of heaven and light, is at the head of the system. With him, though lower in rank, is the goddess of the earth, in different temples worshipped under different names, Hera, Demeter, Dione, &c."

¹⁵ Müller, *Introd. to Mythology*, 183.

¹⁶ Niebuhr, i. 84.

¹⁷ Müller, *Introduction*, §c. p. 15.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 192.

¹⁹ *Literature of Greece*, p. 16. (Translation.)

The other leading feature of the legend, the transformation of Io, remains for explanation ; and if the identity of Io with Hera or Demeter may be considered as established, this will not be a work of much difficulty. The cow, it is well known, was an animal expressly dedicated to Hera, and employed in her worship. Cows sacred to her were kept at Argos. A sacrifice of cows was offered up to her ; and her priestess, according to ancient custom, was drawn by cows to her altar.²⁰ It has also been conjectured, that the Homeric epithet βοῶπις, which is constantly applied to her, though not certainly intended in Homer to bear any literal signification beyond the metaphorical, was however in all probability retained by him traditionally, and must originally have been indicative of the same connection. In all this, "we perceive," says Müller, "that when the Argive called his deity βοῶπις, he thereby meant to describe her as having the form of a cow."²¹ Farther, it is worthy of observation that Io, according to the legend, is transformed into a cow, not by Hera, but by Zeus. This was invented, doubtless, in order to avoid the inconsistency of making Hera transform her into an animal sacred to herself, exactly as in the legend of Callisto, before alluded to, Artemis, according to the latest version of it, does not herself change Callisto into a bear, that being her own sacred animal, although such would have been the natural result of her anger ; but the agency of Hera's jealousy, and the counter-precaution of Zeus, is similarly resorted to. The subject may be still further illustrated from the symbolical image in the Vatican,²² which goes by the name of Mithraz, in which the bull, which is represented as being stabbed by the figure in the Persian cap, is usually considered to be typical of the earth. Accordingly, in the general fact thus established of the ancient connection of the two ideas, and the symbolical representation of the one by the other, we find, without proceeding further, an adequate solution of that portion of our fable, which describes Io as exhibited under the form of the παρθένος βοῦκερως, or "cow-horned virgin." However, the known etymological connection between the two words βοῦς and γῆ, both being traceable to the Sanskrit gô, which is used to express "earth" and "cow"

²⁰ Müller, *Introduction*, &c. p. 202.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 202.

²² See Burton's *Rome* ; *Index*, s. c. Mithraz.

equally, is too curious and interesting to be passed over unnoticed, more especially as it refers us to the same quarter of the world, from which we traced the Pelasgian migration at the outset. The following passage from Bopp²³ describes the formation of the words in question. "The Zend 'z' represents the Sanskrit 'g,' which is easily accounted for by the relationship between 'g' and 'j.' The Indian gô, (accusative gam,) meaning both 'bos' and 'terra,' has in Zend, as also in Greek, clothed itself in two forms. The first signification has *maintained* itself in Zend, but in Greek has given way to the labial (β); and βούτ and (Zend) gâos or gâus thus correspond to the Sanskrit nominative gâus. For the signification 'earth' the Greek has preserved the guttural, which in Zend is replaced by z. The Zend nominative zâo supposes an Indian form gâo for gâus: in the accusative, the Zend zanm agrees, in point of inflection, as closely as possible with gâm and γῆν." Mr. Donaldson²⁴ has still further illustrated this etymological relationship, by collecting from Hesychius words in which the form βούτ appears to have retained the signification of "earth" no less than γῆ. Such are βουνίς, βῶλος, and others bearing this sense, which at the same time indicate an interchange of ου and ω, so that we may substitute for βῶλαξ βούλαξ, and for βουνίς βωνίς. This observation of Mr. Donaldson's is capable of a two-fold application to our present subject. For, 1. From the correspondence of βούλακα with αὔλακα, we may infer the connection of the same word with ἰῶλακα, (quoted above as 'interpreted αὔλακα by Hesychius.)²⁵ Possibly also the word ἰουλος, (οὔλος,) "a sheaf of corn," whence the title of Ceres, Ἰουλω or Οὔλω, may have a similar connection with βούλος, (βῶλος,) a derivation at least as credible as the received one from εἰλέω. 2.—If βούτ thus interchange its proper meaning with that of earth, we may expect, on the other hand, that the forms connected with ἰε earth, (should any such root have existed,) will conversely assume the signification of βούτ. Now, such forms are actually supplied by Hesychius, where we find ἰον interpreted (among other meanings) "πρόβατον," and similarly ἰαρεῖον, and βαρεῖον, are explained respectively by "πρόβατον" and "βούτ."

One more instance may, in conclusion, be hazarded of the affini-

²³ *Comparative Grammar*, (Translation,) l. c. cf. also p. 134.

²⁴ *New Cratylus*, p. 569.

²⁵ Cf. the Homeric ἄλαα.

ty between the notions expressed by $\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ and $\gamma\eta$, in the fact that the elements of both appear rooted in the Greek language as *intensives*. Thus we find $\beta\omicron\upsilon$ —, $\delta\alpha$ —, $\xi\alpha$ —, $\epsilon\pi\iota$ and $\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota$ employed in this way, (e. g. $\beta\omicron\upsilon\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\alpha\phi\omicron\iota\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$, $\xi\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\epsilon\pi\iota\beta\acute{\omega}\lambda\alpha\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\zeta\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, &c.) which may be severally referred to the roots $\beta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, $\gamma\eta$, and $\epsilon\pi\alpha$; at least this suggestion may be defended from the charge of fancifulness, by the reflection, that $\epsilon\pi\alpha$ appears to assume the form of $\epsilon\pi\iota$, in the compound $\epsilon\pi\iota\chi\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$, surnamed “Γηγενής,” or “Terrigena;”²⁶ and that it is natural to explain the $\delta\alpha$ of $\delta\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon$, by a similar reference to $\gamma\eta$ or $\delta\eta$, in spite of the difference in quantity. Here also is the place to remark with regard to the question of metrical quantity in general, as far as it concerns the preceding investigations, in which no attention has been paid to it, that the length of the iota varies in words undoubtedly belonging to the same origin and family. Thus we find $\iota\omega$; but on the other hand (probably)²⁷ $\iota\omicron\upsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$. Again $\iota\alpha\sigma\omicron\upsilon$ “Argos, Iasiwv,” (*Odyssey*, c. 125,) but $\iota\acute{\eta}\sigma\omega\upsilon$, (*Odyssey*, μ. 72,) so $\iota\omicron\upsilon$ “a violet,” but $\iota\alpha\varsigma\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ a violet also. These instances are sufficient to shew that the law of quantity is not immutable, or a decisive criterion of fundamental difference.

No notice, it will be observed, has hitherto been taken, in the discussion of this legend, of the part which Argus, the “hundred-eyed,” performs in it as the keeper of Io. From the occurrence of the name Ἀργεῖφόντης in Homer, as the epithet of Hermes, Argus would seem to be undoubtedly an integral portion of the original fable; although, when the account of Hera’s jealousy is set aside as an interpolation, he becomes nothing more than her companion and associate. The known meaning of Ἀργος , as the Pelasgian word for “plain,” considered in relation to the epithet Πανόπτης , applied to the herdsman, suggests an analogy to the history of Io herself,—that as she, being the earth goddess, was raised to the sky, and became the moon; so Argus also lost his own original signification, and became similarly identified with the expanse of the starry heavens.—This leads us to conclude with the following suggestion. Considering the mutual relationship of the names Io, Iasion, and Jason, and the connection of the name Io, (and, therefore presumably, of Iasion also,) with Argus on the one hand, and of Jason on the other hand with the ship Argo, which, in the oldest form of

²⁶ Grote, *History of Greece*, i. 273.

²⁷ Maltby, *Greek Gradus*, s. v.

the legend, is personified and endowed with the gift of speech,²⁸ is it probable that the Argonautic expedition, and the wanderings of Io, may be a twofold representation of the same fact? and if so, can it be that this double pair, Iason and Argo, Io and Argus, being all four apparently identical in meaning, are but a natural cross-union of the original pair—Iason and Io, Argus and Argo, names indifferently representing a twin Earth-deity, better known as the Iason and Demeter of the old agricultural Pelasgi?

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BRASENOSE COLLEGE, OXFORD, 15th April 1846.

XIV.

THE RELIGION OF THE ROMANS.¹

EVERY one knows that the Romans were a great, a powerful, a peculiar people. Their political history proves that they were wise and discreet, unanimous in the love of their country and liberty, for which cherished objects, they were capable of making the very greatest sacrifices. In the dealings of private life, their integrity and conscientious principles have universally met with a higher meed of praise, than those of any other nation of antiquity.

Since all the moral qualities of a nation are rooted in religion, the inquiry after the Religion of the Romans is most essential in the contemplation of this wonderful people.

And here I shall probably be met by the objection, that the Romans had no peculiar Religion: that in the case of Rome, we cannot speak of Religion, but only of Mythology, of theories concerning gods, and that the gods of Rome were the gods of Greece.

When I make use of the expression, "the Religion of the

²⁸ Grote, *History of Greece*, i. 320. Argo objects to taking Hercules on board on account of his size.

¹ A Lecture delivered before the Society of Scientific Discourses at Berlin; translated from the German by C. K. Watson, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Romans," it must certainly be allowed, that neither the Greeks nor the Romans, nor, generally, any nation of antiquity, with the exception of the Jews, and to some extent the Indians and Persians, possessed a recognised Doctrine committed to writing in sacred records.

Their Religion consisted in a belief in the potent existence of certain gods, and in assiduous endeavours to commend themselves to their favour by prayers, by sacrifices and other offerings. A definite doctrine concerning the attributes of these gods, and a religious precept to imitate these attributes in the lives of men, did not exist: this was left to the elevation of their minds, which they might feel during their worship. We shall be compelled to allow, that Polytheism everywhere takes its root in the persuasion that the Divine Being is but *One*. This unity, however, was not adhered to as a doctrine; it was easily divided, and gradually fell off into a worship of many gods. Every nation ascribed to its god as an attribute, that which passed current among it for virtue of the highest order. It is from the endless variety in the national civilization of Greece, that the richly-peopled heavens of the Grecian divinities arose, whose history is in the main but the history of various worships.² Then came the plastic Art, which created the forms of the gods in accordance with the ideas entertained of them by each nation.

The Roman divinities are essentially and originally distinct from those of Greece; but when they came to be typified in images, they could not help being identified with the corresponding gods of Greece. It happened also, in course of time, that Rome became the capital of the ancient world; and this, not by mere chance, but as a due consequence of primitive in-

² The Zeus-Religion, the Religion of the Ideal of spiritual excellencies, proceeded from Crete, the most ancient seat of Hellenic civilization, and supplanted the worship of the rude powers of Nature. Poseidon, the sea, Pluto, the lower world, Hera, the air, acquired a moral import in addition to the power derived from Nature, and were looked upon as the brothers and sisters of Zeus. The other divinities, ideas of a purely spiritual kind, entered into the

relation of *children* to Zeus; Athene, Inventive Wisdom, Apollo, (Helios in a different form,) the Light of Poetry and Music, Artemis, the Boldness of the chase in the extirpation of wild beasts, Ares, Boldness in War, Hephaestus, Useful Fire, Hermes, the Knowledge of Commerce, Aphrodite, Winning Love, Heracles, the youngest of the gods, the Ideal of human toil, which gains a seat in heaven as its meed.

stitutions which assisted in working out this union.³ It then received into its bosom a number of various forms of worship, without, however, on that account, losing sight of its own peculiar views.

We have to contemplate a period of a thousand years. It is of importance to separate this apparently confused mass, to distinguish what had existed from the first, and was peculiar to the nation, from what was adventitious; and to discover the relation which these component parts bore to each other. This separation is not difficult of execution, since the authors of antiquity themselves distinguish some of the original elements, which History, at its commencement, found already existing, while they furnish us with an account of what was introduced in historical times. The only difficulty is for me, who am to draw the picture, to present the whole mass of details in one rapid and distinct view.

The most ancient element of the Roman Religion, is of a rural and domestic kind, the worship of "blessing, teaming" Nature.

SATURN, and his spouse Ops, so legends tell, were the original gods of Italy; in later times, they became the symbols of the golden, tranquil age of innocence. He, the ever-sated,⁴ she, the bounteous giver of earth's fruits. Next to them, cattle-breeding and forests stood under the protection of a powerful god—FAUNUS. He defended herds from wolves, and conferred blessings on their young; but he was also wont, amid the solitude of the forest, to fill the minds of men with his awe, and with prophetic powers. His spouse, FAUNA, called "the good goddess," (*bona Dea*), crowned with blessings the chaste wedlock; and holy worship was paid to her by married women in solemn rites at night, from which all that was of the male sex was excluded. The divinities of blossom and of fruit, called VERTUMNUS and POMONA, springs and rivers, seas and mountains, all had their rural worship. In the house, the presiding

³ No State of antiquity was so ready in welcoming strangers; and by the act of emancipation, it even bestowed the rights of a citizen upon slaves. This is all that is implied in the legend of the Asylum, which Romulus threw open upon the Capitol.

⁴ The temple afterwards erected to him near the Roman Forum, was the *Ærarium* of the city, not reserved for religious purposes, a vestibule of symbolical import.

deity was LAR, whose place was close to the hearth. In their capacity of protectors of families, worship was paid to the PENATES: they accompanied the family in the change of abode and migrations, while the Lar was inseparably attached to the house, which he protected from fire. The Lares of the various wards of the city had their public altars, with small chapels in corners of streets. Pious persons brought them presents of victuals and cooked viands, which were afterwards appropriated by the poor of the ward. It was in Lavinium that the old Trojan Penates of Æneas had their sanctuary; and the Roman people too had its own Penates in a small temple, adjacent to the Forum, in which they were represented as two youths in a sitting posture, with spears in their hands.⁵

This religious adoration of Nature, the real Italian worship, continued to exist at a later period among the Romans, not indeed in holy rites, in temples, and public pageantry, but in rural and domestic festivals.

On the 15th of February, the *Lupercalia* were solemnised. In honour of Faunus, there existed two, and afterwards three brotherhoods, composed of young men of rank. They, as well as the god himself, were termed Luperci, or "protectors of herds from wolves."⁶ They were wont to sacrifice goats and a dog, a symbolical appeasing of the wolf. The goat-skins were cut into stripes. The brotherhoods, attired in shepherd's garb, with the upper part of the body naked, ran round the Palatine Hill, starting from the sacred fig-tree where Romulus and Remus were suckled of yore by the she-wolf, along the Circus, passing through the arches of Constantine and Titus, down the Via Sacra, across the Forum, till they returned to the sanctuary in the street which led from the Forum towards the Circus, smiting all persons whom they met, by way of jest. It was only married women, however, who came in their way, and modestly put out their hand to receive the blow, which was supposed to be the means of promising blessings on their marriage, and an easy delivery.

On the 23d of February the country-proprietors celebrated

⁵ The *ædes Deorum Penatium*, situated in the short street which led from the Forum towards the Carinæ.—Dionys. i. 67.

⁶ Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 276, &c.; Plutarch, *Rom.* 21.

the *Terminalia*. The common boundary-stone (*terminus*) was crowned with a garland by the neighbours, and a rustic altar was erected. The owners of the property prayed that goodwill might subsist between them as neighbours, and strewed some corn into the fire: the children added honey-cakes, and wine as a libation. In case a lamb or a sucking-pig were sacrificed, they served as a festive repast to the neighbours; with this exception, no bloody sacrifices were allowed.⁷

Bloodless too were the *Palilia*, a festival celebrated on the evening and night of the 21st of April. After the evening feeding, the stables and flocks were purified and perfumed with the smoke and sulphur, of rosemary, and of the fragrant Sabine herb, now called Savin. For the purposes of prayer and oblation, the shepherds went into the open field; they sued for the protection of the flocks which accompanied them, against disease; they implored the forbearance of their tutelary gods and goddesses, if perchance either herdsman or cattle had polluted sacred springs, pastured in hallowed groves, or in any other way trespassed on holy ground. The shepherds lay upon the turf, around fires of straw and stubble. The flocks had to leap thrice through the fire; thrice too leapt the shepherds across, with a view to their own purification.⁸

The fields and standing corn in the various districts were consecrated or blessed, before the harvest, by a procession round the borders of the field. In the case of Rome, the sacerdotal body of the "Fratres aruales" or "the Field-brotherhood," offered up prayers and sacrifices on the 11th of May, according to a very ancient rite, (for the sake of averting all damage to the crops from hailstones or blight,) between the fifth and sixth milestone on the road to Laurentum, the spot which formed the old boundary to the precincts of the city.⁹ Far the greatest merriment, however, was shewn in the celebration of the domestic festivities at the *Saturnalia*, held

⁷ Dionys. ii. 74. Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 639, &c.

⁸ Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 721-862. On the way in which this rite was transferred to the festival of John the Baptist, on the evening of the 23d of June, see Casaubon on Pers. *Sat.* i. 72.

⁹ Strabo, v. p. 230. On the Ambar-

valia, see J. H. Voss on Virg. *Georg.* i. 338. The old prayer of the priests is still extant. See Orelli *Inscript. Lat.* Tom. i. p. 391. As far as it can be understood, it does not differ much in sense from the prayer which Cato recommends to rustics. (*De Re Rust.* c. 141.)

originally on the 19th of December. This was peculiarly the harvest-home of Italy; barns and cellars were now filled: the labours of the old year had ceased; those of the new year were not yet begun. On these days, full freedom was granted to the slaves; nay, pious masters took a pleasure in waiting on their servants with their own hands. The happy days of old seemed to have returned, when the shout of *Io Saturnalia!* rung through the air. To this was added the custom of making trifling yet pleasing presents to one another on the 22d and 23d of December; and by the addition of these two days (the so called *Sigillaria*, because the gifts consisted most frequently in little figures, as with us in dolls for girls,) to the Saturnalia, the joyous excitement lasted for a whole week.¹⁰ Presents were every where interchanged; nay the King himself both received and distributed gifts. But, singular to say, this habit prevailed only among persons of the male sex. In order to furnish amusement for the women, and to supply a day of merriment for female servants, the first of March was fixed upon; a festival which bore reference to the commencement of the year in the old style.¹¹

These are all remains of the old Italian Religion of Nature, which is said to have been in existence long before the building of Rome. One might also call it Pelasgian, and look upon it as common to the Grecian and Roman people; yet it is only the Romans who, in compliance with their well-known love for agriculture and domestic life, kept it up in after times. Christianity itself forbore to make any opposition to the serene and innocently devout character of the festivals. It was thought sufficient to give a Christian meaning to this primitive worship, and thus these festivities have been transmitted to our times in

¹⁰ Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 10. The present most frequently made by clients to their patrons, was a wax taper. Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 7. There was another custom in vogue at Rome, that of presenting what were called *strenæ** to persons who were much esteemed, on the 1st of January, such as sweet fruits or a piece of money; for in every mat-

* Compare the French word 'Etrennes.'
—Translator.

ter the Romans felt a really superstitious respect for the commencement: *in principio insunt omnia*. Thus the 1st of January was no festival; it was rather a day taken up with every variety of labour, as every employment which was intended to be carried on throughout the year, was commenced on that day *auspicandi causâ*.

¹¹ Tibull. *Eleg.* III. 1. Sueton. *Vesp.* 19. &c.

the form of St. Sebastian's, St. John's, Christmas, and New Year's Eve. ,

When Rome became an independent state, it began to form its own State Religion. To the element supplied by nature, was added the politico-religious belief in the three great gods of the State, Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, and the adoration paid to them with fear and trembling.

In Grecian mythology, the story runs, that Zeus dethroned Kronos. The same is to be found in the Italian Religion. Jupiter was the God supreme: hence the Italian Saturnus was placed in juxtaposition with the Grecian Kronos, with whom he has no other connection whatsoever.

JUPITER, in the Roman Religion, has almost the attributes of an only God. The Roman creed knows nothing of intermingling his sublime nature with that of mortals. He is termed the all-succouring heavenly father, with the constant epithets of *supremely good*, and *supremely great*: his divine activity is limited to no particular sphere. It is to him that the young Roman, when he had put on the garb of manhood, offered up his first solemn prayers: it is to him that the slave, when he had obtained the object of his wishes, paid an offering in gold, in confirmation of his freedom and rights as a citizen. This sacred treasury¹² of Jupiter was only to be touched in extreme distress, when the very existence of the commonwealth was at stake. It is by still devotion in the most holy temple of Jupiter, that he who undertook any enterprise in the cause of the state, dedicated himself to his purpose: it is from him that generals and armies marched forth to battle; to him they returned, to lay their promised vows on the lap of Jove.

MARS is the deified idea of that virtue which the Romans considered the highest of individual excellencies. He is also the parent of Romulus, and hence too the father of the Roman nation.¹³ QUIRINUS is the Ideal of the Roman commonwealth itself—Romulus in the character of a God. Mars had no temple within the city: it was situated outside the sacred precincts of the city, opposite the Gate of Capena, on the field which was afterwards called from him, the Field of Mars.¹⁴ Great as was

¹² Livy, vii. 16; xxvii. 10.

¹³ Mars, the son of Jupiter, is not a Roman notion. See Ovid, *Fast.* v. 229.

¹⁴ Augustus was the first to build a temple of Mars Ultor in his Forum, and to load him with honours, which

his favour towards the Roman people, yet he was only to give evidence of his power in warding off dangers. As a god of peace, he was worshipped in conjunction with Quirinus, whose temple was situated on the Quirinal hill. By the side of these three powerful divinities of the State, we find in Rome's earliest times, the worship of VESTA, which was brought over from Latium. As Quirinus represented the political existence of the state, so was Vesta the hearth of the city, and the symbol of its domestic prosperity.

The institution of the worship of these great defenders of the commonwealth and the city, is ascribed to Numa, that is, to the founder of the state in a moral point of view. According to his regulations, however, the divinity was not as yet to be worshipped in any image, nor were bloody sacrifices as yet offered up. Corn and salt, wine, honey, and fragrant herbs, were the offerings which were burnt upon the altars.¹⁵

Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus had each their consecrated priest, called Flamen, chosen from among the patricians. We see from the restrictions imposed on these men,—restrictions which were rigorously upheld in the very latest times,—what conceptions Rome, in her early days, bound up with the sacerdotal life of one who was dedicated to the service of a god. The Flamen of Jupiter was every day on duty, and was not allowed to pass a single night outside the city. He was forbidden to swear, to ride on horseback, to look upon an army of troops in martial array, and to wear a knot in any part of his attire. It was pollution to his eyes to witness a man in bonds, or a criminal on his way to be scourged. In case such persons happened to cross his path, the chains had to be struck off, and the scourging was left undone on that day. If one in bonds contrived to enter the Flamen's house, he was at once released; the chains were thrown over the walls into the street. On festal days, the Flamen was not to see any one engaged in a laborious occupation: punishment was inflicted on those who carried on the work before his eyes. Various and many were the things which defiled him. He was forbidden to touch a goat, a dog, raw flesh, beans, or leaven. Jupiter was never to

shewed but too plainly how the sword
had gained the ascendancy over the
city. See Dio Cass. LV. 10.

¹⁵ Plut. *Num.* c. 8, according to
Varro.

see him stripped; consequently he could not bathe in the open air: he always wore a woollen frontlet, a symbol to indicate that the head was covered; and whilst sacrificing, a cap made of the skin of some pure animal. No slave was allowed to cut his hair, the clippings of which, as well as of his nails, were buried under some fruit-tree. It was necessary that he should be married, and that in the most sacred form of wedlock; it was also required that he should have been born from a wedlock of the same nature. His wife was the partner of his official duties, and nearly the same restrictions applied to her. Whenever she went out, she wore over the stola a kind of veil, which covered the whole of the upper part of the body, of a bright yellow colour, (like Jupiter's fire,) and on the head a garland made of the branches of a *felix arbor*; (such were most fruit-trees, and the beech and oak besides, with the exception of those which produced black berries.) When the Flaminica died, her husband, the Flamen, was forced to resign his office.¹⁶ Owing to these restrictions, the office of a Flamen of the three great gods was afterwards more irksome than alluring, when the flame of ambition was kindled among the nobles of Rome, when the ties of wedlock were spurned, and licentiousness was prevailing in marriage. The Flamen could not take the command of an army; it was only under certain precautions, and by aid of a proxy, that he could be either consul or prætor. The other two had some concessions made to them in the course of time, but to the Flamen of Jupiter very few were allowed: thus high, in this respect too, was the position which that god occupied.¹⁷ On the other hand, the Flamines had all the honours of royalty, a public dwelling, a seat and vote in the Senate by virtue of their office, the *Sella curulis*, or chair of office, the object of ambition among the most illustrious Romans.¹⁸

In addition to this peaceable institution of the Flamines, Mars and Quirinus, as well as Jupiter, in their capacity as gods of arms, had two martial colleges of priests, of patrician fami-

¹⁶ For the main passage on these restrictions, see Aul. Gell. x. 15. to which must be added Plutarch, *Q. Rom.* 109, to the end; Livy, v. 52.

¹⁷ Tacitus, *Annal.* iii. 58, with the notes of the Edd.; also Servius on Virg. *Æn.* viii. 552.

¹⁸ Livy, xxvii. 7; Dio Cass. liv. 24; Livy, v. 40, says so of the dwelling of the Flamen Quirinalis; so that there is no room to doubt that the same was the case with the Flamen Martialis.

lies. All that we know in particular of their office, is that on the 1st of March, decked out in an embroidered tunic with brazen belt, and having on the scarlet striped martial robe, (*trabea*,) the right hand armed with a spear, they carried the holy shields (which the pious monarch Numa is said to have received from heaven as a pledge of protection,) from their sanctuary, bringing them back about the nineteenth of the same month. On this occasion, they were wont to go through the city in procession, keeping time by stamping with their feet, striking the brazen shields, and singing an old and sacred song in honour of those who had fought valiantly in the cause of their country. A place in the colleges of these Salii (such was their name,) conferred dignity on the most illustrious; and to be named in their hymns was an honour, which was restored in the time of the Emperors, as in that of the Republic it had been considered as of too exalted a kind to be bestowed on contemporaries.¹⁹

Human notions of the power and operations of the gods are not untainted by superstition. It was a notion very generally prevalent in antiquity, that the king of heaven was wont to declare his will and admonitions to mankind by means of thunder and lightning, and the song and flight of birds, his chosen messengers. As observers and expositors of these signs, Numa is said to have instituted the sacerdotal college of Augurs to serve the state. Private individuals made auguries on their own behalf, either by themselves, or else applied to those who were versed in the science. No pious man set out upon a journey, or entered into the marriage state, or undertook any important affair whatsoever, without having received a favourable sign from heaven. The king and the highest officers of the state, who in the time of the Republic were entrusted with the discharge of the royal functions, received the right and means of interrogating heaven on behalf of the state, *i. e.* they received the auspices, by express investiture on the part of the people, together with the assistance of the college of Augurs.

The superstition of the Romans on this head, was however

¹⁹ Scipio Africanus was one of the Salii. See Seneca, *de Tranq.* c. 15; Polyb. xxi. 10. The Enologies on Germanicus were the first which were introduced under the Emperors into the

song of the Salii, to whose unintelligible obscurity in ancient times, testimony is frequently borne. See Tacitus, *Annal.* ii. 83; Dionys. ii. 90; Plut. *Numa*, 13.

of a moderate kind, and far removed from the artificial system which the limited understanding of the gloomy Etruscans fashioned out. Only a few birds, the eagle, the vulture, and the hawk, were supposed to give signs by their flight; the raven, the crow, and the owl by their voice, the wood-pecker by means of both. The Augur, with his face generally turned towards the south, marked out the heavens into four regions with his crooked staff. North-east was the most fortunate quarter, next to the eternal seat of the gods (at the north pole) and the rising of the stars. Consequently a flash of lightning, or the flight of some birds in this region, was considered as the most pleasing confirmation of divine favour. The mind of the Greek had rid itself at a very early period of this superstition; the Romans preserved it for a longer time: but later on, this part of their religion served merely as a tool to work upon the people, as the state Augurs were men of the highest rank.

Vesta is nothing else than the hearth of the city, on which the pure flame was never supposed to go out; a homely symbol of domestic welfare. At no period did there exist an image of the goddess for the purpose of worship.²⁰ At the same time, in the interior of the temple was preserved a token of the favour of the gods, an image fallen from heaven. No one save the chief Pontiff and the eldest of the virgins, were supposed to have seen it: so much the more eager were the inquiries as to what it might be. The Grecian name Palladium was transferred to this Roman mystery; and thus the whole field of the Trojan poetic legends was laid open for future speculators: and yet it was probably nothing more than a meteoric stone to which fancy had lent a suitable form. Numa had appointed four noble virgins to perform the service of Vesta and to keep the holy fire burning: later on, their number was six, exclusive of the principal, who made the seventh.²¹ On entering office, they were to be above six, and under ten years of age, free from bodily defect, and both their parents were to be alive. On the moment of their entrance, however, they were freed from paternal controul, and from all connection

²⁰ Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 295.

²¹ It is generally stated that the number was six in all; but see Ambrosius in his second letter against Symmachus,

and the passage in Gothofredus, *Comment. ad Cod. Theodos.* l. 8, de medicis et professoribus (xiii. 3.)

with their family. They pledged themselves to serve for thirty years, and to keep their chastity undefiled. When this period had elapsed, they were at liberty to lay aside their sacred station, and enter into the marriage state: yet it was understood, that such a marriage was displeasing to the goddess. The senior virgin was their principal. Carelessness in the discharge of their duties, especially if it went so far as to cause the extinction of the holy fire, was punished with stripes of a wand. The chief Pontiff scourged the virgin in the dark: the city mourned: the holy fire could only be re-ignited by the pure rays of the sun. The punishment of death followed infallibly, if a virgin broke her vows of chastity. The college of Pontifices, the highest tribunal on all religious matters, passed sentence upon her. The seducer was scourged to death in the Forum: the ruined virgin was borne in a covered litter to the Colline gate. To take her life would have been a sin. A subterranean chamber was excavated near, or in the walls of the town: bread, water, milk, oil, and a burning lamp, were placed within it, and a couch was laid ready. The vestal descended the ladder; the ladder was drawn up again, and the pit was covered over with earth.²²

It is a melancholy truth, that the rigorous prohibition furnished an incentive to the crime of seduction. Thirteen cases of condemned virgins are mentioned in Roman history, up to the time of Domitian, who in the year 89 A. D. executed the punishment on the senior virgin in all its fearful rigour, whereas formerly it was generally allowed to the unfortunate wretches to escape the execution of the sentence by voluntary death. Domitian's purpose is said to have been, to give a borrowed lustre to his reign. He prevailed on the seducer, by an assurance of pardon, to make a confession. The virgin persisted in her denial till the very last moment; and most authors attach more credit to the veracity of her assertions, than to the hypocritical fanaticism of the odious tyrant.²³

If we look away from these horrors, which nothing but superstition could justify, we shall find that the Roman people

²² Dionys. ii. 65, and Plut. *Num.* 9, give the principal information concerning the Vestals, as Gellius, i. 12, furnishes the most copious details on the conditions attached to their election.

²³ See the touching description in Pliny, *Epist.* iv. 11. Caracalla, in his madness, afterwards wanted to confer a similar lustre upon his reign. Dio Cass. lxxvii. 16.

clung to the institution with reverential awe, and believed, even during the time of the Christian emperors, that the welfare of the empire would be secured, so long as the silent procession of the virgins mounted to the Capitol on the Ides of every month, with their sacrifice to Jupiter. The plebeians, too, wished to take a share in this priesthood. In case no parents were to be found who voluntarily offered their daughter, the law decreed, that when a vacancy occurred, the chief Pontiff was to choose from out of the whole people, twenty free born, unblemished virgins, among whom decision was to be made, by casting of lots. It would appear, however, that they were never compelled to have recourse to such a step.

Honours and distinctions of all kinds were heaped upon the virgins who watched and prayed on the hearth of the state. They inhabited a spacious mansion in the centre of the city, at the corner of the Roman Forum and the Sacred Street, next to the temple of Vesta.²⁴

They received an ample income from the state: their assertion before a court of justice had all the strength of an oath: their intercession on behalf of a kinsman under impeachment, was never unattended with success; their protection could even secure him from the fury of an exasperated populace.²⁵ They were permitted to go about the city in a carriage, had a seat for their own especial use in the theatre, next to the staga, in the proscenium, where the Empress was seated underneath them,

²⁴ The round temple of Vesta was built on the slope of the Palatine hill; the building in front of it, towards the Forum, was the Atrium Vestæ, the dwelling of the Vestals; next to it was the Regia, the residence of Numa in ancient times, but afterwards assigned to the Rex Sacrorum. Augustus gave to the Rex Sacrorum the public house of the chief Pontiff, where Cæsar had been living, situated higher up on the Sacra Via, and enlarged the dwelling of the Vestals by adding to it the Regia, reserving however a portion of the building as a business office for the chief Pontiff. Thus, according to Dio Cass. LIV. 27, must those difficulties be solved which were occasioned by the distinction of the Regia, which

now belonged to the Vestals, from the domus Regia. The localities of the temple of Vesta, and the buildings thereto appertaining, are to be found near the church of St. Maria Liberatrice.

²⁵ The Prætor Urbanus gave notice in his edict, that he would require no oath from a Vestal. Gellius, x. 15; Tac. *Annal.* II. 34. Cicero, at the conclusion of his speech for M. Fonteius, avails himself very adroitly of the sacred character of a Vestal, by way of intercession. A Vestal of the name of Claudia protected her father or brother, whom the people would not suffer to triumph. See Cic. *pro Cælio*, 14; Val. Max. v. 4; Sueton. *Tib.* 2.

and facing the seat of the man who gave the entertainment, while other females sat in the furthest gallery.²⁶ When a Vestal appeared in public, in a white stola trimmed with purple, with a band or fillet round the hair, the ends of which hung down as sacred *infulæ*, a lictor preceded and cleared the way for her; even the Consul made room for her, or rose from his seat of office to salute her. If a criminal met her accidentally (this she was obliged to declare) as he was led to punishment, his sentence was either remitted or alleviated.

In fact, the holy virgins are the loveliest objects which meet our view in Roman heathenism; and in the quarrels which arose at Milan about retaining them, at the end of the fourth century of the Christian era, between Symmachus, the representative of the Roman Senate, and the Christian Bishop Ambrosius, before the Imperial Consistory, both parties right well knew what powerful prejudices they were respectively defending or combating.²⁷ At that period, there did not as yet exist any Christian nunneries, but they followed immediately, although the principle of both institutions is entirely different. The Vestals prayed and sacrificed for the state; the nuns withdrew into themselves, and originally broke off all connection with the outer world.

The Roman State Religion, the worship of Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, and the reverence paid to Vesta—the hearth of the city, was extended on principles conformable to the nature

²⁶ Sueton. *August.* 44.

²⁷ It was not till the year A. D. 382, that the Emperor Gratian deprived the Vestals of their properties and privileges: his Christian predecessors had hitherto maintained the holy virgins. The Roman Senate sent repeatedly delegates and appeals to Gratian and his successors, Valentinian the younger, and Theodosius. The *Relatio* which Symmachus, as Prefect of Rome in the year 384, addressed to Valentinian, and which is still extant, was attacked by Ambrosius in a letter to the Emperor, which also happens to be extant (*Epist.* 18.) Symmachus made strenuous exertions to keep up the institution of the Vestal virgins, even without the

assistance of the state: but this was a power which heathenism no longer possessed. Ultimately the Senate succeeded in obtaining from the Emperor Eugenius, in the year 392, his consent to the ancient system of supporting it. On this Ambrosius storms in the 57th letter, and in no very indistinct terms threatens the Emperor with exclusion from the pale of the Christian Church. Thus far did the struggle continue in Rome. Eugenius perished two years after this in a battle against Theodosius; and there is no doubt that the concessions which he had made in favour of the old state religion, were again withdrawn.

and disposition of man ; in such a manner, that to Jupiter were annexed a wife and a daughter. An influence, partly Grecian partly Etruscan, cannot here be mistaken. The Tarquins built the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, with three *cellæ*, or naves, near each other, Jupiter in the middle, Juno and Minerva on either side.

Thus, JUNO, in place of the *Bona Dea* of yore, (whose nightly mysteries, once a year, were not, however, on that account discontinued),²⁸ became the protectress of the Roman matrons, who henceforth swore by their Juno, as their guardian spirit. She arranged and protected marriages, assisted at births in the capacity of *Juno Lucina*, and received the new-born infants, for which reason, in every lying-in room, there was placed for her a clean table, covered with white, with lighted tapers. Her festival was on the first of March, (when flowers, which the goddess especially loved, were strewn in her honour,) as also the festival of matrons generally,—the *Matronalia*. A procession was then made to the temple of Juno Lucina, on the Esquiline hill, by all who implored the succour of that goddess, without knots, as is stated, about their person, and with loosened hair.²⁹

The MINERVA of the Romans is not the warlike Pallas of the Greeks. She is the ingenious and dexterous daughter of Jove ; her divine calling consists in unwearied activity in gaining knowledge, and in the diligent cultivation of all mechanical skill. Her festival, on the 20th of March and the four following days, is the joyous festival both of the youth of schools of both sexes, and of persons of advanced age, who, when surrounded by their progeny, called to mind their own younger days. A new school-year began. Teachers of every kind, artists and physicians, received on these days, the *Minerval* which they had earned.

The public worship of the great gods of the state underwent a change, during the reign of the Tarquins, by the erection of images in the temples, the introduction of animal sacrifices,

²⁸ They were solemnised for the people by matrons of rank, in the house of a married Consul or Prætor, after every thing of the male sex had been previously removed. The sacrifices were offered by the Vestals. In Cicero's con-

sulship, the mysteries were solemnised on the night of the third of December. This is plain from Plut. *Cic.* 19. *Cic. ad Att.* 11. 1.

²⁹ Ovid, *Fast.* 111. 258. Ut solvat partus molliter illa sucs.

(which also arose from the Etruscan superstition of determining future events, and the will of the gods, from the heart, lungs, liver, and kidneys of the slaughtered victims,) and finally, by the institution of the great festive games in the Circus, of races with horse and chariot, in honour of the three Capitoline deities. The public worship became more splendid, but not more pure. Foreign superstition began to be intermingled and received. Owing to the wavering uncertainty of religious feeling, which the want of a definite doctrine entails, the Roman people suffered it to come over them without themselves putting it in practice,—for it must be observed that the inspectors of victims, (*haruspices*) were always Etruscans by birth,—and we know that the Roman generals and statesmen did not suffer themselves to be shackled by a superstition which they held in their power; they had only to sacrifice a few animals more, in order to arrive at favourable signs. But we also know, that even such a genius as Cæsar was not indifferent to this superstition, and that he had reason to repent of his disbelief in the most critical moment of his life.³⁰

But I hasten on to describe the third and most peculiar element of the Roman Religion, which, although very wide in extent, still continued to be essentially the Religion of individuals. It consists in the religious worship of moral ideas, considered as divine essences. We meet with a vast number of mostly female deities, Fides, Spes, Mens, Clementia, Pietas, Pudicitia, Concordia, Libertas, Victoria, and others. They had their consecrated altars and chapels, here and there too temples, in Rome; but their worshippers were, as it were, a free community, being composed of those who had become acquainted with the efficacy of these divine properties, at some critical moment of their lives. Nay, these divinities themselves are, for the most part, but the religious expression of strong feelings in peculiar situations and circumstances. A daughter had for a long time

³⁰ The Haruspex Spurinna warned Cæsar, while he was sacrificing, that he ought to guard against a danger which would manifest itself on the Ides (the 15th) of March. When, upon hearing this, he had ordered several victims to be slaughtered, without being able to receive a favourable sign, he

went into the Curia, having cast out of his thoughts all religious scruples, and scornfully charged Spurinna with falsehood, as the Ides of March had commenced without any disaster. "Commenced they certainly have," was the soothsayer's reply, "but they are not yet over."—Sueton. *Cæsar*, c. 81.

nourished her father in prison, who had been condemned to die by hunger, with the milk of her breasts. When the secret was at length discovered, her filial love aroused compassion and admiration,—the punishment was remitted,—the spot consecrated,—and a sanctuary of Pietas founded.³¹ The patrician matrons had an old sanctuary of Chastity, Pudicitia, where they assembled together, from time to time, for the purposes of common prayer. Virginia,—of patrician family,—married a plebeian,—Volumnius. Such marriages were then legally allowed; still Virginia was excluded from the society of those of her own rank, as if she had committed an atrocious crime. Upon this, she brought together a large number of matrons of plebeian standing; set apart a portion of her house for religious purposes, and founded the sanctuary of plebeian Pudicitia.³²

M. Marcellus fought against the Gauls near the Po. Amid the doubtful combat, he vowed a temple to Honour and Valour, hoping to win the battle through the aid of these powers. He in fact conquered; and later on, according to the decision of the sacerdotal authorities, since two separate divinities could not be worshipped in one temple, he erected two chapels near one another: it was by going through the sanctuary of Valour that the pious were to arrive at that of Honour.³³

In this manner, Rome obtained a large number of sanctuaries, in acknowledgment of those divine powers which guide and adorn the life of man. They were, for the most part, the tribute of private gratitude or admiration, the pride of particular ranks, families, or of political parties, but in every case the expression of a soul elevated by religion. The commonalty raised up altars in honour of Freedom; the nobles vowed a temple to Concord;—and three separate temples of Concord at Rome prove how frequently this goddess was invoked, and her power displayed amid the stormy times of the contending orders.

³¹ The story is narrated by many authors, although it seems to contain something mythical. But it is this very circumstance which attests the nature of the popular opinions. Valerius Maximus, v. 4, 7, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 36, speak of a condemned mother; Festus and Solinus, of a father. Livy, xli. 34, mentions the consecration of a temple of Pietas, in the year 187 B. C., which

the Consul Acilius Glabrio had vowed, in the battle at Thermopylae against Antiochus of Syria, without adding the occasion of the vow.

³² Livy, x. 23.

³³ Such, at least, is the interpretation which Augustine put upon the union of the two divinities. *De Civitat. Dei*, v. 12. On the erection of the temple, see Livy, xxvii. 25.

The approbation of the sacerdotal authorities was requisite for the purpose, but the priests were themselves citizens, and their consent was never lacking when the forms were fulfilled.

It is true that sanctuaries of this sort rose and fell with the lapse of time, although what had once been consecrated to religious ends, could not again be profaned. But this decided disposition of the Romans, to pay religious worship to moral ideas, as if they were divine beings, I can neither censure nor look upon as prosaic, inasmuch as it proceeds from a consciousness, that the divine Essence concentrates in itself all moral perfections. An age, which, through the immediate impulse of the feelings, consecrated altars and temples to Virtues, must have had a lively conviction of the fact, that Virtue is Religion's Fruit, and that Religion is Virtue's Root. When Augustus took upon himself the office of Supreme Pontiff, he restored a number of decayed temples of this kind.²⁴ It was his wish in so doing, not merely to preserve the honour of extinct families; he wanted, noble-minded as he was, to bring back the social virtues.

Religious feeling, however, without doctrines of divine origin, is wavering and uncertain. A twofold noxious superstition crept in, in consequence of this worship of abstract ideas, which is condemned by the philosophers among the Romans themselves.²⁵ *First*, Prayers were occasionally offered to the baleful influences of nature, as if they were portions of the divine Essence, not out of reverence, but as a means of averting and reconciling them. Thus, there were at Rome three sanctuaries of the Goddess of Fever, one of Bad Fortune, that is, of Misfortune, a chapel of Orbona, or Childlessness, where parents, whose only child lay prostrate by sickness, called upon the gloomy goddess for indulgence. *Secondly*, A too great, a divine importance, was attached to Chance in human life, and thus men's minds were weaned from the contemplation of the internal and essential, to external influences. None of these abstract divinities had so many temples and altars in Rome, as Fortune. There was a temple of *Fortuna privata*, and

²⁴ Sueton. *August.* 31. He boasts of it himself in the inscription of Ancyra.

²⁵ Cicero in several passages, especially *de Legibus*, II. 11, and *De Natur.*

Deor. III. 25, and Pliny in his *Natural History*, censure the worship of *Fortuna*, II. 7.

Fortuna publica, of Fortuna of the day, of Fortuna Seja, *i. e.* of good luck in sowing, of Fortuna of matrons and maidens, of men and of knights; so that Fortune could be invoked by every rank and sex, and under every emergency. Six sanctuaries of Fortuna, with distinct epithets, are said to have been erected by king Servius Tullius, and probably for the sole reason, that his life had become proverbial as one of the most remarkable instances of the change of fortune. More frequented than all, was a very ancient temple of '*Fors Fortuna*,' of fortune considered as sheer chance, situated outside the town, in the public garden, which had once belonged to Cæsar, and still continued to bear the name of Cæsar's garden, on the other side of the Tiber, in a spot which formerly, as now, was more particularly inhabited by artisans. On the 24th of June, every one who owed his support or progress in life to chance, went thither in procession from Rome; freeborn persons of the lowest orders, and slaves, went on foot, or down the river in gondolas, which were crowned with festive garlands of branches and flowers. On this occasion it was not considered a shame, says Ovid, "to return home drunk." Thousands laid themselves on the ground round the temple, forgot their distress in confidence, in "lucky chance," and thought the while of old King Servius, who, though the son of a slave, had become king of Rome, and had been the friend of the poor.²⁸

It was in this union of the natural, political, and moral element, that the peculiarity of the Roman religion consisted, at the time when the existence of this nation was in vigorous activity.

The sacerdotal body of the Pontiffs watched over the maintenance of the Roman, and the exclusion of foreign worship. The public worship of foreign gods, *i. e.* of such as were not recognised by the Senate, was, at Rome, forbidden.

Still, from the want of a definite doctrine, and the uncertainty of religious feeling, the Roman Religion was not able to

²⁸ Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 771, describes the festival. According to the *Calendarium Amiterninum*, (see Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.* Tom. i. p. 392,) the temple lay "ad miliarium primum et sext." from Rome. According to Livy, x. 46, the Consul Carvilius, in the year 293 B. C., erected

another temple adjoining the old one of Servius; according to Tacitus, *Annal.* II. 4, the Emperor Tiberius, in the year A. D. 16, built a temple of *Fors Fortuna*, in Cæsar's Garden; probably this was only a restoration of the old one.

preserve its peculiar character. Rome itself had increased by the adoption of foreigners. To the ancient people of patrons and clients, had been added a fresh set of inhabitants, the Plebs. It was from this quarter that the *Latin Diana* was next adopted. The Plebs too it was, which founded the temple of Mercury, the giver of gain, the god of merchants and of tradesmen, and then that of Ceres and her children, Liber and Libera.³⁷

Afterwards there came, from peculiar causes, other Grecian divinities; Castor and Pollux, the horsemen brothers, whom the Roman knights loved to look up to as their guardians; Apollo, the raging god of pestilence, or the succouring god of healing; Æsculapius from Epidaurus; Venus from Mount Eryx in Sicily, but unaccompanied by her voluptuous train; and lastly, Cybele, the great mother of the gods, this being the character under which she was worshipped at Pessinus, in Asia Minor, long after she had found access into Greece. Bellona, War, is a Roman abstract goddess of a noxious kind, one to be averted. With her was afterwards joined the service of the mighty Assyrian goddess of Comana, with whom the Roman armies had become acquainted in Cappadocia.³⁸

Thus did foreign worships force their way in, and it was but too often that the Senate fell in with the opinion of the Pontiffs, and gave their sanction to the adoption of a foreign divinity, whenever the conceptions attached to it were not too far removed from Roman notions, or its worship did not offend against

³⁷ The temple of Diana was common to the Latins and Romans; the plebeian hero, King Servius, had erected it upon the Aventine, the seat of the Plebs. See Livy, i. 45. The temple of Mercury was consecrated, not by one of the patrician consuls, but by a plebeian centurion, Livy, ii. 27. That the temple of Ceres and her children (see Livy, iii. 55, and Dionys. vi. 17,) was plebeian, is proved by the circumstance, that the plebeian sediles were entrusted with its superintendence; that the fines imposed by the Plebs were there paid; and that the decrees of the Senate, connected with the privileges of the Plebs, were there deposited.

³⁸ The Assyrian goddess was called

Anaitis, and was akin to the Tauric Diana. Two different places of the name of Comana, in Cappadocia and Pontus, were the seat of her worship, which was held sacred by the nations who dwelled near the upper part of the Euphrates. Both temples were very magnificent; the high priests had all the dignity and power of royalty. Caesar, *Bell. Alex.* c. 66. In the Mithridatic wars, the Roman soldiers, credulous and superstitious as they were, were struck with awe at this fearful religion, and Sulla was the means of transplanting the Assyrian goddess to Rome, where she became united with the conceptions already entertained of Bellona. Plutarch, *Sull.* 9.

the strictness of Roman morality. In disastrous times, when the soul was oppressed by painful helplessness, and the prophetic volumes were unclosed, then especially was a proneness manifested, to have recourse to foreign aid as a means of deliverance.

Still there always continued to be a striking distinction between the old Roman State gods, and these new adopted divinities.

It was only to Cybele, the great mother of the gods, that public festivals, with games, were allotted immediately after her reception. Scenic games were held in her honour, on the Megalesia in April, in imitation of the Grecian custom; persons went about to their acquaintances in masks and disguises, and gave mutual repasts.³⁹ It was not till late, that in consequence of some oracles, fixed festivals, with scenic games, were instituted for Apollo and Ceres,⁴⁰ and it is precisely to these Grecian worships, that literature owed the rise and cultivation of the Roman drama. But Diana, Castor and Pollux, Mercury, Æsculapius, and Venus, had no public festivals, and the fanatical service of Bacchus was actually suppressed by law. The Roman Liber, the son of Ceres, when compared with the riotous Bacchus, is a modest youth, god of rural cultivation, whose heart is even more set upon honey than wine. His festival, on the 17th of March, was celebrated exclusively by female cooks, who, on this day, were crowned with ivy, baked honeycakes in the streets, and forced them upon the passers by, in honour of the god.⁴¹

Again, the service of the foreign gods continued in so far to partake of a foreign character, as their priests were for the most part fetched from foreign lands. The Ceres at Rome had a Grecian priestess, while the old Roman form of worship was otherwise attended to. The fanatical service of Cybele and

³⁹ The first games were celebrated on the consecration of the temple of Magna Mater, in the year 191 a. c. Livy, xxxvi. 36. Persons of rank feasted each other by turns, on these days, according to Grecian custom. Cicero, *Cat. Maj.* 13; Aul. Gellius, ii. 24. Masquerades took place. See Herodian. i. 10.

⁴⁰ The Apollinarian games were in-

stituted in a time of the greatest distress, during the war with Hannibal, 212 a. c. in compliance with an oracle of the celebrated prophet Marcius. Livy, xxv. 12; xxvii. 23. The Cerealia were first celebrated in the year 202 a. c. See Livy, xxx. 39.

⁴¹ Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 761. Melle pater fruitur, &c.

Bellona, was conducted in an Asiatic manner, since their priests inflicted wounds on their own persons, so that blood flowed from their bodies. But these priests were not Romans, but Galli from Asia Minor, (Galatians in Phrygia,) as they were in fact called.⁴²

The Roman Religion, which originally possessed greater purity and morality than the other creations of Heathenism, suffered foreign influences to spread themselves over it, and was not able to shield itself from them, as it was not based in a doctrine of Divine origin, but only in the vague feeling of human dependence upon higher powers.

To have deified mortal and sinful men, is Rome's greatest reproach during the time of the Emperors. But this ignominious mixture of the Divine and the human nature, had been for centuries prevalent in Grecian Asia, and was of extreme antiquity in Egypt. Augustus took the greatest pains to keep Rome and Italy free from this error, but he was only partially successful.⁴³ In Rome, however, only *deceased* emperors had Divine honours paid to them, by public decree: to look on living men as gods on earth, was Asiatic depravity, and was unknown to the Romans.

The Egyptian worship of Isis and Osiris, worked itself into Rome by force a short time before the birth of Christ. The Senate repeatedly forbade it, and the Consuls more than once employed force against it. Lucius Paullus, in the year 50 B. C. seized an axe himself to break open the door of the temple, not finding any workman willing to do it. But later on, it was vain to make resistance against the Egyptian Religion. The number of the Oriental population at Rome was too great: the attachment of them and their proselytes to the magical service of the shorn priests in linen garments, overcame every obstacle,

⁴² The priestess of Ceres was generally brought from Neapolis or Velia, Cicero, *p. Balb.* 24. On the service of Cybele, and how no Roman took part in the procession, in which the "*Molles Ministri*," collected alms for the temple, see Dionys. ii. 19. In like manner, I think that the Bellonarii, the ministers of the "*Gaudens Bellona cruentis*," were not Romans.

⁴³ Augustus was compelled to yield

to the urgent solicitations of the Greeks, and allowed a temple to be consecrated in honour of him by the province of Asia at Pergamum, and by the Bithynians at Nicomedia; but, by his express desire, only in conjunction with the goddess Roma. But as respected Italy and Rome, he most obstinately refused, Dio Cass. li. 20, and in Rome, at least, with success. Sueton. *Aug.* 52.

—sufferance was forced to be conceded to it; and under the emperors, there were erected two double temples of Isis and Serapis in Rome,—the one on the field of Mars, on the other side of the Pantheon, the other on the Esquiline Hill, in one of the most populous wards in Rome, which thence bore the name of “Isis et Serapis.”⁴⁴

What was it which so much recommended Isis and Serapis to the people? It was the doctrine of Immortality, which was symbolically visible in the ceremonial service. Isis went in quest for her husband, the murdered Osiris, and all faithful believers sought with her, and were sorrowful. She found his scattered limbs; and the deceased Osiris rose up, grown young again, in the character of Serapis, and god of the lower world, to the joy and comfort of conviction of all the disciples.⁴⁵

Were this doctrine ever so much or so little inculcated, it gave to the initiated more confidence concerning the dark side of human existence, than the open and joyous worship of Nature among the ancient, or the abstract worship among the later Romans. The state had long since lost its Divine existence.

I cannot here follow up the fall of heathenism, and the transition of the Roman Religion to a new and higher order of

⁴⁴ The contest between the votaries of Isis and the Roman authorities, begins to be historical in the year 58 B. C., when the Consul Gabinus, on the first of January, was forcibly entreated to grant some animals for sacrifice in the Egyptian service; see Tertullian, *adv. Gentes*, i. 10, taken from Varro. It then may be followed up as a constant topic in Dio Cassius's History. Concerning L. Æmilius Paulus, see Valer. Max. i. 3, 3. Dio states, that a year after Caesar's death, 43 B. C., the triumvirs resolved upon building a temple of Isis and of Serapis. There is no doubt that, by this step, they were seeking to win the favour of the people. But as soon as Augustus had made his monarchy secure, he forbade the Egyptian worship within the city, (Dio, LIII. 2., in the year A. C. 26,) and afterwards, (Dio Cass. LIV. 6,) he even banished it from the suburbs to the distance of a mile from Rome. Notwithstanding this,

the number of the disciples increased; and about the time of the birth of Christ, and subsequently, no religious worship was so zealously and faithfully followed in Rome, as the Egyptian service, especially by the female sex. This is proved by the frequent and in part serious allusions, that are made to it by the poets of the time. During the reign of Tiberius, the outrageous seduction of a pious female disciple, to which some bribed priests had lent a hand, brought on a storm of persecution, in which the temple, according to Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XVIII. 3. was again destroyed. It was not till the time of the Emperors of the Flavian family, that the Egyptian Religion met with entire and certain acknowledgment, and the Emperors Commodus, Caracalla, and Alexander Severus, evinced particular attachment for it.

⁴⁵ See Lactant. *Instit. Christ.* i. 21. Plutarch. *Isis et Osiris*, 79.

things. Neither the Egyptian worship of Isis, nor the Persian Mithras, (the mediator between Ormuz and Ahriman,—the good principle of light, and the bad principle of darkness,) were able to triumph over Roman heathenism. Even Judaism could not overcome it; but Christianity obtained a decisive victory by its Divine doctrines; but even the endeavours of heathenism to guide and adorn the life of man by Religion, are not unworthy of our serious contemplation.

C. G. ZUMPT.

XV.

ETHNOLOGY AND PHILOLOGY.

1. MÉMOIRES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ETHNOLOGIQUE. Tome second.
Philological Articles:
 - a. Mémoire sur les Guanches. Par Sabin Berthelot.
 - b. Esquisse Grammaticale de la Langue Yeboue. Par M. D'Avezac.
2. NOTES ON NORTHERN AFRICA, THE SAHARA AND SOUDAN.
By W. B. Hodgson. New York, 1844.
3. ON THE BERBER LANGUAGE OF MOUNT ATLAS; GENERALLY
SUPPOSED TO BE THAT OF THE ANCIENT MAURITANIANS.
By W. F. Newman, Esq. Philological Society, Nov. 24,
1843.
4. A GRAMMAR OF THE BERBER LANGUAGE. By W. F. New-
man, Esq.
5. A DICTIONARY OF THE GALLA LANGUAGE. Composed by
Charles Tutschek, published by Lawrence Tutschek. Part
I. Galla, English, German. Munich, 1844.
6. A GRAMMAR OF THE GALLA LANGUAGE. By Charles Tut-
schek. Edited by Lawrence Tutschek, M.D. Munich,
1845.
7. VOCABULARY OF THE GALLA LANGUAGE. By the Reverend
J. L. Krapf. London, 1841.
8. GRAMMAR OF THE GALLA LANGUAGE. *Ibid.*
9. VOCABULARY OF THE DANAKIL LANGUAGE. By the Rev.
C. W. Isenbergh. London.

10. VOCABULARY OF THE YORUBA LANGUAGE. By Samuel Crowther. London 1843.
11. GRAMMAR OF THE HAUSSA LANGUAGE. By — Schön, Missionary.
12. GRAMMAR OF THE MANDINGO LANGUAGE. By — Macbriar.
13. A GRAMMAR OF THE BECHUANA LANGUAGE. By James Archbell. Grahams Town, 1837.
14. A GRAMMAR OF THE KAFFIR LANGUAGE. By W. B. Boyce. London, 1844. Second Edition.
15. OUTLINE OF A VOCABULARY OF A FEW OF THE PRINCIPAL LANGUAGES OF WESTERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA. Compiled for the use of the Niger Expedition. London, 1841.

The foregoing list is by no means an enumeration of books that we undertake to notice. It is merely meant to serve as an indication of our newer *data* for the study of the languages of Africa. The more salient points only can be brought forward. The general character of the works is, that they are definite and valuable additions to our knowledge.

I. The current statement respecting the Galla and Danakil languages is, that they differ very slightly from each other. The following list shews that the real variations are greater than the accredited ones.

ENGLISH.	DANAKIL.	GALLA.
<i>Air</i>	<i>haha</i>	<i>bubbe</i>
<i>all</i>	<i>titet</i>	<i>hunduma</i>
<i>arm</i>	<i>gabba</i>	<i>harka</i>
<i>ass</i>	<i>danoïn</i>	<i>harre</i>
<i>Back</i>	<i>gambi</i>	<i>dukta</i>
<i>belly</i>	<i>boggu</i>	<i>gera</i>
<i>bad</i>	¹ <i>memùè</i>	<i>hama</i>
<i>bake</i>	<i>lissè</i>	<i>toltshe</i>
<i>beat</i>	<i>aggure</i>	<i>rullute, daie, tume</i>
<i>bed</i>	<i>fidima</i>	<i>affa</i>
<i>bite</i>	<i>ariè</i>	<i>tshenine</i>
<i>body</i>	<i>kurkurre</i>	<i>fon</i>
<i>boil</i>	<i>niene</i>	<i>damfe</i>
<i>burn</i>	<i>rusa</i>	<i>bobaie</i>
<i>buttock</i>	<i>kamas</i>	<i>huddu</i>
<i>buy</i>	<i>kehena</i>	<i>bite</i>

¹ *Not good. Root mus.*

ENGLISH.	DANAKIL.	GALLA.
<i>Calf</i>	ruga	watijo
<i>call</i>	migāa	tschedde
<i>cheek</i>	oro	boko
<i>chest</i>	allili	koma
<i>child</i>	aŭka	mutsha
<i>cloud</i>	gairanta	dumesa
<i>cold</i>	waha	domote
<i>cry</i>	dere	boije
<i>cut</i>	irgēē	murre
<i>Daughter</i>	aŭka	entala
<i>day</i>	leo	gafa
<i>to-day</i>	assako	arda
<i>death</i>	rābih	dua
<i>dog</i>	kuti	serre
<i>drink</i>	aabe	dugiti
<i>Ear</i>	aiti	gurra
<i>earth</i>	baro	laffa
<i>eat</i>	akume	niade
<i>egg</i>	gallalu	bubba
<i>Face</i>	basso	fula
<i>fall</i>	nikessi	kuffu
<i>far</i>	deri	fago
<i>fear</i>	mishitta	sodate
<i>finger</i>	fera	kuba
<i>five</i>	gira	ibita
<i>fish</i>	kullum	kortumi
<i>flesh</i>	hado	fon
<i>flower</i>	haffaitu	ababio
<i>Go</i>	gerē	ademe
<i>Hair</i>	duggurt	rifensa
<i>hear</i>	obūe	dagaie
<i>heart</i>	surkohabara	labbi
<i>head</i>	dahana	ouma
<i>heaven</i>	arran	waka
<i>hen</i>	durhe	endako
<i>hill</i>	koma	tullu tenno
<i>high</i>	fēieia	dera
<i>horn</i>	gaīsa	gafo
<i>house</i>	bura	manna
<i>hundred</i>	bol	dibba

The same difference is shewn throughout the whole vocabulary.

II. In Mr. Hodgson's *Notes* occur two vocabularies, the Tibboo and the Sungai. The Tibboo was at first dealt with as a Berber language; which it is not. Properly eliminated from this class by Dr. Prichard and Mr. Hodgson, it is, at present, unplaced. We believe it to be akin to the Koldagi, and the allied languages of Nubia and Kordofan. At any rate it is no isolated language.

<i>English</i>	... wood	<i>English</i>	... boy
Tibboo	... <i>aka</i>	Tibboo	... <i>kallik</i>
Yangaro	... <i>ihho-tree</i>	Falasha	... <i>korri</i>
Shilluck	... <i>yuke</i>	Tigre	... <i>kólhha</i>
<i>English</i>	... water	Shabun	... <i>nakul</i>
Tibboo	... <i>aee</i>	<i>English</i>	... head
Falasha	... <i>ágho</i>	Tibboo	... <i>dafu</i>
—	... <i>ahu</i>	Gafat	... <i>dámoa</i>
Agaum. Ag.	... <i>ágho</i>	—	... <i>demow</i>
—	... <i>ahu</i>	Darfur	... <i>tobu</i>
Agaum. Sh.	... <i>aya</i>	<i>English</i>	... nose
Takeli	... <i>au-lake</i>	Bilma	... <i>shemmes</i>
<i>English</i>	... fire	Denka	... <i>oum</i>
Tibboo	... <i>oonee</i>	<i>English</i>	... face
Takeli	... <i>ani-sun</i>	Tibboo	... <i>enguddi</i>
<i>English</i>	... moon	Waag	... <i>gaats</i>
Tibboo	... <i>aowree</i>	Tigre	... <i>gats</i>
Wagg	... <i>árba</i>	—	... <i>gietsi</i>
Agaum. Ag.	... <i>árfa</i>	<i>English</i>	... hand
Tigre	... <i>wórkhe</i>	Bilma	... <i>kabai</i>
Harrargie	... <i>wárhhi</i>	Shilluck	... <i>kiam</i>
Takeli	... <i>oar</i>	<i>English</i>	... mouth
<i>English</i>	... Sun	Tibboo	... <i>iches</i>
Bilma	... <i>ezai</i>	Darfur	... <i>udo</i>
Koldagi	... <i>es</i>	<i>English</i>	... mouth
<i>English</i>	... bird	Bilma	... <i>kai</i>
Tibboo	... <i>wooghe</i>	Shabun	... <i>keing</i>
Yangaro	... <i>wódjo</i>	<i>English</i>	... bone
<i>English</i>	... man	Tibboo	... <i>soorroo</i>
Tibboo	... <i>aaih</i>	Bornou	... <i>sila</i>
Agaum. Ag.	... <i>aghi</i>	<i>English</i>	... blood
Takeli	... <i>caa</i>	Tibboo	... <i>gherra</i>
<i>English</i>	... woman	Mobba	... <i>ary</i>
Tibboo	... <i>adi</i>	<i>English</i>	... eat
Guderu	... <i>káda-mother</i>	Tibboo	... <i>woo</i>
Koldagi	... <i>eadu</i>	Waag	... <i>hwai</i>

Falasha	... kúi	English	... ten
Agaum. Ag.	... ghu	Bilma	... moroo
English	... drink	Tuarick	... moroo
Tibboo	... ia	Koldagi	... bure
Gonga	... wi		

III. The Sungai is interesting as being in all probability the language of Timbuctoo. I say *in all probability*, because Caillié's Kissour vocabulary for that town does not coincide with Denham's; besides which, there are other complications, Hodgson's Sungai = Caillié's Kissour.

ENGLISH.	SUNGAI.	KISSOUR.
man	harroo	harre
river	bangoo	hissa
sea	eassa	.....
tree	toogoorian	toucouri
sun	oinoo	ouena
moon	handoo	idou
water	haree	hari
salt	teheree	kiri
horse	beree	bari
sheep	fighi	firgui
camel	eoo	vio
gold	oora	hora
house	hoogoo	ho
*eye	moo	nemodi
mouth	mea	mi
beard	kabee	kabi
nose	nenee	nini
hand	kembee	lamba
*food	kee	nakidi
milk	hoowa	oi
give	norassee	neau
buy	dai	daye
sell	neeree	nira
*come	emaka	ka
*go	emahowee	koye
1.	afoo	affau
2.	hinka	ainka
3.	hinza	aindhia
4.	etaki	ataki
5.	egoo	tgou (?)
6.	edoo	tgou (?)

ENGLISH.	SUNGAI.	KISSOUR.
7.	eyee	ye
8.	yaha	ya
9.	yagga	yaga
10.	ouwee	oue

The words with asterisks are remarkable. The simpler forms for *eye* and *foot* in the Sungai, indicate the derivational or non-radical character of the prefix *ne-* and the affix *-di*, in the more lengthy forms of the Kissour: the same observation applying to the terms for *come* and *go*, in respect to initial syllables *ema-*. That the same formation, however, occurs in Kissour, is rendered probable from the form *emagouno* = *see* or *look*. Now, in comparing the languages of which the Kissour and Sungai are representatives, the knowledge that this decomposition is a legitimate assumption, is of some importance; since, to go no further than the Hausa language, of which the relationship to the Kissour is rather indefinite, we find several words agreeing with each other in one syllable, and differing in the others. Such, amongst others, are the very words already quoted.

ENGLISH.	SUNGAI.	KISSOUR.	HAUSSA.
<i>see</i>	.....	<i>emagouno</i>	<i>gani</i>
<i>eye</i>	<i>moo</i>	<i>nemodi</i>	<i>idu</i>
<i>foot</i>	<i>kee</i>	<i>nakadi</i>	<i>kafa</i>
<i>come</i>	<i>emaka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>sakka</i>

Nevertheless, the nature of the final *-di* is complicated, by the fact of its being apparently radical in the Hausa. And, again, *nya* = *eye* in Mandingo.

Of words undoubtedly common to the Kissour and Hausa groupes, our imperfect data give us the following:—

ENGLISH.	KISSOUR.	HAUSSA.
<i>beard</i>	<i>kabi</i>	<i>gemeh</i>
<i>buy</i>	<i>daye</i>	<i>saye</i>
<i>grass</i>	<i>sobo</i>	<i>tshiawa</i>
<i>moon</i>	<i>idou</i>	<i>wata</i>
<i>sleep</i>	<i>kani</i>	<i>kuana</i>
<i>small</i>	<i>kinikini</i>	<i>kanana</i>
<i>stone</i>	<i>toudi</i>	<i>dutschi</i>
<i>water</i>	<i>hari</i>	<i>rua</i>
IV.		o

Finally, we have the following miscellaneous affinities between the Sungai glosses and the glosses of the Niger Vocabulary, and Dr. Beke.

<i>English</i>	...	man	<i>English</i>	...	water
Sungai	...	harroo	Sungai	...	harce
Pessa	...	shuro	Hausa	...	rua
Guderu	...	tra	<i>English</i>	...	fire
<i>English</i>	...	woman	Sungai	...	mones
Sungai	...	owes	Shankalla Ag.	...	mangia
Appa	...	aoi	<i>English</i>	...	head
Ibu	...	uai	Sungai	...	bona
Karaba	...	aua	Rungo	...	ebonjo
Uhobo	...	aie	Wolaita	...	binna-hair
Shabun	...	ua	<i>English</i>	...	eye
<i>English</i>	...	mother	Sungai	...	moo
Sungai	...	aina	Akuonga	...	ama
Ashanti	...	oni	<i>English</i>	...	mouth
Moke	...	eni	Sungai	...	mea
Tigre	...	anno	Bassa	...	mong
<i>English</i>	...	brother	Tapua	...	emi
Sungai	...	aibere	Waag	...	weya
Kaffa	...	arribe	Fertit	...	ammah
<i>English</i>	...	sea	Tacazze	...	ma
Sungai	...	eäsa	<i>English</i>	...	hand
Wolaita	...	hasa-water	Sungai	...	kembee
<i>English</i>	...	river	Shilluck	...	kiam
Sungai	...	bangoo	<i>English</i>	...	foot
Agaum: Agow	...	bent	Sungai	...	kes
<i>English</i>	...	sun	Kossa	...	kusi
Sungai	...	oinoe	Moko	...	ako
Takeli	...	ani	Akuongo	...	üaka
<i>English</i>	...	moon	<i>English</i>	...	one
Sungai	...	handoo	Sungai	...	afoo
Bongo	...	gounti	Uhobo	...	avo
Kongo	...	gonde	<i>English</i>	...	three
Kaffa	...	agino	Sungai	...	hinas
Koldagi	...	ondou-star	Uhebo	...	ezza
<i>English</i>	...	sky	Woratta	...	hessa
Sungai	...	beina	Wolaita	...	hodesa
Yangaro	...	bidani	<i>English</i>	...	five
<i>English</i>	...	God	Sungai	...	egoo
Sungai	...	Yerküs	Borau	...	ugu
Gonga	...	Yiko	<i>English</i>	...	six

Sungai	... <i>edoo</i>	Eyo	... <i>eje</i>
Kossa	... <i>uaita</i>	Yebu	... <i>eye</i>
Pessa	... <i>aitah</i>	<i>English</i>	... <i>eight</i>
<i>English</i>	... <i>seven</i>	Sungai	... <i>yaha</i>
Sungai	... <i>eyes</i>	Eyo	... <i>ejau</i>
Ako	... <i>edjie</i>	Yebu	... <i>eyo</i>

IV. Thus much concerning those Vocabularies, which present new notions concerning the Ethnography of Africa. The grammars indicate a question of greater complexity.

How far do the languages of Africa agree with one another in grammatical structure? Every day the comparative valuation of grammatical, as opposed to glossarial affinities, increases; I believe, improperly: but still it increases. Every day the evidence of Vocabularies is likely to be demurred to, on the strength of a difference, real or assumed, between the grammatical structure of languages. In the midst of this antagonism, extreme statements are made. One language is said to express all its grammatical relations by Prefixes, another by Affixes; one is said to be Monosyllabic; one Euphonic; a fourth Triliteral; and so on. Most of these phenomena are either over-stated or over-valued.

The position of the Berber language is pre-eminently complicated by these doctrines. The Semitic character of its grammar is insisted upon by Mr. Newman; the non-Semitic character of its vocabulary is insisted upon also.

Are the inflexions borrowed, or are the words lost? A difficult question. Mr. Newman has been represented as teaching that the Berber is Semitic in its Ethnological relations. He has hardly done so much as this. He has merely pointed out Semitic elements in the Berber Grammar. Such teaching would be altogether premature. The work has to be done in another direction. Other African grammars have Semitic elements as well; *e.g.* the Galla and Coptic. With these, and with all African tongues, the Berber has glossarial affinities, a few of which are subjoined. In all probability, the Semitic tongues will prove less isolated from the other African ones—Negro or non-Negro—than the usual line of demarcation makes them.

<i>English</i>	... <i>earth</i>	<i>English</i>	... <i>earth</i>
Kabyle	... <i>thamoorth</i>	Berber Shiluk	... <i>berr</i>
Tigre	... <i>midr</i>	Mobba	... <i>berr</i>

Danakil	... <i>baro</i>	Kabyle	... <i>thala</i>
<i>English</i>	... stone	Shabun	... <i>del</i>
Kabyle	... <i>ablat</i>	Ag. Shank.	... <i>túlla-lake</i>
Bambarra	... <i>beleí</i>	<i>English</i>	... village
<i>English</i>	... fire	Kabyle	... <i>thedderth</i>
Kabyle	... <i>themis</i>	Takeli	... <i>dar</i>
Denka	... <i>maid</i>	Koldagi	... <i>dar</i>
Shilluk	... <i>maidg</i>	<i>English</i>	... house
Gonga	... <i>támo</i>	Kabyle	... <i>akham</i>
Woratta	... <i>támma</i>	Shabun	... <i>ongou</i>
Wolaitsa	... <i>támma</i>	Fertit	... <i>ankah</i>
<i>English</i>	... sun	<i>English</i>	... man
Kabyle	... <i>ettidj</i>	Kabyle	... <i>argas</i>
Shabun	... <i>quedyudé</i>	Waag Agau	... <i>égir</i>
<i>English</i>	... moon	—	... <i>adjera</i>
Kabyle	... <i>ayur, ayuran</i>	Falasha	... <i>ira</i>
Takeli	... <i>oar</i>	<i>English</i>	... men
Tigre	... <i>wórhee</i>	V. Berber	... <i>mudden</i>
Harargie	... <i>wárhhi</i>	Denka	... <i>moed</i>
Woloff	... <i>ueer</i>	<i>English</i>	... boy
<i>English</i>	... day	Kabyle	... <i>ahadai</i>
Kabyle	... <i>ess</i>	Shilluk	... <i>ueda</i>
Kaffa	... <i>woise</i>	Takeli	... <i>dea</i>
<i>English</i>	... water	A. Shankala	... <i>dua-child</i>
Kabyle	... <i>aman</i>	<i>English</i>	... child
Tigre	... <i>mái</i>	Kabyle	... <i>amehook</i>
Harargie	... <i>mi</i>	—	... <i>ahiyuše-infant</i>
<i>English</i>	... rain	Fertit	... <i>awweyah-boy</i>
Berber	... <i>aoua</i>	<i>English</i>	... head
Takeli	... <i>aou</i>	Kabyle	... <i>akarowee</i>
<i>English</i>	... rain	W. Agau	... <i>awra</i>
Kabyle	... <i>esonas</i>	Falasha	... <i>agher</i>
Tigre	... <i>senab</i>	Ag. Ag.	... <i>ngári</i>
Harargie	... <i>senab</i>	<i>English</i>	... son
Gafat	... <i>sinnabu</i>	Kabyle	... <i>ammes</i>
<i>English</i>	... river	—	... <i>errou (pl.)</i>
Kabyle	... <i>asif</i>	Ag. Agau	... <i>ira</i>
Kissour	... <i>hissa</i>	Falasha	... <i>kara</i>
Woratta	... <i>átsa</i>	Waag Agau	... <i>hura</i>
Bongo	... <i>ishu</i>	<i>English</i>	... daughter
<i>English</i>	... river	Kabyle	... <i>ellee</i>
Kabyle	... <i>egsar</i>	Tigre	... <i>gwál-maiden</i>
Koldagi	... <i>ser</i>	<i>English</i>	... beard
<i>English</i>	... fountain	Kabyle	... <i>thamorth</i>

W. Agau	...	<i>khámma</i>	Koldagi	...	<i>aul-mouth</i>
Tigre	...	<i>chehhémi</i>	Coptic	...	<i>lass</i>
English	...	<i>face</i>	English	...	<i>finger</i>
Kabyle	...	<i>oudham</i>	Kabyle	...	<i>adadh</i>
Darfoor	...	<i>udo-mouth</i>	Gafat	...	<i>edjedje-hand</i>
Gonga	...	<i>ádjo</i>	English	...	<i>foot</i>
English	...	<i>tooth</i>	Kabyle	...	<i>atar</i>
Kabyle	...	<i>ougel</i>	Darfour	...	<i>taro</i>
Koldagi	...	<i>gehl</i>	English	...	<i>blood</i>
Guderu	...	<i>ilkhan</i>	Kabyle	...	<i>isga</i>
—	...	<i>yalekan</i>	G. Gud.	...	<i>higa</i>
English	...	<i>eye</i>	English	...	<i>eat</i>
Kabyle	...	<i>ellan</i>	Kabyle	...	<i>etcha</i>
Fertit	...	<i>allah</i>	Kru	...	<i>dié</i>
English	...	<i>mouth</i>	Bassa	...	<i>di</i>
Berber	...	<i>imi</i>	Fanti	...	<i>die</i>
Fertit	...	<i>ammah</i>	Appa	...	<i>ji</i>
Waag Agau	...	<i>miyah</i>	Kissi	...	<i>diu</i>
Tapua	...	<i>emi</i>	Timmani	...	<i>di</i>
Bullom	...	<i>iami</i>	Hausa	...	<i>tshi</i>
Akuonga	...	<i>mma</i>	Ako	...	<i>je</i>
English	...	<i>tongue</i>	Karaba	...	<i>dia</i>
Berber	...	<i>iless, ilis</i>	Kongo	...	<i>dia</i>
Hausa	...	<i>halishi</i>			

V. Another salient point occurs in Monsieur D'Avezac's valuable Yebu Grammar; a work representing the Language between Dahomey and Benin, and almost identical with Mr. Crowther's Yarriba. Herein Mr. D'Avezac recognizes traces of a monosyllabic character.

"Par exemple: *obæwæ wofurimi* — *tu me donnes ce couteau*, cette phrase, qui, dans l'émission orale, semblait à mon oreille ne former que deux mots, l'un de trois syllables, l'autre de quatre, m'offrit, à l'analyse, sept mots bien distincts assemblés en deux groupes et se traduisant littéralement ainsi :

"O *ææ wæ wo fu ææ mi*
le couteau ce toi donner à moi."

The same process is applied to the words *kamayimiku*, *kamayiminu* — *keep me from death and sickness*, and to the sentence *kofogorimi* — *give me riches*.

An argument like this applied to such a phrase as *give me a*

knife, pronounced quickly, would make the English language monosyllabic.

Stripped to their roots, all languages are most probably monosyllabic. The agglutination of separate words, which amalgamate to different extents in different languages, gives us inflexion. Where the independent character of the agglutinated words is at its *minimum*, we have derivation; where it is at its *maximum*, composition. Such is the best provisional hypothesis for the phenomena of inflection, and the approaches to it.

In the particular case of the Yebu language, Monsieur D'Avezac has the merit of shewing that its inflexion is but a loose form of agglutination,—a statement which we believe to hold good for the African languages throughout.

The ethnographical error which we guard against, is the notion that Africa has, in the Yebu tongue, a language with the same amount of grammatical isolation, (real or supposed,) as the monosyllabic languages of Asia—an error into which we do not for one moment suppose Monsieur D'Avezac to have fallen.

VI. The languages, however, which present the strongest appearance of being peculiar in their grammatical structure, are those of the Caffrarian groupe. In the first place, it may be said, that, practically speaking, every word begins with some extraneous syllable prefixed to it.

Hence, in the following words *umtu* = person, *ihashe* = horse, *inkosi* = captain, *isicaka* = servant, *usana* = infant, *umlambo* = river, *ubuso* = face, *akutya* = ford, *abantu* = people, *amazwe* = words, *inkomo* = cattle, *imiti* = trees, the letters that are printed in italics are wholly non-radical. On the contrary, they are superadded prefixes, in the use of which, the remarkable part is the fact that they occur before all nouns indiscriminately, i. e. no noun appears without one, any more than a mere crude form, *minus* its inflections, (e. g. *λόγ-* or *ῥησιθ-*) appears in Greek. The *rationalis* of these superadded prefixes has yet to be evolved. At present they are considered as characteristic of the Caffre groupe of languages. So necessary is the incorporation of this adventitious element, that new words like *priest* and *pharisees*, &c. take it, and become *umpriest*, *umpharisee*, when introduced into the Caffre Scriptures.

However, the universality of this prefix is only one of the

Caffre peculiarities. One, equally remarkable, is the so-called Euphonic or Alliterational Concord. *The prefix of one word determines the initial of another.*

1. The prefixes *u* and *um*, determine that the words in a certain syntactical relation to them, shall change their natural initial into *w*,—*umtu welizwe* = *a man of the country*.

2. The prefixes *i* and *ili*, determine that the word in a certain syntactical relation to them, shall change their natural initials into *l*,—*ihashe lenkosi* = *horse of the captain*.

3. The prefixes *in* and *im*, determine that the words in a certain syntactical relation to them, shall change their natural initials into *y*,—*inkosi yabantu* = *captain of the people*.

So on throughout. The number of prefixes is fifteen; which, for grammatical purposes, may be dealt with as twelve. The letter that each requires for the initial of the word in construction with it, is called its Euphonic Letter; so that *w* is the euphonic letter of *u* and *um*, *l* of *i* and *ili*, *y* of *in* and *im*, &c. The expression of the law which regulates the character of the euphonic letter, is susceptible of a higher generalization than it has met with.

Now comes the question of the Ethnological value of these two characteristics. Are they to be found elsewhere? If not, how far do they isolate the Caffre languages? Our own answer upon each of these points is in the negative. One African language at least—the Woloff—has an Alliterational Concord; and the appearance of non-radical prefixes may be found in the comparison of most African vocabularies. Finally, more than one plausible hypothesis would admit of their being considered as comparatively modern forms in language. These points, however, can only be indicated.

Such are the more important details and principles involved in the enumerated works. It is almost unnecessary to add, after the remarks that have been made, that both the grammatical and glossarial differences between the African tongues have been exaggerated. In the opinion of the writer, no language throughout that continent is isolated in the way that the Basque is in Europe.

R. G. L.

XVI.

MISCELLANIES.

1. ARISTOPHANTICA.

Acharnians, l. 47.—ὁ γὰρ Ἀμφίθεος, κ. τ. λ.

THE Scholiast considers this genealogical passage as a sneer at the prologues of Euripides, while Mr. Mitchell presumes this personage with the long pedigree and short purse, to be a satire on the family pride and poverty of the Spartans and Dorians generally; but it does not seem to have occurred to any commentator that it most probably may be our author's first covert attack on Socrates, previous to his outburst in the "Clouds." The name "Amphitheos," implying an omnipresent deity, seems to have been assumed in ridicule of Socrates, his followers, and their tenets; for with all his pretensions to divinity, he still derives his origin from the earth, from Ceres, Triptolemus, and Celeus. He next designates Phainarete as his nurse or grand-dam, the mother of Socrates, and by profession an accoucheuse; of her again, he says, was born Lucinus, from whom I, an immortal, derive my existence. Now Lucinus may have reference to Lucina, the Latin presiding deity of obstetricism, and mean Socrates as the son of a midwife; or taking a more probable Grecian derivation, it may come from λύκος, "a wolf," a common enough term of reproach at Athens. We may suppose this satire quite intelligible to an Attic audience, and easily applicable to Socrates, while the conclusion would convey an attack upon that philosopher's doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and the poverty of his appearance, which might seem but little to correspond with such a boast.

Acharnians, l. 347.—Ἐμέλλει' ἂν' ἅπαντες ἀνασείειν βοήν,—

"I thought you would soon cease your clamour," or more literally, "I thought you would soon shake your clamour up."

This line has been a stumbling-block to commentators, most of whom have fancied there might be some error in the reading, and many have proposed emendations; among others, one very fair conjecture is mentioned in the review of Mr. Blaydes's edition of this play in the Third Volume of *The Classical Museum*, (p. 447;) but, as correctly noted by the reviewer, is "too slashing to take its place unceremoniously in the text." It is unnecessary for me to go over the many

long and learned opinions expressed on this line, as I hold the reading to be perfectly good, and the meaning of the author easy of explanation. The use of the word *ἀνασειείν*, in which the difficulty originates, is one of those unexpected applications of terms so common in Aristophanes. *ἀναπαύειν βοήν* was the expression to be looked for; but by way of joke, out comes *ἀνασειείν βοήν*, "to shake up," or, "out your clamour;" which *ἀνασειείν*, I conjecture to have been a term in general use among the Acharnian charcoal-burners, and applied to the shaking out, or emptying of their sacks; thus professionally implying by *ἀνασειείν βοήν*, "to end, or empty themselves of their clamour;" just what an ordinary person would mean by *ἀναπαύειν βοήν*.

Wasps, l. 696.—ὥς μου τὸν θίνα ταραττεῖς.

The meaning of this passage has proved puzzling to many commentators, and various translations have been proposed; yet a careful reference to the play will easily show, that it is no idiomatic expression, and that the literal translation, "how you do stir up my sea shore," is the correct one. The passage alludes to the *αἰγιάλῳν*, "sea beach," of small voting pebbles and shells, which we were informed (at line 110,) that the old dicast had laid up and cherished at home, in order always to be ready with his vote, and here perhaps he would display a few of them in his hand, bringing them out from the folds of his cloak, to express his strong desire to condemn those who had been just described as gulling him. It is singular how a slight inattention propagates error. The Scholiast and several annotators, with whom Mitchell, and strange to say, Liddell and Scott, in their Lexicon, agree, have held that *θίς* implies not only the sea shore, but also the depths of the sea, and therefore that our author's meaning is here allegorically, "you trouble the very bottom of my heart." I fear, however, that *θίς* can only mean the deposit of pebbles, sand, and shells, on the sea beach, the shore of the sea, "the smooth short space of yellow sand" round the Mediterranean, and that a mistaken idea of this passage has led these scholars into error. Professor Dunbar, in his Lexicon, translates it, "How you gravel me," a curiously ingenious misapprehension. The meaning of Aristophanes seems remarkably simple and evident, when we refer to the story of the *αἰγιάλῳν*, at the 110th line.

Wasps, l. 1036.—καταδωροδοκῆσαι.

The Scholiast has here fallen into error, imagining the meaning of this verb to be "to take a bribe;" and in this he has been followed by Liddell and Scott in their Lexicon; while Donnegan and Scapula have correctly rendered it, "to give a bribe," with whom Mitchell in

his note agrees, and the sense of the passage itself implies it. It is moreover proved from the "Frogs," l. 361, where the passive *καταδροδοκεῖται* occurs in the sense of "to take a bribe," so that correctly this verb signifies in the active "to give a bribe," and in the passive "to take a bribe," "bribe and to be bribed."

WILLIAM BELL MACDONALD.

RAMMERSCALES, April 1846.

2. ON THE VERB *ἐξυπτιάζω*.

Καὶ τὸν σὸν ἀθῆς προσμολὼν ὁμόσπορον,
'Εξυπτιάζων ὄμμα, Πολυνεῖκου βίαν
Διν ἐν τελευτῇ τοῦνομ' ἐνδατούμενος,
Καλεῖ.—Æschyl. *S. Th.* 573.

THE proper meaning of the verb *ἐξυπτιάζω* has been given by Dr. Blomfield, in his Edition of the Seven against Thebes, in a note, where he says, "*ἐξυπτιάζω* nihil aliud significare potest quam *resupino*. Oculos autem resupinabant, qui admiratione quavis vel iracundia commovebantur. Minime in hoc loco superbiae indicium, quod putat Schutzius, *ὄνομα* vero et *ὄμμα* quoties confusa sint, docet Valckenarius ad Eurip. Phœniss. 415." More recent editors and lexicographers give a different view of the meaning of the verb, in consequence of adopting the old reading *ὄνομα* instead of *ὄμμα*. The Editors of the Oxford Lexicon say, "*ἐξ. ὄνομα* (scil. Polynices) *to turn it over, take it to pieces*, Æschyl. *Theb.* 577. Cf Aristoph. *Eq.* 21, 19." In the first place, there is no connection whatever between the verse in Aristophanes and the expression *ἐξυπτιάζων ὄνομα*. It seems to have a reference to the participle *προσμολών*, in the preceding line. In the next place, if *ἐξυπτιάζω* signifies *to turn over*, does it necessarily follow that what is *turned over* should be *taken to pieces*? I apprehend that such a translation is altogether erroneous. Linwood, in his Lexicon to Æschylus, says, "The repetition of the same word in two succeeding lines is no argument against it.—(See *ὄνομα*.) Possibly *ἐξυπτιάζων ὄνομα* may be thus explained. A thing is said to be *ὑπτίος*, when *turned upside down*; i. e. placed in a different position to the natural one. Hence, any thing employed in an *unusual* or *perverted* manner, might be said *ἐξυπτιάζεσθαι*, as the name *Πολυνεῖκον*, which properly denoted only the individual Polynices, is here, by a kind of perversion, taken in reference to the meaning of its component parts as a word, *πολὺν* and *νεῖκον*. In English it would be expressed by the phrase, *playing or punning upon the name*. In the present instance, it may be conceived that the name was pronounced so as to

give the meaning ὁ πολὺν νεῖκος, νεῖκος, the stress being laid upon the latter half of the compound, sc. νεῖκος." How ἐξυπτιάζων ὄνομα can convey such a meaning, I am at a loss to conjecture. If the author had been endeavouring to explain the line following, scil. Δις ἐν τελευτῇ τοῦ νομ' ἐνδοτούμενος, he could scarcely have done it better than in the last part of his observations. But as applied to the expression in question, they are utterly at variance with the meaning of the words. It appears to me that the verb ἐξυπτιάζω, cannot admit of such interpretations as the above lexicographers have given to it. It neither signifies *to turn over*, nor *to turn upside down*; but the very reverse of the latter, scil. *to turn downside up*, if I may be allowed the expression. When a man is lying with his face to the ground, and he turns himself on his back with his face upwards, he performs the act expressed by ἐξυπτιάζω, Lat. *resupino*, as Blomfield has very properly rendered it. The repetition of the same word is, no doubt, common enough with the Greek poets; but, coupled with ἐξυπτιάζων, no appropriate meaning can be deduced from them. Besides, it ought to be observed, that in the second line, the noun has the *article*; in the first, it has it not, and cannot have it upon account of the versification. But it was as necessary in the first as in the second, and more so, as the name of the individual had not been previously mentioned. Let it also be observed, that if the line be read Ἐξυπτιάζων ὄνομα, Πολυνείκους βίαν, we have a Dactyle in the third place, and a Tribrach in the fourth; and no fewer than *five short syllables* running. Such a position of so many short syllables together may be found in the Iambic verse of the comic poets; but I believe there are very few instances in tragic Iambic verse, and these of doubtful authority, where a Tribrach follows a Dactyle in the third place. It would render the verse utterly inharmonious.¹

¹ I am aware that in v. 592 of this same play, no fewer than *six* short syllables are found, namely two Tribrachs. βαθυῖαν δλασα διὰ φρενὶς παρεσσύμινος.

But I hope to be able to show that the reading is incorrect. We find in Dr. Blomfield's edition, in a note, the following words, "αἰλάσα, *Plutarch, Op. Mor.* p. 88, *B. Damasc.* pp. 1032, 56, 1056, 40, *δλασα, Plato, Plutarchus ter. φρενῶν, Damascius priore loco.*" R. P. *Plutarchi Loca sunt T. I.* pp. 56, 152; T. V. p. 586, HST. αἰλαξ βαθυῖα. *Eustath. ad Iliad.* B. p. 360, 371, qui posteriorem versus partem citat *ad Iliad.* O. p.

720, 7, αἰλάσα etiam Suidas. The original reading seems then to have been,

Αἰλάσα βαθυῖαν διὰ φρενὶς παρεσσύμινος.

And, I imagine, any one who compares the rhythm of the two lines, will have no hesitation in giving the preference to the latter. I dare not, however, affirm that no examples of double Tribrachs occur near the commencement of an Iambic line, such as the following. "Ἡρόδωτι

κατίμα τὸν ἡμῶν ἐλογοντά σι, *Soph.*

Phil. 1294; but they are certainly very rare in the tragic poets.

It appears, therefore, from the impossibility of deducing any appropriate meaning from the expression *ἐξυπτιάζων ὄνομα*, and from the violation of what appears an established rule in versification if it were adopted, that the reading *ἐξυπτιάζων ὄμμα*, suggested by Schütz, is both in accordance with the circumstances described by the poet, and with the metrical canon observed by all the tragedians. Amphiarus is represented by Æschylus, approaching Polynices with a feeling of pity and reproach in his looks. Withdrawing his eyes from the Theban prince, he turns them up to heaven, to mark his astonishment and deep sense of the crime Polynices was going to commit against his country.

— λέγει δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπος διὰ στόμα·
 *Ἡ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ θεοῖσι προσφιλές,
 Καλόν τ' ἑκούσαι καὶ λέγειν μεθυστέροις,
 Πόλιν πατρῶαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς
 Πορθεῖν, στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβεβληκότα.—576–580.

GEORGE DUNBAR.

COLLEGE OF EDINBURGH, 1st June 1846.

3. SOME CORRECTIONS IN THE DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN BIOGRAPHY, AND LIDDELL AND SCOTT'S GREEK LEXICON.

I. In the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, art. *Asprenas*, L., it is said that *Asprenas* was sent to kill *Agrippa Posthumus*; with a reference to *Tac. An. l. 53*. Now, in that chapter, it is *Sempronius Gracchus*, a corruptor of *Julia*, who is related to have been put to death, according to one account, (*quidam tradidere*) by the order of *Asprenas*.

II. A coin of *Tib. Sempron. Gracchus* is given, and it is said "that

I stated above, that it seems to have been an established rule with the tragic poets, not to introduce a Tribrach after a Dactyle in the third place. The following line in the *Philoctetes* of *Sophocles* is opposed to this rule,

Ἀπῶδες, ἰννεῦμαι δ', ἀπῶδες, ἰννεῦμαι, εἴινον,

922.

But it will be observed that the poet repeats *ἀπῶδες*; why might he not also repeat *ἰννεῦμαι*? I think it was most

natural that he should, instead of employing another verb, synonymous no doubt in meaning, but not nearly so often used by him as the other.

Ἀπῶδες, ἰννεῦμαι δ', ἀπῶδες, ἰννεῦμαι, εἴινον.

It was upon a similar principle that the tragedians did not introduce the Dactyle into the fifth place, that there might not be too many short syllables at the end of the verse.

G. D.

he is not mentioned by any ancient writer." Now, in the same book and chapter of Tacitus, (*An.* i. 53.) there is an account of this Sempronius Gracchus. Ruperti refers to Vell. Patern. ii. 100.

III. In the interesting life of Horace by Mr Milman, I noticed several misprints in the references, which I did not note at the time, nor is it now worth while to hunt them out.

In the second edition of Scott and Liddell's *Lexicon*, there are the following misprints:—

Under *ὅδε* (B.) π. for *τάδε*, read *τόδε* — *συνέχω*; after the first example *ὅθι ζωστήρος ὀχῆες χρύσειοι σύνεχον*, add a reference to *Il.* xx. 415.; and after the second example, add a reference to xx. 478, striking out the reference to xx. 415.

**ἄλλω* in *Od.* xx. 211, which is given under 3., should have been given under 2., at least it is exactly parallel to *Od.* viii. 176.

Under *πάλλω* — *παλλομένων*, *Il.* xv. 191. we are not to suppose an ellipse of *ἄλων*,—see Spitzner.

ἄμεναι, *Il.* xxi. 70., and *ἄσαι*, *Il.* xviii. 317. "to have one's fill." Cf. Butm. *Lexil.* The only meaning given in the *Lexicon* is, "to satiate."

Under *πίνω*, (ad fin.) "the ι in the aor., except in imper. *πίθι* is always short." It is long in *Il.* xvi. 825,—see Spitzner.

Under *πυκνόν* π. a reference is given to *Il.* xvi. 212, for *π. λίθοι* "a shower of stones," where the meaning is, "close laid," in building. *φνήν* is said to be used "adverbially" in Homer always; it is not so used in *Il.* xxii. 370.

Under *μή* iii. *Od.* iv. 684, *μή—μνηστεύσαντες* is rendered, "no these suitors,"—Herm. on Vig. "postquam semel proci fuerunt."

ῥα is said not to occur in 1st person for *ῖν*,—but see *Od.* xii. 368.

Od. xiii. 101. *ὄρμου μέτρον* is not "the size of the harbour," but *τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐν θαλάσῃ καταγωγῆς*, Eustath.

συναείρομαι, *Il.* xv. 680. Spitzner is referred to as rendering "to choose;" but he explains it by "conjugo." See his note.

νίζομαι, *Od.* vi. 224. has a double accusative; this is not remarked.

ω. A. b. i. on the citation from Butm. *Lex.* s. ν. *φή*, see the remarks of Spitzner, *Excursus* xxvi. p. 36. who cites a large number of examples against Butmann.

περὶ B. fin. there seems to be an error in the words. "The verb in this sense seems not," &c.; the *not* should apparently be struck out.

Under *ἄημι*, *ἄρτο* is a misprint for *ἄητο*.

Under *πρόχυν*, *Il.* xxi. 460. is misquoted.

ἀμβλίσκω is found with a transitive force in Plato *Theæt.* p. 149. D. *ὄγών*, as in the phrase *νεὼν ἐν ἀγῶνι*, (*Il.* xvi. 239,) is not illustrated.—Other omissions are *Il.* xxii. 322, *ἄλλο τόσον*—"almost the whole," if we follow the old interpreters,—see Spitzner.

These errors, or such of them as are errors, have been noted down

during several months constant use of the book; and the bringing them forward is not meant to imply any disparagement of a most useful help.

J. B.

CAMBRIDGE, May 1846.

4. ON ὥς δὲ WITH THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

It seems to me that the writer of the remarks on ὥς δὲ, &c. with the conjunctive, (*Class. Mus.* vol. II. 333,) has failed to discover the real force of this formula.

I think that an examination of the passages in which it occurs will show that it is used as a sort of *λενότης*; to modify or give a polite colouring to intentions, desires, commands, or wishes, generally when they are abrupt or startling, by stating the reason or end for the wish, or command, or intention; δὲ in these passages refers to the will of the person addressed, as connected with the command, &c., and answers to our English, "if you please,"—"if you will be so good as to do so."

In some passages it is ironical, as in *Soph. Electr.* 1495.

In others it is omitted where it might have been expected; but this omission generally occurs where the speaker is in great haste, or labouring under too excited feelings to trouble himself to be civil, as *Eur. Bacch.* 1202, where Agave rushes in a frantic state on the stage with the head of Pentheus in her hand—

ὦ καλλίπυργον ἄστυ Θηβαίαν χθονὸς
ναίοντες, ἔλθεθ' ὥς ἴδητε τήνδ' ἄγραν.

And its omission in certain passages, and its insertion in others of a similar character, is, I think, frequently intended to mark certain lights and shades of character. Compare Jason's words, *Med.* 1131, where δὲ is omitted, with those of Menelaus, *Orest.* 1562, where it is inserted. In the latter, perhaps the poet expresses, by using δὲ, the smooth-tongued character of Menelaus, (which he has given him in other parts of the play,) who, even in moments of excitement and distress, never forgot his *soft sawder*.

I may add, with reference to an extract from my Grammar, in page 113. of the last Part, (XI.) of *The Classical Museum*, that Professor Kühner is not answerable for the definition of a verb there given. His definition is, "*Das Verb ist der Ausdruck eines Thätigkeitsbegriffes*," for which I substituted that which is quoted as Kühner's, in the passage of the *Museum* to which I refer.

W. E. JELF.

OXFORD, CHRIST CHURCH, 24th April 1846.

5. ATTEMPTS AT A TRANSLATION OF GREEK CHORICS.

Sophocles, *Œdipus Coloneus*,—Vv. 1208–45.

Ὅστις τοῦ πλέονος μέρους, κ. τ. λ.

STROPHE.

Whoso for long life prays,
And covets length of days,
To every prudent mind
Shall senseless seem and blind,
Increase of woes alone increase of life can bring—
All pleasures disappear
With each slow-rolling year,
Whilst dull Satiety
Creeps on from day to day,
Nor yields his hapless prey till Death with fatal spring
Bounds on him unawares,
And fate in sullen strains,
Unlike the gentle lyre
Or festal dance, proclaims
The dismal end of all his earthly suffering.

ANTISTROPHE.

Not to be born is best,
But next among the blest,
Who gains a glimpse of light,
Then sinks in endless night,
And backward hastens to his gloomy bourne—
Since even at the height
Of youth's unchecked delight,
Sorrow stands ever nigh,
And toil with drooping eye,
War, murder, strife, and envy rage in turn—
And then comes sullen age,
Weak, impotent, and prone
To querulous complaint;
Deserted and alone,
Where all misfortunes thickly clustering sojourn.

EPODE.

Beneath its chilling grasp the wretched man,
 As we ourselves, for ever lies ;
 And like a northern wave-washed shore,
 Beaten by the inclement skies,
 The billows of destruction round him roar,
 With never-ceasing sweep—
 When sinking Phœbus greets the new-born moon,
 At early dawn and fervid noon,
 Or when the stars' faint beams forth on the midnight peep.

 Vv. 1548-71.

Εἰ θέμις ἐστί μοι, κ. τ. λ.

STROPHE.

Dark goddess of the world unseen,
 And thou, stern monarch of the shades below,
 If ye will hear our prayer !
 Grant that this stranger o'er his dreadful path may go,
 Unworn by toil or pain, with step serene,
 From the blest regions of etherial air,
 Down to your gloomy cells and Stygian mansions drear !
 Many and undeserved have been his woes,
 But now, by Jove's high will, in peace shall he repose.

ANTISTROPHE.

Ye gods of dismal Hades, hear !
 And thou, terrific form, that dimly liest
 Beneath the polished gate,
 And from thy cave with hideous yell for ever criest,
 Grim guard of Pluto's dusky throne, forbear
 To raise thy terrors, when impelled by Fate,
 This stranger treads among the dead with stately gait—
 Old Earth, and Tartarus' sleepless son, arise !
 Advance with soothing tongue, and mildly-beaming eyes !

J. ECCLESTON.

XVII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

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1. A SELECTION FROM THE REMAINS OF THEOCRITUS, BION, AND MOSCHUS, with Glossary and Prolegomena. By Frederic H. Ringwood, M.A. Dublin, 1846. 8vo.

MR. RINGWOOD has included in this volume the 15th, 14th, 2d, and 21st Idyls of Theocritus, and has stated in the preface, at some length, his grounds for publishing the "mimic Idyls" by themselves, as the first part of his selection from the Greek Bucolic poets. The mere arrangement, in a publication of this nature, appears to us a matter of so slight comparative importance, as by no means to call for the elaborate justification which Mr. Ringwood has bestowed upon it; while the grouping together as "mimic," or imitative, a certain number of poems, as though this epithet expressed their peculiar and distinctive character, is in our view an arbitrary and objectionable principle, and unfavourable to a right estimation of the poet's genius. On the one hand, it is by no means only in these Idyls that Theocritus has vividly exerted his "mimic" imagination: on the other, they themselves are much beyond mere specimens, however perfect, of "mimic" art; so that the exclusion implied in the monopoly of such a title, is unjust alike to the poems to which it is awarded, and to those from which it is withheld. It has often struck us, that a great poet is unfair even to himself, and adopts a plan calculated to spoil the pleasure, and pervert the taste of many of his readers, by classifying his works into "Poems of Sentiment and Reflection," "Poems of the Fancy," "Poems of the Imagination;" and if this isolation be a dangerous attempt for the creative artist himself, it must be far more so for the critic. From artificial arrangements of this kind, necessarily incomplete as they must be, we should be deterred by the recollection of what is perhaps the most glaring instance of false ingenuity similarly applied; we mean that marvellous distribution of Plato's dialogues, by means of which, critics in old times succeeded in persuading themselves that they enjoyed a fuller appreciation of his philosophical merit. While we cannot but deprecate the habit of affixing this or similar epithets to a selected number of Idyls, as resting upon mistaken grounds, we readily acknowledge that the poems contained in this volume are very happily chosen for the purpose of

introducing beginners to the Syracusan poet, no less with a view to peculiarity of language and expression, than to the raciness, buoyant vigour, and beauty of ideas which they exhibit.

In addition to the text, we find a copious array of notes, critical commentary, and glossary, which, in fulness of information, generally leave little to be required for the student, indeed may, perhaps, in some instances, rather oppress him with accumulated opinions from divers quarters, than smooth his path by a prompt removal of the difficulty. This, however, is a fault on the right side, and much more venial than the presumption of pronouncing a dogmatical judgment, when at the best, much uncertainty must still rest upon the interpretation. At times it appears to us, considering the various opinions that are laid before the reader, and examined by Mr. Ringwood, that others are omitted, which might, on their own merits, have preferred at least an equal claim to insertion. His note on the sense of *νᾶμος*, in the much disputed passage, Id. xv. 27–30, is sensible and cautious, yet we are surprised that he has not noticed Hermann's conjecture in v. 30, *ἀ δὲ σμᾶμα φέρει*, which has been adopted by so considerate an editor as Meineke, and surely deserved mention. We can hardly assent to the explanation contained in the note to v. 7, the purport of which is to justify the construction *ἐκαστοτέρῳ ἔμ' ἀποικεύς*. "A difference may perhaps be traced between the meaning of the passage with the gen. and with the accus. In the former case, the notion of distance only is expressed, while in the latter, as *ἐμε* is the object of the verb, the sentence may imply, you distress me by dwelling at too great a distance." The instances from Aristophanes and Sophocles would seem rather to indicate that a verb like *οἶχομαι* or *ἀποικέω* may be followed by the accusative, when its relation to the noun is such as obviously and at once to suggest the notion of a transitive verb, to which it may be for the time considered as an equivalent. Thus "has deserted me," "was left, and avoided," are the ideas directly called up by *οἶχεται*, *ἀπώκειτο*, and these verbs accordingly allowed to take the construction which generally belongs to verbs expressive of those ideas: the equivalence which Mr. R.'s interpretation gives us is far fetched and indirect. If the reading can be defended, (which seems to us very doubtful,) we should be rather inclined to render it, "you have removed, leaving me at a great distance." Such a meaning has more of a common character with the instances adduced by Bernhardt, *Syntax*, p. 112–3, than "you distress me," &c.

Mr. Ringwood's note upon v. 94, *μὴ φύῃ Μελιτῶδες*, is chargeable with an inaccuracy, which does injustice in some measure to Buttmann, and more materially to John Wordsworth. He writes thus:—"The quantity of the conjunctive 'probably with *υ* long,' (see Buttm. Irregular Verbs in v. *φύω*,) does not form a second objection to its

remaining here, as J. W. supposed, "*φνῆ* si bene Græcum esset priorem corripere deberet." Now, in the first place, Buttman, in the passage referred to, is speaking, not of *φνῆ*, but of *φύῆ*: he expressly distinguishes the two forms, while Mr. R.'s remark appears to ignore the distinction. Both the probable quantity and the existence of the latter form, are rested by Buttman solely on the analogy of *δύῆ*, and it seems difficult to say why, in the instance quoted from Xenophon's Hiero, *ἐμφύῆ* should be preferred to *ἐμφυῆ*. Secondly, whatever right to Hellenic parentage may be assigned to this hypothetical *φύῆ*, J. W.'s criticism as to *φνῆ* is undeniably correct; see Eurip. *Eurysth.* fr. 5, Matth. *ὁ γὰρ ἀν' χρηστὸς φνῆ*; Menand. *fragm.* inc. 87, Mein. where *φνεις* comes at the end of a line, probably written by a tragic poet; and Mr. Ringwood's censure, which could only have had a chance of being applicable, if the author, against whom it is directed, had written *φύῆ*, must fall to the ground. In his glossary on this passage, Mr. R. quotes an extract from Passow, with regard to the quantity of *φύω*, which might have afforded him a theme for pretty extensive correction. Passow speaks as if the late poets were almost the sole authority for long *υ* in the present and imperfect. The qualification which this statement requires is apparent from at least the following instances in which the *υ* is long: *φύεται*, Sophocl. *Alc.* fr. 109, Dind.; *φύει*, Eurip. fr. dub. 44, Matth.; *φύομεν*, Aristoph. *Av.* 106, (*φνομένους*, fr. inc. 101, Bergk, is perhaps not positively certain;) *φύεσθαι*, Alexis, *Hypn.* fr. 1.; *φύεται*, Menander, fr. inc. 27, b., and 64, Mein.

We have confined our remarks chiefly to points in which a rapid glance over Mr. Ringwood's pages seemed to disclose a deficiency. We are bound to add, that many specimens might have been quoted from his notes which meet with our cordial approbation; and we trust that his volume will obtain the success which it fully deserves, in familiarizing the language, and kindling a warm interest in the beauties of Theocritus among the students of Dublin University, for whose use, as the preface informs us, the work has been undertaken.

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2. ANTIBARBARUS DER LATEINISCHEN SPRACHE: in Zwei Abtheilungen, nebst Vorbemerkungen über reine Latinität: Von Dr. T. PH. Krebs. 3te Auflage. 1843. 8vo.

Those who write Latin, ought to write according to the Latin idiom; that is to say, they ought not to string together Latin words in any connection, or in a connection altogether modern; but the whole cha-

racter and movement of their style ought to be Latin, and not English, French, or German; otherwise, we shall have a jargon not only tasteless but ludicrous, and often unintelligible. So far every sensible man will agree with Dr. Krebs and the school of *Purists*, to which he belongs. But whether, in the choice of Latin phraseology, a modern writer should make it an object curiously to conform himself to the vocabulary of Cicero, Cæsar, and Livy, unless in a few cases of unavoidable deviation, is another question altogether, and one which would require to be discussed at much greater length than the present notice contemplates. The author of this new "*Antibarbarus*," is indeed far removed from the nice scrupulosity of Bembo and the original Ciceronians, whose learned puerilities Erasmus with his usual felicity exposed: he qualifies the pedantic absurdities of that school in every way that a reasonable and modern purist could desire; still the whole drift and purpose of his book is to represent a systematic imitation of Cicero, Cæsar, and Livy, as a duty incumbent on academical men who write Latin in the present day,—a proposition from which we directly and decidedly dissent. It is a presumption running through the whole of Dr. Krebs' work, that a word is to be preferred merely because it is the word used by Cicero, and to be rejected merely because it is the word used by Apuleius. Now, every one knows two things; first, that the Latin language generally was in a much more healthy condition in the age of Cicero than in that of Apuleius; and second, that the former is a writer of infinitely more correct taste than the latter. The step, however, from these two facts to the broad principle asserted by the purists, that independently of every other consideration, a Latin word used only by Apuleius, and his contemporaries or successors, is absolutely to be rejected, is a very wide one, and one which we are by no means prepared to make. On the contrary, it were easy to prove that the excellence for which we praise Cicero's style, does not consist merely or mainly in his vocabulary; while it is as certain that the faults for which we censure Apuleius, are something much more serious than the use of certain vocables which we at this time of day can find no where else perhaps than in Plautus. It is indeed altogether a mistake to suppose that the writers of an Augustan or Medicean era, or however you please to term it, possess by the gift of their superior genius, any exclusive privilege to stamp words for the use of the people, whose spokesmen they are, and to interdict the use of all words to which they may not have given this currency. A language, so long as it lives, and possesses an independent and characteristic existence as an organ of thought, is not merely entitled to put forth, but actually does and must put forth, new vocables, and new modifications of old vocables, just as a tree puts forth new leaves. The admirers of a particular school or class of

writers have always been prone, after their account is made up, to apply the pruning knife to this essential principle of vital development in every language; but sound philosophy will ever combine with nature and common sense, to repel the attempt, as a vexatious circumscription, and a monotonous formalism. The real question in the case of a disputed vocable, is not whether it was used in an age which may be or may not be esteemed Medicean, but whether it is a word necessary, convenient or impressive, and whether it has been formed in accordance with the healthy organization of the language. Take, for instance, the word *concorporare*, which Pliny uses, and Tertullian, but not Cicero. A purist, like M. Krebs, would tell us (though the word by the way does not happen to be in the present collection,) at once to avoid the word, and use for it *commiscere*, because this word is synonymous, and occurs in Cicero. But we may, in the first place, deny that the words are synonymous, (for there are very few *real* synonyms,) or, if they be both the same, they are the same only in the sense that light-blue and dark-blue are with blue; and yet it may be a matter of infinite moment to an artist, that he shall not, in colouring any particular part of his picture, use the one indifferently for the other. *Concorporare*, if it be a synonymous word with *commiscere*, is certainly a much stronger word, and differs from it in fact as much as pure wine does from wine and water,—as much, to borrow an illustration from a modern language, as *einverleiben* does from *zusammenmischen*. It is, therefore, a necessary addition to the language; it is also an expressive word; and the only question remaining is, whether it be formed in accordance with those laws of formation which the language naturally observes; and if it is found to conform to this analogy, we not only do not look on it with suspicion, because Cicero knew nothing of it, but we welcome it, and are willing to confer on it the full denizenship of classicality, even as heartily as Cicero himself wished to welcome *beatitas* or *beatitudo*, though unfortunately even he, in such whimsical points, could not always succeed.

The real fact of the matter is, that the Latin language in the days of Cicero was, with all its vigour, only in the course of formation, and in many respects still extremely meagre and imperfect; certainly very far removed from that degree of pliancy, variety, expressiveness, and luxuriance to which it might hope to attain. "How often," as Scheller remarks in the preface to the first edition of his Dictionary, "do *Seneca*, *Apuleius*, and others, express a pregnant thought by a single word, for which Cicero would have required three or four words? Is there any thing wrong in this? Who does not like conciseness in composition, when it is without obscurity?" If this be the case, are not those exact gentlemen, who give themselves so much trouble, as they

represent it, to keep the fountain of Latin pure, rather to be regarded as persons who draw away many of its most luxuriant streams, and do all they can to narrow and monotonize the scanty harvest of ancient phraseology that the ravages of time have left us? But M. Krebs is far from contenting himself with the utter disfranchisement of such questionable men as the author of the Golden Ass. He tells us, for instance, that *claritudo*, which is found in Sallust, and Tacitus, and Paternulus, and Lactantius, is a bad word, and not to be used because Cicero uses *claritas*. "It is," says he, "quite unnecessary." No doubt the word is not necessary; perhaps it is *altogether* synonymous with the Ciceronian word *claritas*; but to what a miserable nomenclature shall we reduce language, if necessity alone is to justify the formation of new words? Shall we make no account of variety? Shall euphony not justify us at times in preferring one termination to another, independently of significancy or authority? A man, for instance, may wish to end a sentence with *claritas*, but having a partiality (as Tully himself had,) for a ditrochaic close, finds *claritudo* the only word that will serve the cause of euphony for the occasion. Is he to be denied this privilege because Tacitus has a partiality for Greek turns, and Paternulus deals a little too much in antitheses?

But it is not our purpose, on the present occasion, to discuss fully the principles that ought to regulate Latin composition in modern times. Suffice it to say, with reference to M. Krebs' *Antibarbarus*, that, though we differ with him radically as to this matter, we have examined his work carefully, and have no hesitation in saying, that every person who uses the Latin language, will find it a most valuable *vade mecum*. The selection of words seems to us excellent: and even to those who do not agree with the uses made of them, the materials themselves are not without great value. In the remarks made on the comparative propriety of words, the author, unless where biassed by what we think false principles, shews great discrimination and good sense. We have consulted many articles, and find nothing in the shape of fact calculated to mislead, except that the author has the habit of making a *poetical* *soti*, what is in fact, though used by writers of verse, colloquial or conversational Latin,—a thing the very opposite of what we generally understand by *poetical*. The verb *delassare*, for instance, is used by Plautus, Horace, and Martial; but Plautus and Martial are not much given to soar; and in Horace the word appears only in the *Sermones*, the essentially prose character of which, no man knew better than the writer. We have the same remark to make on *caballus*, which, though used in the humorous and satirical style by Horace and Juvenal, is truly a conversational word like our

nag, and the furthest possible removed from *sonipes*, which is the true poetical synonym of *equus*. Both these words, however, M. Krebs marks as *poetical*; which might be apt to mislead a novice, as the *poets* who use the words are not specially cited.

- 3.—I. Q. HORATI FLACCI POEMATATA. The Works of Horace, with explanatory Notes, selected from the larger Edition. By Charles Anthon, LL.D., Jay Professor of Columbia College, New York, and Rector of the Grammar School. London: Thomas Tegg. 1835.
- II. THE FIRST THREE BOOKS OF HOMER'S ILLAD, according to the ordinary Text, and also with the restoration of the Digamma; to which are appended English Notes, critical and explanatory, a Metrical Index, and Homeric Glossary. By Charles Anthon, LL.D., Jay Professor of Columbia College, New York, and Rector of the Grammar School. A new Edition. By Benjamin Davies, Ph. D. London: Thomas Tegg. 1846.

"Professor Anthon's merits, as an editor of the Classics for use in Schools and Colleges, are so well understood and appreciated in this country, as well as his own, that commendation would be superfluous and unbecoming in this place." So writes Dr. Davies, in the commencement of his Preface. We should be inclined to read *condemnation* for *commendation*.

We find in an appended list of books published by Mr. Tegg, the following reprints of Professor Anthon's works. Horace—Sallust—Cicero's Orations—Greek Reader—Cæsar's Commentaries—Greek Grammar—Greek Prosody—Latin Grammar. And we have before us the New York edition of the *Æneid* of Virgil. But we prefer selecting two reprints: *First*, because, as reprints, they more especially affect Classical literature among us; and, *secondly*, because the two are quite sufficient to bring out our notions of the value of the whole.

Commentaries on the Classics may be written for the benefit of the learned or of learners, or they may partake of the nature of both to a certain extent, but one or other always predominating. To the first, it is fair to say, Professor Anthon makes no pretensions. We have not had the good fortune to see his larger edition of Horace, which contains, as we learn from the Preface to the smaller edition, much critical apparatus. But we learn from the same Preface, that he had been discouraged by the reception which the larger work had met. We do not venture, therefore, to pronounce authoritatively on Professor Anthon's qualifications as a Commentator of the highest class.

But we may conjecture. The first passage that meets our eye, without selection, is,—

“Sunt, quibus unum opus est, intactæ Palladis arces
Carminē perpetuo celebrare,
Indeque decerptam fronti præponere olivam.”

Carm. i. 5-7.

Mr. Anthon's note on line 7. is, “‘*Indeque decerptam fronti*,’ &c. ‘And to place around their brow the olive crown, deserved and gathered by them, for celebrating such a theme.’ The olive was sacred to Minerva. Some editions read ‘*Undique*’ for ‘*Indeque*,’ and the meaning will then be, ‘To place around their brow the olive crown deserved and gathered by numerous other bards.’ The common lection, ‘*Undique decerptæ frondi*,’ &c. must be rendered, ‘To prefer the olive leaf to every other that is gathered.’ Now, on this we might remark—without objecting to the adoption of the conjectural wording given in the text, since it has the authority of Doering—that *Undique decerptæ frondi*, is by no means the common lection. It is a conjecture of Erasmus, and was deservedly reprobated by Bentley. Then nonsense is made of either of the rejected readings, by neglecting to notice that the previous line ends, when they are received, with *et*. *Undique decerptam*, &c., has for its obvious meaning, in spite of Bentley and Sanadon, not that given in the note, but “And to grace their brow with an olive wreath, plucked from each spot which Pallas haunts.” And, surely, it were uncharitable and cruel to decide on the Professor's claims as a commentator, from such a translation as “deserved and gathered by them;”—strange mixture of the literal and metaphorical; and how odd to *gather* a crown, except of fallen and faded leaves,—“for celebrating such a theme!”

In this respect, then, we shall say nothing of Professor Anthon's claims as a scholar. He is evidently a man of great industry, and ever on the watch for new sources of information. But we must be allowed to protest against the use which he makes of his powers of research. Writing as he does professedly for the use of schools and colleges—the very junior members of the latter it must be—he is not only entitled, but bound, to turn to account every available means of elucidating his author, and directing the minds of his readers. But such a bare-faced spoliation as he is constantly committing, appropriating not the information only, but the very words, not in single sentences, but in whole passages, may be equalled—though we doubt that—but certainly cannot be surpassed in the whole range of commentatorship. That it is necessary to quote wholesale in America, the works that are familiar here, may be possible, though we had deemed American reprints of European works common enough. It is strange, however, that the scholarship of this country should

have sanctioned by reprints, the robbery of which Professor Anthon is continually guilty; thereby, in his borrowed plumes, qualifying himself to be *Jay* Professor, not only in Columbia College, but in any college in the universe. Sometimes he boldly avows wholesale appropriations. Sometimes he quietly slips in the dove-tailed passages without a word of explanation. When the laborious writers, who have spent their days and nights on the elucidation of an author, are turned to account by humbler expositors, it is often inexpedient or impossible to attribute to each mighty name, what peculiarly belongs to it. But it has ever been the practice in such cases, to acknowledge the sources whence the mass of the remarks have been derived, and, in cases of the use of the *ipsissima verba*, to give them with marks of quotation. Now this, which is so evidently just, that we regard its practice as axiomatic, is constantly and systematically violated by Professor Anthon. We accuse him accordingly on three counts. He borrows from accredited works, avowedly, but far beyond the fair bounds of such accommodation; thus extending, it may be, the names of the authors, in America, but unquestionably injuring the sale of the works in this country, wherever these editions are used; such a practice, moreover, being most unscholarlike. He appropriates the critical remarks and the information furnished by others, without acknowledgment, translating them into his own language. He steals the remarks of others, without any change of language, and without any acknowledgment.—Now let us briefly substantiate each of these charges; and that principally from his edition of Horace.

In his preface, be it observed, he takes no notice of obligation to any previous commentator whatever. After a life of Horace, and some other preliminary matter, we have an account of the life and character of Mæcenas, (surely this was within Mr. Anthon's own reach,) avowedly from Dunlop's *History of Roman Literature*, eighteen pages of that work, (vol. III. p. 26–44,) with some gaps, being unceremoniously borrowed. In his Introduction to the Satires, he has appropriated avowedly the remarks of Dunlop, (vol. III. p. 239–246,) and some from Schoell. As his Introduction to the Epistles, he has appropriated the remarks of Dunlop to a considerable extent; and the appropriation is not acknowledged. But we would almost acquit Mr. Anthon of anything but an oversight in this, as such a proceeding would have been too bare-faced even for him. Yet we do not know how to decide, on the following grounds:—Mr. Dunlop discusses the whole subject of the Epistles continuously,—Introductory Remarks, First Book, Second Book, Epistola ad Pisones, and some concluding remarks. Now, in Mr. Anthon's unacknowledged Introduction to the Epistles, he borrows the Introduction and the Remarks on the first book, then the concluding remarks, changing

them thus,—Dunlop, (vol. iii. p. 265,) “The Epistles of the first book are chiefly ethical or familiar: those of the second, in which there are only two epistles, are almost wholly critical. The first of those,” &c. Then, after ten pages, “The critical works of Horace, which, as we have seen, comprise one of his Satires, the two Epistles of the second book, and the *Ars Poetica*, have generally been considered, especially by the critics themselves, as the most valuable part of his productions.” So Dunlop. Now for Anthon. He stops at the word “critical,” and leaping over the ten pages—still without acknowledgment, he says, “The critical works of Horace have generally been considered, especially by the critics themselves, as the most valuable part of his productions;” and so on for four pages of Dunlop. And then, in his Introduction to the Second Book of the Epistles, he takes up a part of the dropped passage.—“The first of these,” says Dunlop, (vol. iii. p. 265,) “is the celebrated Epistle to Augustus.” “This,” says Anthon, quite innocently, “is the celebrated Epistle to Augustus,” and so on, verbatim, for other four pages of Dunlop. But the Introduction to the *Ars Poetica*—*Epistola ad Pisones*, is the most extraordinary thing of all. Dunlop espouses the theory of Hurd; and Anthon that of Wieland. Yet, most ingeniously, Dunlop is pressed into the service. “Of all the theories on this subject,” writes Dunlop, (vol. iii. p. 272,) “the most celebrated and the most plausible is that which refers every thing to the history and progress of the Roman Drama, and its actual condition in the author’s time.” “Of all the theories on the subject,” writes Anthon, “the most celebrated in its day, though now supplanted by the theory of Wieland, is that which refers every thing,” &c. Then, (we do not pause to remark on the confident assertion of the *supplanting*,) a little further on, after borrowing Dunlop’s account of Hurd’s theory, he gives the name of Dunlop in the middle of a passage. He has quoted *verbatim* from Dunlop, except when he contradicts him, and all the while he gives no note or sign. And he coolly adds, “We have already remarked that the theory of Wieland has supplanted Hurd’s” (Dunlop supports Hurd’s,) “and as we have given an outline of the latter,” (Dunlop had given it, not *we*,) “it may not be amiss to subjoin a slight sketch of the former.” We are afraid there is here, after all, an intention to steal. He then quotes Colman, avowedly, at great length, and thereafter returns to poor Dunlop, whom he plunders without mercy.

Similarly, in his edition of the first three books of Homer, he has no fewer than three acknowledged excursus taken from Jelf’s Kühner,—on the Article,—on Prepositions,—on the Middle Voice, and others, which we have not time at present to trace.

Our second count is, that he appropriates the critical remarks and information of others without acknowledgment, translating them into

his own language. We have already remarked, that he takes no notice of any previous commentator in his Preface to Horace, yet he appropriates most lavishly, and in places where there can be no doubt of the source.

The proofs ready at our hands are endless.—Let us take one from the Odes, and one from the Epistles, and that at hap-hazard.

Anthoṇ, on Carm. III. 6. 1.

"Although no mention is made of Augustus in this piece, yet it would seem to have been written at the time when that emperor was actively engaged in restraining the tide of public and private corruption; when, as Suetonius informs us, (*Vit. Aug.* 30.) he was rebuilding the sacred edifices, which had either been destroyed by fire or suffered to fall to ruin, while, by the Lex Julia "De Adulteriis," and the Lex Papia-Poppæa "De maritandis ordinibus," he was striving to reform the moral condition of his people. Hence it may be conjectured, that the poet wishes to celebrate in the present ode, the civil virtues of the monarch."

Doering, on Carm. III. 6.

"Augusti quidem in toto hoc carmine nulla facta est mentio; sed cum illud eo ipso tempore scriptum esse videatur, quo Augustus ad deorum cultum, qui tum frigebat, in civium animis refovendum *ædes sacras*, ut scribit Sueton. Aug. 6. 30. *vetustate collapsas, aut incendio absumptas refecit*, et ad compescendum libere Veneris licentiam legem *Juliam de adulteriis*, et legem *Papiam Poppæam de maritandis ordinibus*, cett. dedit; Horatium, ut in aliis carminibus Augusti virtutem *bellicam*, ita in hoc virtutem ejus *civilem* celebrare voluisse, haud improbable est."

It is difficult to compress sufficiently proofs like these. We shall take two from one Epistle, l. 11.

Anthoṇ, on "Notaque Lesbos," v. 1.

"The epithet *nota*, which is here given it, applies not so much to the excellent wine produced there, as to the distinguished persons who were natives of the island, and among whom may be mentioned, Sappho, Alcæus, Theophrastus," &c.

Doering, on "Notaque Lesbos," v. 1.

"*Lesbum* vocat *notam*, non tam vini præstantioris quod ibi nascitur (Cf. supr. ad Od. l. 19, 21.), quam Sapphus et Alcæi ibi natorum, ut videtur, ratione habita."

Anthoṇ, on "Strenua nos exercet inertia," v. 28.

"A laborious idleness occupies us. A pleasing oxymoron. The indolent often show themselves active in those very things which they ought to avoid. So here all these pursuits of happiness," &c.

Doering, on "Strenua nos exercet inertia," v. 28.

"*Inertia* ex suavi oxymoro jam dicitur *strenua*: non raro enim homines inertes, in iis quæ non suscipere et exsequi debebant, graves se præbent et que strenuos."

More than the indolent, we suspect, shew themselves occasionally active in the manner so originally expressed by Professor Anthon. He is evidently far from being an indolent man, and yet, it had been much better if he had avoided that *suave oxymoron*.

But proofs like these are endless, and we would just state, that almost all that is good is Doering's, and that the translations are, for a reason to be mentioned hereafter, and apart from their accuracy or inaccuracy, a great drawback from the value of the book, whatever that may be.

With regard to the Homer, of five excursus, three are, as already noticed, from Jelf's Kühner, *avowedly, that portion of the translation having been published*; two are almost translations by Mr. Anthon himself from Kühner, *without acknowledgment, that portion of Jelf's translation not having been published*.

Our third count is, that Professor Anthon occasionally steals even the words ready-made. Of this we have already given proofs from Dunlop. There is another singular instance; *Carm.* i. 37, 3: "Pulvinar. The primitive meaning of this term is, a cushion or pillow for a couch; it is then taken to denote the couch itself; and finally, it signifies, from the operation of a peculiar custom among the Romans, a temple or shrine of the gods. When a general had obtained a signal victory, a thanksgiving was decreed by the Senate to be made in all the temples; and what is called a *Lectisternium* took place, when couches were spread for the gods as about to feast; and their images were taken down from their pedestals, and placed upon these couches around the altars, which were loaded with the richest dishes. Dr. Adam, in his work on Roman Antiquities, states, that on such occasions, the image of Jupiter was placed in a reclining posture, and those of Juno and Minerva on seats. The remark is an erroneous one. The custom to which he refers was confined to solemn festivals in honour of Jove. Compare Val. Max. ii. 1, 2." One would not suppose, that in opposing Adam, he was copying Adam. But he *does* copy him *verbatim*, (Adam's *Antiquities*, p. 295,) from "When a general," down to "dishes," with the exception—*exceptio probat regulam*—of the two words, "took place." With regard to the opinion of Dr. Adam, as opposed to that of Professor Anthon, we are not anxious. But it is proper to mention, that Dr. Adam makes the questioned statement, not when treating of the *lectisternium* itself, but of the *cæna*, (p. 402,) and that he refers to the passage in Valerius Maximus, who says, "Jovis epulo ipse in lectulum, Juno et Minerva in sellas ad cœnam invitantur." We suspect that Professor Anthon will find that this was a *lectisternium*, the latter term being the *genus*, and *Jovis epulum*, a species.

We may be permitted to diverge a moment from Horace, to clench

the serious charge of literary theft. Of Dymock's edition of *Cæsar*, it has been said, that it is exceedingly useful in one respect,—you may know the difficult passages, by not finding them alluded to in the notes. Not so, seems to have been the opinion of Professor Anthon. In the poor matter of translation, he does not scruple to convey from his brother commentator, without the useless ceremony of acknowledgment. For who would acknowledge such a trifle? This appropriation is peculiarly glaring, when *Cæsar* treats of Britain; and that probably on the ground that a native was the best judge on such matters. We give a specimen or two, not lingering on the accuracy of Dymock's statements, nor caring to quote the additions, here and there, of a few stray remarks of Anthon, as not bearing on the point.

Dymock on *Cæsar*, v. 12. *Multitudo hominum est infinita*. The number of inhabitants is unbounded: the population is immense.

Causa animi voluptatisque. For the sake of amusement and pleasure.

Dymock on *Cæsar*, v. 13. *Triquetra*; Triangular. This, taking the general form of the island, is not very far from the truth.

Dimillia passuum; 500 miles. Measuring in a straight line from Bolerium Promontorium, or *Land's End*, to Cantium Promontorium, or *North Foreland*, the distance does not exceed 344 British, or 356 Roman miles. If *Cæsar* included the irregularities of the coast, the measurement would be greatly enlarged.

Anthon, *Cæsar*, v. 12. *Hominum est infinita multitudo*. "The number of inhabitants is unbounded:" i. e. the population is immense.

Animi voluptatisque causa. "For the sake of amusement and pleasure."

Anthon, *Cæsar*, v. 13. *Triquetra*; "Triangular." This, taking the general form of the island, is not very far from the truth.

Ad Cantium. "At Kent"! *Tenet circiter*, &c. "Contains about 500 miles." Measuring in a straight line from Bolerium Promontorium, or *Land's End*, to Cantium Promontorium, or *North Foreland*, the distance does not exceed 344 British, or 356 Roman miles. If *Cæsar* included the irregularities of the coast, the measurement would be greatly enlarged.

We could multiply such proofs, but we are wearied with copying them; and we deem ourselves fairly entitled to ask the question,—*"How say you, Reader, Guilty or not Guilty?"*

The utility of re-publishing in this country such works as have levied contributions so copiously from cis-Atlantic sources, does not admit of any canvassing, apart altogether from the question of their merit as instruments in teaching the young. But, moreover, we candidly confess, that we think those before us as worse than useless in any country. It may be the system of an instructor to use translations; but then these should confessedly be strictly literal, and they should be kept from the pupil, while construing to his teacher. Now, in these editions, there is none of the benefit of a strictly literal translation; and such as the works are, they are in this country generally reproduced with the notes at the foot of the page, mocking the efforts

of the teacher to lead to industry and the exercise of intellect. We conceive that the only notes that are useful or permissible—and in certain cases such may be most profitable both to many teachers and scholars—are those which give information on obscure matters of history, which clear up the difficulties arising from rapid transitions or remote allusions, and which lay down such general principles, as the learner is required to apply for himself to the particular passage considered. But this is not Professor Anthon's view; and he absolutely burdens his works with such help as would render the study of the classics useless as an exercise of mind, and would doom youths to sink helplessly, whenever they were deprived of these inflated aids.—We had intended to have taken up Professor Anthon's Homer as an illustration of what we mean; but our space forbids us to do this so fully, as for the common good we would wish to have done. We must, however, give one instance. This edition, besides the ordinary text, and that of Payne Knight, and a metrical index, with five excursus, has a Glossary on the model of the *Clavis Homerica*, and an Index to the Glossary, and Notes besides! Taking the most favourable view of the matter, the Glossary was surely quite enough. In it, the parsing is even more minutely given than in the *Clavis Homerica*. The first word is thus parsed: "*Μῆνιν*, accus. sing. of *μῆνις*, ιος, ῆ, 'wrath.' Commonly, but incorrectly, derived from *μένω*, 'to remain,' as if indicating lasting anger. Better from *μαίνομαι*, 'to rave,' 2. perf. *μέμνηνα*; and denoting a furious outburst of passion. Compare the Sanscrit *manyus*, 'wrath,' 'vengeance,' from the root *man*." No objection to all this, but the preposterous revelation that *μῆνιν* is in the accusative. To the whole Glossary this objection applies, the practice being continued to the very end. Oddly enough, the youth who, after being told that *ὠλόμην* is the 2. aor. mid. of *ὀλλυμι*, requires also to be told that *ὀλομένην* is the 2. aor. part. mid., is referred to *Æsch. Supp.* 877; *Eurip. Phœn.* 1029! In addition to this minute assistance, the learner is thus aided. He has the same thing often told twice—he has a lumbering show of learning, utterly useless to him, and not very ornamental to the Professor—and he has almost every word not only parsed, but translated.—"Sing, goddess, the destructive wrath of Achilles, son of Peleus, which brought countless sufferings upon the Greeks, and hurled to Hades many valiant souls of heroes, and made themselves a prey for dogs and all birds, and yet the will of Jove was all this while undergoing its accomplishment." And so on the work goes, crushing under the load of help, judgment, and taste, and invention,—all but memory.

We would beseech Professor Anthon, from whose indefatigable labour we might expect better things, to repudiate literary repu-

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diation, and to assume his place—if he can—among the Robinsons and Stewarts, and others, of whom his country has just reason to be proud; any one of whose works is regarded by every European scholar as worth more than a whole bushel of such pilfered and borrowed trifles as these.

XVIII.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

- Allen's Etymological Analysis of Latin Verbs. Foolscape, reduced to 5s. London.
- Babrii Fabulæ Æsopææ, cum Fabularum deperditarum Fragmentis. Recensuit G. C. Lewis, Oxonii. 12mo.
- Bopp, F., Comparative Grammar of the Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Gothic, German, and Slavonic languages; translated from the German by Lieut. Eastwick. Part 2d, 8vo. London.
- British Museum. Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum, with Engravings. 4to, bds. London.
- Carr's Manual of Classical Mythology. Foolscape. Edinburgh.
- Ciceronis, M. Tullii, Oratorum XII. selectarum Liber, Texti ad editionem Orellii descripti, Notis Anglice Scriptis. 12mo. Eton.
- Cicero, The Oration of, for Cn. Plancius, from the text of Wunder. Foolscape 8vo. Cambridge.
- Cockayne, T. O., Greek Syntax; with Metrical Examples for Memory. 12mo. London.
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- Euripides, The Hyppolytus of; with English Notes, by C. D. Yonge. 12mo. London.
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- Dunbar, G., Elements of the Greek Language. 2d Edition. 12mo. Edinburgh.
- Giles, J. A., English-Greek Lexicon. Royal 8vo. London.
- Greek Ecclesiastical Historians of the first six centuries of the Christian Era, in six vols.—History of the Church, in nine books, from A. D. 324 to A. D. 440, by Sozomen,—a new translation from the Greek. 8vo. London.
- Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words, Proverbs, &c. from the fourteenth century. Vol. I. 8vo. London.
- Herodotus, a new and literal translation of. 12mo. Dublin.
- Homer's Iliad, The first three Books of; English Notes, critical and explanatory, by Charles Anthon, LL.D.; new Edition by B. Davies, Ph. D. 12mo. London.

- Horace, The Odes of; literally translated into English Verse; by H. G. Robertson. Foolscap. London.
- Jamieson's, John, Dictionary of the Scottish Language, (abridged from the Dictionary and Supp. in 4 vols. 4to.) 8vo. Edinburgh.
- Key, T. H., Latin Grammar, on the System of Crude Forms. Post 8vo. London.
- Tacitus, C., Cornelii Taciti Germania; chiefly from the Text of Walther; with English Explanatory Notes, Chronology, &c., by D. B. Hickie. 12mo. Cambridge.
- Vernon, E. J., A Guide to the Anglo-Saxon Tongue; after Erasmus Rask; with Notes. 12mo. London.

RECENT CONTINENTAL PUBLICATIONS.

- Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum. Royal 8vo. Paris. Didot.
- Vol. XXII. Poetae Bucolici et Didactici I. Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, &c. Edid. F. S. Lehrs et Fr. Dübner. 8s.
- Vol. XXIII. Isocratis Orationes et Epistolae. Recogn. J. G. Baiter. 8s.
- Caelii Rufi et Ciceronis Epistolae mutuae. Ed. W. H. Suringar. 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 7s.
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THE
CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

XIX.
ON THE CAUSE OF OVID'S EXILE.

FEW questions connected with literary history have excited more curiosity than that concerning the exile of Ovid. The most impenetrable secrets of that nature are precisely those which most stimulate research ; and this principle acts with tenfold vigour when, as in the case of Ovid, we are continually falling upon some hint or allusion which promises to lead us to the very brink of discovery.

A problem which has so long employed and baffled the ingenuity of the learned, might perhaps be given up as hopeless. Yet the mere discussion of such points is not altogether devoid of interest ; and by stimulating the exertions of others, may ultimately lead to a solution of what had appeared inexplicable. It will be the object, therefore, of the following pages, not only to propose a new explanation of this mysterious subject, but to examine some of the principal ones which have been previously offered.

Ovid had spent fifty years in the possession, seemingly, of as much happiness as our nature is capable of. He was descended from an ancient equestrian family ; possessed of a competent patrimony ; happy in his domestic relations ; honoured with the acquaintance of some of the most distinguished men of Rome ; in great repute both as a dramatic and elegiac poet ; and favoured and protected by Augustus and the imperial family. Seldom was so much prosperity so suddenly and so irretrievably blighted.

One might almost fancy that the reflections which he makes on the fate of Cadmus, were written with a presentiment of his own :—

“ ——— scilicet ultima semper
Expectanda dies homini, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.”

Metam. III. 135.

Towards the close of the year of Rome 761, (A. D. 8,) Ovid was suddenly commanded to transport himself to Tomi, a town on the Euxine, near the mouths of the Danube. The imperial edict which directed his banishment—for he had undergone no trial—alleged as the cause of it, his poem on the Art of Love.

By some ancient writers, the reason assigned in the Edict has been regarded as the true one. This is the case with Aurelius Victor¹ and Sidonius Apollinaris, in some verses which there will presently be occasion to adduce. But that it was a mere pretext is plain, not only from the fact of the *Ars Amatoria* having been published about ten years before Ovid's exile, but also from the circumstance, that whenever he alludes to the cause of his misfortune, as he frequently does in his *Tristia* and *Ex Ponto*, he invariably couples, with an air of mystery, another and concealed reason with that contained in the Edict. What this latter may have been, is the subject which has exercised the ingenuity of the learned.

An ancient opinion respecting Ovid's banishment is, that it was incurred by an intrigue with Julia, the lively and clever, but profligate and abandoned, daughter of Augustus. Sidonius Apollinaris has been made to stand god-father to this notion in the following hendecasyllabics before alluded to:—

“ Et te, carmina per libidinosa
Notum, Naso tener, Tomosque missum ;
Quondam Cæsareæ nimis puellæ
Falso nomine subditum Corinnæ.”

Carm. XXIII. v. 157.

Masson, in his Life of Ovid, speaks of this imputed opinion of Sidonius's with contempt. But this is to make the giant for the purpose of slaying him ; for, if the verses are read with attention,

¹ Nam poetam Ovidium, qui et Naso, | conscripsit, exsilio damnavit.—Aur. Vic-
tor, *Epitome*, c. 1. 27.

it will be seen that they affirm no such thing as that Ovid was banished for his connection with Julia.² All that Sidonius says is, that he was sent to Tomi *carmina per libidinosa*, through his lascivious verses; which is, indeed, nothing more than the cause alleged in his sentence. This is not necessarily connected with the two following lines; for it might have been true that Ovid had intrigued in his youth with the daughter of Augustus, without his exile having been a necessary consequence of it. Nor does Sidonius state it as such.

There are several circumstances which render it probable that Corinna was really Julia, as Sidonius says. And though this point is rather beside the object of the present paper, a few words bestowed upon it will, perhaps, be allowed.

First, then, the respective ages of the parties agree well enough for such a *liaison*, the poet being about four years older than his mistress.

Secondly, Corinna is represented as a married woman, and so was Julia. It is strange enough that Masson, who makes a show of so much accuracy in his *Life of Ovid*, should deny the former of these assertions.³ The opening lines of the 12th Elegy of the 2d Book *Amorum*, alone suffice to settle the point:—

“Ite triumphales circum mea tempora lauri;
Vicinus: in nostro est ecce Corinna sinu.
Quam vir, quam custos, quam janua firma, tot hostes
Servabant, ne qua posset ab arte capi.”

But indeed the proofs which might be adduced are so numerous in the affirmative, that it is surprising how a man who had ever opened the *Amores* should have ventured to dispute the point. It will be enough to refer the reader to *Lib. I., Eleg. 4., Lib. II., Eleg. 2.*, and the 11th Elegy of the same Book, *ver. 7.* with Heinsius' note.

Thirdly, She was, like Julia, a woman of high rank, but abandoned morals. The following instances of these points may be adduced among others. She was guarded by a eunuch, a sort of appendage to be looked for only in high and princely

² It should be stated, however, that most commentators have interpreted these lines in the same way as Masson. The only one, I believe, who favours my view is Paulus Marsus, in a *Life of Ovid*

printed in the fourth volume of Burmann's edition, 1727.

³ Hunc enim passim ceu puellam sui juris, nec nuptam, fingit.—*Vit. Ovid.*

families. (*Amor.* II., *El.* 2. and 3.) She had several *femmes-de-chambre* about her person, as Ovid mentions two by name, Nape and Cypassis. In the fifth elegy of the first Book he compares her to Semiramis, (*ver.* 11.) In the fourteenth elegy of the second Book, the following lines seem to identify Corinna with the family of the Cæsars:—

“ Si Venus Ænean gravida temerasset in alvo
Cæsaribus tellus orba futura fuit.
Tu quoque cum posses nasci, formosa, perisses,
Tentasset quod tu si tua mater opus.”— *Ver.* 17.

The whole of the 17th elegy of the same Book conveys the impression of a disparity of rank, and especially the following lines:—

“ Tu quoque me, mea lux, in quaslibet accipe leges
Te deceat medio jura dedisse toro.
Non tibi crimen ero nec quo lætere remoto;
Non erit hic vobis inficiandus amor:
Sint tibi pro magno felicia carmina censu;
Et multæ per me nomen habere volunt.”— *Ver.* 23.

Ovid, being himself of an ancient and highly respectable family, would hardly have used this style except to one far his superior. The 14th elegy of the third Book, whilst it gives token of her rank, shews at the same time the abandoned character of his mistress, of which it conveys a tacit reproach:—

“ Ignoto meretrix corpus junctura Quiriti
Apposita populum submovet ante sera;
Tu tua prostitues famæ peccata sinistra?”— *Ver.* 9.

And again, verse 29:—

“ Da *populo*, da verba mihi; sine nescius errem.”

All this agrees very well with the known character of Julia. There is, indeed, a passage in the 12th elegy of the third Book, which might at first sight, and to those not thoroughly acquainted with the depth of degradation to which the daughter of Augustus had sunk, seem to militate against Corinna being she:—

“ ———Quid enim formæ præconia feci?
Vendibilis culpa facta puella mea est,
Me lenone placet, duce me perductus amator.”— *Ver.* 9.

Micyllus, indeed, is of opinion that this piece is not addressed to Corinna; but he brings forward no good grounds for thinking so, and the 16th verse seems pretty plainly to shew the contrary. Many might be averse to take *vendibilis* literally here, and be inclined to think that, if Julia was really Corinna, this epithet was merely a metaphorical one, (coarse enough to be sure,) used by Ovid to express that he had rendered her current, and in fashion, but without meaning to assert that she had actually sold her favours. The following passage from Seneca (*De Ben.* vi. 32.) will, however, shew that there is nothing to prevent us from taking these lines *verbatim et literatim*; and that thus, instead of their being any objection to the fact we are endeavouring to establish, they form, on the contrary, another proof in the affirmative. "Cum ex adultera in quæstuariam versa jus omnis licentiæ sub ignoto adultero peteret." We here learn that the imperial Julia had descended to the rank, and did not scruple to accept the wages, of a professional *meretrix*.

But, *Fourthly*, there is a striking coincidence between the 14th elegy of the first Book and an anecdote of Julia preserved by Macrobius, and which none of the commentators, so far as I am aware, has noticed. That writer tells us that Julia's hair began at an early period to turn gray, and that Augustus one day surprised her under the hands of her women, who were employed in picking out those premature signs of old age.⁴ Now, in the poem above mentioned, Ovid remonstrates with his mistress for having become bald by the practice of dyeing her hair. The following lines are particularly remarkable:—

"Nec tibi vis morbi nocuit (procul omen abesto)
 Nec minuit densas invida lingua comas:
 Facta manu culpaque tua dispendia sentis;
 Ipsa dabas capiti mista venena tuo.
 Nunc tibi captivos mittet Germania crines;
 Culta triumphatæ munere gentis eris."—*Ver.* 40. *foll.*

Where we may remark, too, that the allusion to German triumphs

⁴ Eadem Julia mature habere coeperat canos, quos legere secrete solebat. Sublicus interventus patris aliquando oppressit ornatrices. Dissimulavit Augustus deprehensis super vestem ejus canis; et, aliis sermonibus tempore extracto, induxit ætatis mentionem, inter-

rogavitque utrum post aliquot annos cana esse mallet an calva! Cum illa respondisset, "Ego, pater, cana esse malo;" sic illi mendacium objecit, "Quid ergo istæ te calvam tam cito faciunt?"—*Saturn.* 11. 5.

would have been appropriately introduced in a piece addressed to one of the imperial family.

It may perhaps be objected that the name of *Corinna* does not correspond in metrical quantity with that of *Julia*; and that it was the invariable practice of the Latin poets to make the feigned name answer precisely in this particular to the real one of their mistresses. (See Bentley ad *Horat.* II. *Od.* 12. v. 13.) Thus the Clodia of Catullus, the Cytheris of Gallus, the Plania of Tibullus, and the Hostia of Propertius, became in their poems Lesbia, Lycoris, Delia, Cynthia. Yet, though such a custom may have been pretty universal, there seems no good reason why it should have been so strictly observed as to have been absolutely inviolable. If Julia was really Ovid's mistress, her high rank would have rendered it dangerous to celebrate her under a name which might facilitate detection. And the title of Corinna would convey a delicate flattery to the daughter of Augustus, as comparing her for wit and beauty to the Theban⁵ poetess; a compliment, in spite of her conduct, not undeserved by her varied accomplishments and polished manners.

These considerations may render it probable that Sidonius Apollinaris was not speaking altogether at random, when he affirmed that Cæsar's daughter lay concealed under the name of Corinna. That Ovid was a successful lover is manifest; but, with the known character of Julia, this only adds further probability to the intrigue. Augustus had bestowed, both on his daughter and on his grand-daughter, the most careful education. Stated tasks were assigned them; their actions, nay their very words, were noted and set down in a journal.⁶ The result of this over-strictness was a sufficiently common one. Both turned out the most abandoned of women. All Rome resounded with their infamy before it reached the ears of Augustus.

But to return to our more immediate subject. Although a *liaison* between Julia and Ovid may be admitted as probable, it is utterly impossible that it should have been the cause of the poet's banishment. It is only necessary to mention one reason. Julia had been exiled to Pandateria ten years before Ovid was sent to Tomi. As will be seen further on, there are several other conclusive reasons against his having been banished for such an intrigue; and which are equally valid against the notion enter-

⁵ See Macrobius, l. 1.

⁶ See Suetonius, *Aug.* c. 64.

tained by some, that it was Julia, the grand-daughter, and not the daughter, of Augustus, who was the object of his passion. In the latter case the improbability is heightened by the disparity of years. The poet was old enough to have been the father of the second Julia; nay, if what has been said before has any foundation in truth, may actually have been so.⁷ If it were possible, however, to overlook these considerations, the point of chronology, so far from militating against this latter notion, might even be appealed to in its favour; since it is a remarkable circumstance, that the younger Julia seems to have been banished about the very same time as Ovid. But of this presently.

Come we now to the opinion of those who think, that Ovid's exile was owing to his having discovered the existence of an incestuous commerce between Augustus, and either his daughter or grand-daughter. This cause has been assigned by Cælius Rhodiginus, on the authority of Cæcilius Minutianus Apuleius.⁸ As in the former case, chronology limits the possibility of it to the younger Julia. But with respect to her, the story is wholly destitute of classical authority; though there is a sort of colour for it in the case of her mother. Suetonius, in his life of Caligula, (c. 23,) tells us, that that emperor, despising his grand-father, Agrippa, was accustomed to give out that his mother sprang from the incest of Augustus and his daughter Julia. It should be observed that Suetonius himself, though always ready enough to lay hold on and circulate any scandalous anecdote of this description, says not a word in confirmation of this odious and unnatural charge. We are not here concerned, however, for the intrinsic merits of the story, but solely for its connection with the fate of Ovid; and they who would maintain it, must either carry Julia back to Rome, or transport Augustus and Ovid to Rhegium, Julia's place of exile, (which had been changed after five years,) for the purpose of supporting their hypothesis. With regard to the younger Julia, the story, besides its utter want of historical authority, is, on other grounds, highly improbable. For had there been any

⁷ In *Amor.* II. *Æl.* 13, 5. Ovid fancies that he is the father of the child to which Corinna is about to give birth:—

“Sed tamen aut ex me conceperat
aut ego credo:

Est mihi pro facto sæpe, quod
esse potest.”

⁸ “Pulsum quoque in exilium (Ovidium, sc.) quod Augusti incestum vidisset.”—*Lectiones Antiquæ*, XIII. 1.

truth in it, it is incredible that Ovid, when supplicating for pardon, should have been so ill-advised and uncourtier-like as to allude so frequently to a subject, the bare mention of which must have been in the highest degree distressing and offensive to the ears of Augustus, as calculated to consign him to eternal infamy. Nay, Bayle, (*Art. Ovide*), who has refuted this notion at considerable length, goes so far as to think, that had Ovid been in possession of so dangerous a secret, his life would not have been safe, and that the emperor would have secured silence by his assassination.

Some, again, have supposed that the cause of Ovid's punishment, was his having accidentally seen Livia in the bath, and spoken of it. This supposition tallies well enough with some of the passages in which he describes his fault. He is constantly telling us that he had been an involuntary eye-witness of something which he ought not to have seen; and the following lines in which he compares his mis-adventure with that of Actæon, is particularly favourable to—nay, most probably suggested to some pedant in his closet—the notion we are discussing:—

“ Cur aliquid vidi? Cur noxia lumina feci?
Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?
Inscius Actæon vidit sine veste Dianam;
Præda fuit canibus non minus ille suis.
Scilicet in Superis etiam fortuna luenda est;
Nec veniam læso numine casus habet.”

Trist. II. 99.

We may remark, too, by the way, that the term *error*, by which he so frequently characterises his fault, is precisely the one which he employs in introducing the story of Actæon, in lines singularly applicable to his own case, though previously written:—

“ At bene si quæris Fortunæ crimen in illo
Non scelus invenies: quod enim scelus *error* habebat?”

Metam. III. 141.

But, as Villenave observes, a comparison is not always an allusion; and, however striking these coincidences may seem, common sense, and the ordinary principles of human action, forbid us to think that, however prudish Livia may have been, however uxorious Augustus, a fault so casual and venial should

have been expiated by a punishment so severe and unrelenting. There are besides, as will be seen by and by, other insuperable objections to this notion.

Let us now advert to a solution propounded by the writer just mentioned, (M. Villenave,) in a life of Ovid, published in 1809, and subsequently in the *Biographie Universelle*. It displays very considerable ingenuity, and was received with much favour by the literary world; having been adopted, among others, by Ginguené, though he had previously published a different one of his own. According to Villenave, Ovid was the victim of a *coup d'état*. The near coincidence of the banishment of Posthumus Agrippa and Julia, the grand-children of Augustus, with that of the poet, forms the ground-work of his theory. It may be as well to give this part of M. Villenave's reasoning in his own words. After relating the exile of Agrippa, he says: "C'est à cette époque précisément que fut exilée Julie, sœur d'Agrippa, et qui devait, comme lui, mourir dans son exil. C'est à cette même époque qu'Ovide fut rélégué sur les bords inhospitaliers du pont Euxin. Du rapprochement qui n'avait point été fait de ces trois exiles résulte au moins la possibilité de leur assigner une même cause. Il est déjà permis de croire qu'Ovide fut victime d'une intrigue de cour. Protégé où amant⁹ de la première Julie, avait il embrassé les intérêts d'Agrippa, fils de cette même Julie? Avait il osé défendre ses droits auprès d'Auguste dans un de ces momens où les souverains, se souvenant qu'ils sont hommes, épanchent leurs chagrins devant les familiers de leur palais? N'avait il pas été témoin, non de quelque inceste de l'empereur, mais de quelque retour subit vers le légitime héritier, ou de quelque scène violente et honteuse entre Tibère, Auguste, et Livie? N'est-ce point là ce qu'il avait vu, et ce qu'il ne pouvait révéler, puisque c'était le plus haut secret de l'état?"

This part of the theory is supported by the story of Maximus, related in Tacitus, (*Ann.* i. 5.) We there learn that Maximus accompanied Augustus in a visit which he made, a little before his death, to Agrippa, in the island of Planasia, and where he shewed, by his tears, a reviving tenderness for his unfortunate grandson; that Maximus divulged this scene to his wife Mar-

⁹ Notwithstanding this expression, Villenave, in a former part of his life of Ovid, thinks that Julia was not Corinna.

cia, and she to Livia; and that soon afterwards Maximus died, as was rumoured, by his own hand; for, on the occasion of his funeral, Marcia was heard loudly to accuse herself of having been the cause of her husband's death. M. Villenave connects this story with the following passage in one of Ovid's epistles:—

"Certus eras pro me, Fabiæ laus, Maxime, gentis
Numen ad Augustum supplice voce loqui:
Occidis ante preces, caussamque ego, Maxime, mortis
(Nec fueram tanti) me reor esse tuæ."

Ex Ponto, iv. 6, 8.

Maximus and Ovid, then, were both engaged in the same party; they were both indiscreet; and both were punished. (*Maxime se donna la mort, et Ovide s'accusa d'en être la cause, (Ex Ponto*, iv. 6); circonstance remarquable, et qui n'aurait pas dû échapper à ceux qui ont voulu expliquer les causes de l'exile d'Ovide. Maxime fut indiscret; Ovide l'avait été sans doute; tous deux furent punis.) It is further to be observed, that Augustus had begun to relent towards Ovid, just as he is described as having done towards Agrippa. (*Cœperat Augustus deceptæ ignoscere culpæ,—Ovid, l. l. ver. 14.*) A change was working in the emperor's feelings. He was going to recal his grandchildren, and their accomplice and partizan, Ovid. But this would have defeated all the hopes of Tiberius and Livia. Maximus was driven to commit suicide. A few brief months, and Augustus himself lay dead at Nola. The circumspection with which Livia surrounded him during his illness, and the care with which she concealed his death till after the arrival of Tiberius from Illyricum, justify the most sinister suspicions. The first act of the new emperor was the murder of Agrippa. Ovid, as his partizan, was now of course deprived of all hope of return; and accordingly we find that, though he lived several years afterwards, he ceased to supplicate for it. Henceforward, his friends dared not intercede for him. (*Dès lors, circonstance bien remarquable, les amis du poète n'osèrent plus solliciter son pardon,—*

"Omnis pro nobis gratia muta fuit."—*Ex Ponto*, ii. 7.)

This is the most ingenious and elaborate attempt to solve the problem of Ovid's exile that I have met with. It has, however, faults both of omission and commission. It fails to satisfy

all the conditions of the question, and contains, besides, some mis-statements. Let us advert to the latter first.

The respective exiles of Posthumus Agrippa, his sister Julia, and Ovid, were not, as M. Villenave asserts, *precisely* coincident. Agrippa was banished the year before the consulship of Furius and Nonius, A. U. 761, that is, in 760, (Dio Cass. LV. 32, V. Patere. II. 112,) a year before Ovid. It is probable, but not absolutely certain, that Julia was exiled the same year as Ovid, viz. 761. This point will be examined presently. That Ovid was banished towards the end of the last-named year, has been shewn by Mr. Clinton, (*Fasti Hellen.* A. D. 9); and to the proofs there adduced, the following may be added. In *Ex Ponto*, IV. *ep.* 6, v. 11, the poet mentions the deaths of Augustus and Maximus, the former of which took place in August 767; the latter, as we have already seen, a few months previously. When he wrote this piece, the sixth year spent in Scythia was beginning (v. 5, 6). Allowing three or four months for the news of the emperor's death reaching him—and we learn from *Ex Ponto*, IV. 11, v. 15, that it took a year to send a letter to Rome and get an answer,—and then deducting six years from 767, we arrive at the year 761, for the date of his leaving Rome.¹⁰ This instance is not open to the objection that might be urged against those adduced by Mr. Clinton, since it refers not merely to his banishment, but to his actual abode in Pontus.

M. Villenave's assertion, that Ovid ceased to petition for pardon after the death of Augustus, is stated too broadly. In *Ex Ponto*, IV. 8, 23, he solicits the mediation of Germanicus with Tiberius. In the following epistle he does not despair of touching that emperor:—

“Et tamen hæc tangent aliquando Cæsaris aures.”—*Ver.* 125.

The line which M. V. quotes, not quite candidly, from *Ex Ponto*, II. 7, (*Omnis pro nobis gratia muta fuit*), was written when Augustus was still alive, and refers, not to Tiberius, but to what took place when Ovid's misfortune first happened. Nor does it follow, that because we have no petitions to Tiberius preserved after this date, therefore Ovid made none. The fact is, that his poems close altogether about this date, that is, with the fourth Book *Ex Ponto*; which, without any other, is a suf-

¹⁰ It took Ovid the greater part of a year to reach Tomi.

ficient reason that there should be no addresses to Tiberius. The latest piece of Ovid's extant is, *Ex Ponto*, iv. 9, addressed to Græcinus, *Consul designatus*, and written in the early part of 769, (Clinton, *F. H.* A.D. 14.) Ovid died in 771. Therefore we have nothing of his during the last two or three years of his life. In the 13th Epistle of the same Book, v. 40, he tells us that he was then the sixth winter in Pontus. His first winter there, for he did not cross the Adriatic till December 761, would be that of 762-3; and this epistle, therefore, must be placed in 767-8, about two years before that to Græcinus. Various causes may have prevented him from writing. There is, however, much truth in the general notion, that he always seems to approach Livia and Tiberius with care and caution; and it is certain that he was never recalled.

Let us now examine in what points M. Villenave's theory fails to satisfy the conditions of the question. These conditions may be collected from the various passages of Ovid's poems in which he alludes to his misfortune; and any theory as to its cause, which runs counter to one or more of them, we can hardly hesitate to reject.

1. There was no moral turpitude, nor any breach of the law, in Ovid's conduct. Its origin was involuntary; and though it involved error and folly, there was neither wickedness nor design in it. This is so well known, and the references are so numerous, that it will suffice to indicate them. See *Tristia*, *Lib.* i. 2, 97; 3, 37; 4, 41; *Lib.* iv. 4, 43; *Ex Ponto*, *Lib.* i. 7, 41; *Lib.* ii. 9, 71, &c.

2. But he had been witness of a crime committed by somebody else:

"Nescia quod *crimen* viderunt lumina plector,
Peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum."

Trist. iii. 5, 50.

"Nec leve nec tutum est quo sint mea dicere casu
Lumina *funesti* conscia facta *mali*."

Ibid. 6, 27.

3. And the knowledge of it was calculated to prove highly distressing and offensive to Augustus:

"Pars etiam mecum quædam moriatur oportet
Meque velim possit dissimulante tegi."

Trist. i. 4.

"Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen et error,
 Alterius facti culpa silenda mihi:
 Nam non sum tanti ut renovem tua vulnera, Cæsar,
 Quem nimio plus est indoluisse semel."

Trist. II. 207.

"Vulneris id genus est quod cum sanabile non sit
 Non contrectari tutius esse putem:
 Lingua, sile: non est ultra narrabile quidquam;
 Posse velim cineres obruere ipse meos."

Ex Ponto, II. 2, 58.

4. Nevertheless it was pretty well known at Rome what it was:

"Causa mea cunctis nimium quoque nota ruinæ
 Indicio non est testificanda meo."

Trist. IV. 4, 43.

"Et tamen ut cuperem culpam quoque posse negari
 Sic facinus nemo nescit abesse mihi."

Ex Ponto, I. 7, 39.

5. His punishment was not due solely to his having witnessed the act, but to his subsequent conduct. It was not only one mistake committed by chance, but a series: for the latter might have been avoided by the good advice of friends; the former could not. But this advice he lost through his silence:

"Hanc quoque qua perii culpam scelus esse negabis
 Si tanti series sit tibi nota mali."

Trist. IV. 4, 37.

"Hæc igitur referens, et quod mea crimina primi
 Erroris venia posse latere vides."

Ex Ponto, II. 3, 91.

"Cuique ego narrabam secreti quidquid habebam,
 Excepto quod me perdidit, unus eras.
 Id quoque si scisses salvo fruerere sodali
 Consilioque forem sospes, amice, tuo."

Trist. III. 6, 13.

"Vera facis sed sera meæ convicia culpæ;
 Aspera confesso verba remitte reo.
 Cum poteram recto transire Ceraunia velo
 Ut fera vitarem saxa monendus eram."

Ex Ponto, II. 6, 7.

6. His timidity partly contributed to his ruin :

" Aut timor aut error nobis, prius obfuit error."

Trist. iv. 4, 37.

" Nil nisi non sapiens possum *timidusque* vocari,
Hæc duo sunt animi nomina vera mei."

Ex Ponto, ii. 2, 19.

7. His conduct did not arise from any hopes of gain or advantage, and involved nobody but himself :

" Est mea culpa gravis sed quæ me perdere solum
Ausu sit, et nullum majus adorta nefas."

Ex Ponto, ii. 2, 17.

" Nil igitur referam nisi me peccasse ; sed illo
Præmia peccato nulla petita mihi."

Trist. iii. 6, 33.

If we apply these conditions to the preceding theories, we shall find that none, except, perhaps, that of incest with his grand-daughter on the part of Augustus, is capable of satisfying them. With regard to M. Villenave's hypothesis, it may be observed, that Ovid, having been the political partizan of Agrippa, would neither have been (1) involuntary, nor (2) witnessing a crime, nor (3) of such a nature that it should die with him, nor (6) owing to his timidity. All these objections, except the first, apply likewise to the notion, that what Ovid had seen was some violent scene between Livia, Tiberius, and Augustus ; or some return of affection on the part of the latter towards Agrippa. The lapse of time which had intervened between the banishment of Agrippa and that of Ovid, prevents us from thinking that they were in any way connected with one another. M. Villenave has also pressed too closely the passage above quoted from *Ex Ponto*, iv. 6, respecting the death of Maximus. From the two preceding lines,¹¹ it would seem that all Ovid meant to say was, that the death of Maximus might be attributed to his (Ovid's) ill fortune, which was so malignant to him, as to cut off Maximus before he had had an opportunity to use his intercession with Augustus ; (*Occidis ante preces.*)

¹¹ " Perstat enim Fortuna tenax, votisque malignum
Opponit nostris invidiosa pedem.
Certus eras," &c.

Nor is it probable that Ovid, in his remote solitude, had heard the rumours which were current at Rome, and which have been recorded by Tacitus, respecting the cause of his friend's death.

To offer any confident solution of a case beset with so many doubts and difficulties, would be both presumptuous and absurd. I shall therefore venture to submit the following one only as a matter of probability. If it should be considered as no better than its predecessors, I must content myself with the current consolation of those who attempt what is beyond their reach; and excuse my want of success by the difficulty of the undertaking.

I adopt, then, as the basis of my solution, an old opinion—that which attributes Ovid's punishment to his having been an accidental witness of some crime committed by Augustus's grand-daughter, Julia; but with these additions, that the crime was her adultery with D. Silanus; and that the poet's fault was not solely his being conscious of it, but his having concealed it. The grounds on which this opinion may be supported, are the following.¹²

It may be reconciled with all the expressions which Ovid uses respecting his misfortune; for,—

First, It was accidental in its origin, and involved on his part no breach of law or morals. *Second*, It was a crime on the part of Julia. *Third*, And highly distressing to Augustus.¹³ *Fourth*, The proceedings against Julia being public and notorious, Ovid's share in the business was likewise probably pretty well known. *Fifth*, His disgrace might have been averted, had he disclosed what he had seen to some judicious friend, and taken his advice whether he should inform Augustus of it. That he had not divulged it, is plain from the lines quoted under this head. But though, as far as in him lay, he kept the secret, there seem to have been others aware of it, by

¹² M. Villenave adverts to the first part of this solution, but dismisses it with the following remark:—"D'autres écrivains ont pensé qu'Ovide fut exilé pour avoir été témoin de quelques débâches de la petite fille de l'empereur. Mais il suffit de faire observer, qu'Auguste ayant lui-même publié le deshonneur de sa famille, Ovide ne pouvait être puni d'avoir vu ce que l'empereur

dénonçait au Sénat, à Rome, à l'univers; imprudence qui lui fut sans doute arrachée par Livie, et dont il se repentit avant sa mort." It will be seen that this remark does not affect such a solution with the proposed additions.

¹³ After his daughter's exposure, Augustus "abstinuit congressu hominum diu, præ pudore."—Suet. *Aug.* c. 65.

whom he was afterwards betrayed—his acquaintance and servants :

“ Quid referam comitumque nefas, famulosque nocentes ?”

Trist. iv. 10.

From which line we may even suspect that his own house had been the scene of his fatal discovery. By his silence, he made himself a kind of *particeps* with Julia and Silanus, and thus became involved in a *series* of dissimulation. The inducements which Livia and Tiberius had to ruin a man who had thus sided with one of the blood of Augustus, are obvious ; and the senile Emperor was now under their dominion : nor indeed would Augustus have been well pleased with Ovid for allowing him to learn his misfortune through another channel. *Sixth*, His silence was owing to his timidity ; in fact, he was between two stools. He knew not whether it was better to hurt the feelings of Augustus, by acquainting him with Julia's dishonour, or to offend Livia and Tiberius, by concealing it. This was his *stultitia* and *simplicitas*, which might have been avoided by judicious advice. He should have known which party was in the ascendant at court ; but he was too frightened to do any thing, and trusted to the chance of the secret's not being revealed, though it was in the possession of others. *Seventh*, His silence would of course involve nobody but himself, nor would it have been of any advantage to him. But when his dissimulation was detected, it proved his ruin ; and that his offence was connected with dissimulation, is pretty strongly shewn by the following lines :—

“ Cœperat Augustus deceptæ ignoscere culpæ ;
Spem nostram terras deseruitque simul.”

Ex Ponto, iv. 6, 14.

It is difficult to render the words *deceptæ culpæ* in English ; but they evidently point to dissimulation and deceit ; and so they are taken in Le Maire's note on the passage.¹⁴ This agrees, too, with the lines quoted above from *Ex Ponto*, 11. (et quod mea crimina primi—Erroris venia posse latere vides.)

¹⁴ “ *Culpæ deceptæ* : Errori meo, qui me, aut fortasse, Augustum, decepit credentem me consulto peccasse, quum potius per imprudentiam erraverim.

Vel etiam, *deceptæ culpæ*, per deceptionem et errorem perpetratæ atque commissæ.”

The first part of his offence—his having become the accidental recipient of a dangerous secret—was venial; his having concealed it afterwards, was not.

Let us cast a glance at the external evidence by which this solution may be supported.

The coincidence of time in the exile of the younger Julia and that of Ovid, is, *prima facie*, a very striking fact; and when viewed in connection with the poet's known character, the footing on which he stood with the imperial family, and the manner in which he relates—or rather, conceals—the history of his misfortune, it becomes still more important and suggestive. The proof of this coincidence is not, indeed, so rigid as to be absolute demonstration. It rests on a passage in Tacitus, (*Ann.* iv. 71,) where the historian informs us, in general terms, that Julia died in the year of Rome 781, after twenty years exile. Masson, who wrongly fixed the departure of Ovid from Rome in the year 762, but who nevertheless wished to make his banishment and that of the younger Julia contemporaneous, placed them both in that year; and when this computation was impugned by Le Clerc, defended it on the ground, that when an historian thus uses round numbers, if the period had exceeded nineteen years, it might be called twenty. Had he placed Ovid's banishment at its right date, viz. 761, there had been no occasion for this special pleading, and the words of Tacitus might have been accepted literally. That the close of the year 761 was really the epoch of this double catastrophe, might perhaps be supported by the consideration that in the following one, during the consulship of M. Papius Mutilus and Q. Poppæus Secundus, Augustus caused the celebrated law to be passed which took its name from those magistrates, and which he had before attempted in vain. In the *Lex Papia Poppæa*, besides its main object, the provisions of the *Lex Julia* concerning adulteries were confirmed and strengthened.¹⁴ What more probable than that the legislation of Augustus was at once stimulated and assisted by the scandal which had so recently disgraced his own household; and that the domestic cares of the *Paterfamilias* were expanded into the public ones of the *Pater Patriæ*? But according to the dates of Masson, this could not have been the case.

¹⁴ See Ruperti's note on Tac. Ann. III. 25.

The gallant of the younger Julia was D. Silanus; and it is a curious fact that his punishment was precisely the same as Ovid's, viz. a Relegatio. His story is thus told by Tacitus:—"D. Silanus in nepti Augusti adulter, quamquam non ultra sævitum foret quam ut amicitia Cæsaris prohiberetur, exilium sibi demonstrari intellexit, nec, nisi Tiberio imperitante, deprecari senatum ac principem ausus est, M. Silani fratris potentia, qui per insignem nobilitatem et eloquentiam præcellebat. Sed Tiberius grates agenti Silano patribus curam respondit, se quoque lætari quod frater ejus à peregrinatione longinqua revertisset: idque jure licitum, quia non senatus consulto, non lege, pulsus foret: sibi tamen adversus eum integras parentis sui offensiones; neque reditu Silani dissoluta quæ Augustus voluisset," (*Ann.* III. 24.) The difference between his case and Ovid's may be readily accounted for. Silanus had committed an actual and grievous offence against Augustus, and dared not, therefore, to supplicate for pardon during his life-time. Ovid's fault towards that emperor, on the contrary, though aggravated by concealment and dissimulation, had its origin in an accident, and therefore he might not unreasonably hope for that mitigation of his sentence which he so frequently solicits. But, by the accession of Tiberius, the respective positions of the parties were completely reversed. Reading the foregoing speech with due allowance for the hypocrisy in which that emperor was so great a master, we may pretty safely conclude that he was not, after all, so very angry with Silanus, who had been the means of disgracing and banishing one of the blood of Augustus, although he kept up a show of displeasure, by excluding him ever afterwards from public honours. Ovid, on the other hand, so far as lay in his power, had screened Julia; and the concluding sentence of Tiberius's speech, though pronounced after Ovid's death, may be considered as revealing the principle which had always regulated that emperor's conduct towards the unfortunate poet in this affair: *Neque reditu Silani dissoluta quæ Augustus voluisset.*

It will be seen that the foregoing solution resembles that proposed by Tiraboschi in his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, [Vol. 2. p. 73. *fol.* Firenze, 1774,] in so far as it makes Ovid discover the profligacy of the younger Julia, and conceal it from Augustus. The Cavaliere Rosmini, in his generally accurate and sensible Life of Ovid, adopts the main grounds of

Tiraboschi, but does not, I think, improve upon them by his additions. According to him, [p. 105, *fol.* ed. *Milan*, 1821,] Ovid was the systematic seducer of Julia, not for himself, but for one of his illustrious friends; and Augustus became acquainted with his share in the infamy of his grand-daughter, by finding the *Ars Amatoria* on her toilet table. Rosmini supports this view by referring to the Fourth Elegy of the Third Book of *Tristia*, which paints the dangers of an intimacy with the great, and which he applies to the exalted friend for whom Ovid had degraded himself to the baseness of a procurer. But that elegy seems rather to relate to the poet's intimacy with the imperial family; a fact which Rosmini disputes, though on insufficient grounds. We should be loath to see Ovid reduced to so despicable a character as a systematic and cold-blooded pander. Such an accusation can be admitted only on the most conclusive evidence, which Rosmini certainly does not produce. Not only is it inconsistent with Ovid's position in life, but with some of the conditions before laid down. Such a seduction would certainly have been a *crime*, and one of the foulest and most unpardonable sort; moreover, it would neither have been *involuntary*, nor—unless Ovid were fool as well as knave—without *profitable consequences*, at least in anticipation, to himself. Nor does Rosmini satisfactorily shew how, under such circumstances, Ovid's discovery could possibly be said to be *accidental*. Another objection, both to his solution and to that of Tiraboschi, (who confines his view of the matter solely to Augustus and Ovid,) is, that they do not explain the evident antipathy towards the unfortunate poet entertained by Livia and Tiberius.

THOMAS DYER.

XX.

THE ZOOLOGY OF HOMER AND HESIOD.

BY G. P. F. GROSHANS.¹

THIS Zoology of Homer and Hesiod, which the learned author styles merely a Prodrömus to some larger work not yet published, forms two fasciculi in the Leiden Journal of Natural History and Physiology, edited by Drs. Van der Hoeven and de Vriese. The first fasciculus appeared in 1839, and the second in 1843; but they are here alphabetically arranged.

A love of zoology became engrafted on the author's classical tastes, and a specimen of the result is now communicated to British scholars, in the hope that a subject, hitherto but little regarded, may be brought more prominently into notice, as the natural history of Greece and Asia Minor has by no means received that attention from the moderns to which it is entitled.

Ἀηδών,—*Sylvia Philomela*.

It is singular that no interpreter of Hesiod has observed that his Ἀηδών, is very probably only another species of our common *Sylvia Luscinia*, since the epithet bestowed upon it by the poet agrees very well with the description of the *Sylvia Philomela*; ποικιλόδερρος,² "vary-necked," or "neck-streaked," which has occasioned so many difficulties to the learned, is applied to this bird at l. 201. of Hesiod's Works and Days:—

ὣδ' ἱρηξ προσέειπεν Ἀηδόνα ποικιλόδερρον.

"The falcon thus bespoke the neck-streaked nightingale."

Tzetzes and Moschopulus explain this term as ποικιλόφωνον, "vary-voiced;" Ruhnken conjectures ποικιλόγερρον, "vary-toned;" Passow and others defend the common reading, and translate it "with variegated throat;" supporting their opinion on this

¹ Communicated and translated from the *Leiden Journal of Nat. Hist. and Physiol.*, by Wm. Bell Macdonald, B.A., of Rammerscales.

² "Vary-toned"—"of artful throat," would be a translation more consonant to the natural character of this bird.

testimony of Clemens Alexandrinus:—ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἀγρῶν καὶ τὸ χρῶμα καὶ τὴν ᾠδὴν συµμετάβαλλει ταῖς τροπαῖς.—*Pædagog.* B. II. ch. 10.—“In the same way the nightingale also changes both its hue and its voice at the turns of the season.”

If we assume Hesiod to have meant the sylvia philomela, there is no need of any conjecture whatever.

Gloger thus describes it in his hand-book of European Ornithology:—“The upper part of the body is dark, and in old individuals appears reddish-brown, or of a deep reddish-olive colour; whilst the upper part of the breast is undulated, often almost forming triangles of brown-grey, sometimes rather indistinct, sometimes tolerably clear, upon a brownish-white or bright yellow-grey ground; and the throat is spotted on the sides in the same way. The whole hue of the bird becomes darker by age, and in those very aged, distinct rather dark semicircular patches extend over the whole breast, including the sides and throat, forming on the latter close streaks like a beard.”

From this description it is easy to discover how the Greeks themselves might fall into error, as the spots are said not to be equally distinct in all. Pallas, in his *Zoographia Rosso-Asiatica*, also mentions this bird as “pulchre obsolete punctato.” In a specimen in the Leiden Museum, they are not at all distinct.

The analogy between the German name of this bird, “der sprosser-sänger,”¹ the freckled-singer, and the epithet *ποκαλόδειρος*, also lends an appearance of truth to our opinion. *Luscinia philomela* is found in Suecia, Eastern Germany, Helvetia, Hungary, Dalmatia, at Venice, on the Volga, in the Caucasus, in Persia, and in Egypt.

Homer seems to have had the same bird in view in the *Odyssey*, B. XIX. l. 518, where he styles it *χλωρηΐς*, pale-green.

ὥς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόρη, χλωρηΐς Ἀγρῶν
καλὸν αἰείδουσιν, ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιοι
δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκναῖσιν
ᾗτε θαμὰ τραπῶσα χεῖρ πολυηχέα φωνήν.

“As when the maid of Pandareus, the pale-green Nightingale,
Sings beautifully, while the spring is freshly coming in,

¹ I question if this analogy be good, as “sprosser-sänger” in German, would rather indicate sprig or bud-singer, a bird that sings on the young twigs of trees, or when the buds are germinating.—T.

Perching mid the close-set leafy foliage of the trees,
And changing often pours she forth her voice of many a tone."

(Simonides also calls the nightingales green-necked.)

Unless, with the Scholiast, *χλωρήϊς* be explained as *ἐν χλωροῖς διατρίβουσα*, haunting the green thickets, which interpretation would be equivalent to an accusation of tautology against Homer, as *δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοις καθεζομένη*, would have nearly the same signification.⁴ It is, therefore, a much more probable conjecture, that the *Luscinia* was called *χλωρήϊς*, from its colour, though our *Luscinia* cannot be so described, as Schneider correctly observes.

The *Sylvia Philomela*, however, often wants those spots described above, from which we have deduced the origin of the German name and the epithet of Hesiod, as is evident from Gloger's description; nay, specimens are often found with the breast of a pale colour, and probably from such, Homer has taken the epithet *χλωρήϊς*; but I must confess that there is still room for doubt, as perhaps some other species less known to us is to be found in Greece, and to which Homer may apply this epithet; and Schinz, in his *European Fauna*, vol. i. p. 181, remarks:—"I have also received a singing bird from Greece, having much resemblance to the nightingale, but distinguished from it by a stronger bill, which is black, by its greater size and somewhat different hue; I reckon it a distinct species." I have requested a more minute description of it, but it has not yet reached me.

Αἰγυπιός, γύψ,—*Gypaëtus barbatus*, and *Vultur fulvus*, vel *cinereus*, Gm.

Suidas and more recent lexicographers are of opinion, that the ancients used the word *αἰγυπιός* as a poetic form for γύψ. They both occur in Homer, on which account, Conrad Gesner, in his history of animals, makes a distinction between them; Herodotus uses them promiscuously; but Nicander has

Αἰγυπιοί, γυπὲς τε κόραξ τ' ὀμβρήρεα κρώζων.—*Theriaca*, l. 406.

The *Ægyptiæ* and Gypes, and the raven that croaks of rain.

Koeppen, in his remarks on Homer's *Iliad*, likewise distinguishes the two species, correctly assuming the *αἰγυπιός* to be

⁴ This attribute is more consonant to the term of the Germans, "aprosser-sänger."—T.

γύψ τῶν αἰγῶν, the vulture of the goats, called by the Germans "lämmergeier," the lamb's vulture; the bearded vulture, (*vultur barbatus*, L., *gypaëtus barbatus*, Cuv.); Cuvier, however, has confounded this bird with that called by the Greeks φήνη, which will be proved to be a different bird. The αἰγυπαῖοι are called by Homer γαμφώνυχες and ἀγκυλοχεῖλαι, "having crooked talons and hooked beaks;" their habitation is the lofty rock, or the φηγός—supposed to be a species of oak, (*quercus esculus*, Linn.)—and they are said to fight with each other. Hesiod makes the same remarks, and Homer also describes the attack of Meriones as resembling that of the αἰγυπαῖος. In the Ajax of Sophocles, l. 168, we find,—

Παταγοῦσιν ἅτε πτῆνων ἀγέλαι
μέγαν αἰγυπαῖον ὀποδείσαντες.

They chatter scared like flocks of birds
Awe-stricken at the vulture huge.

The γύψ, on the other hand, is said always to prey upon the dead, on which account they were held in high estimation by the Egyptians from their usefulness in this respect. Considering these facts, it is also my opinion, that the two birds are distinct, since the αἰγυπαῖος seems to attack living animals preferably, and the γύψ carcasses; I agree, therefore, with the opinion of Koeppen, that the former is the γύψ τῶν αἰγῶν. All that is known of the αἰγυπαῖος, may be referred to the *vultur barbatus*, L., and I have no doubt but that this is the bird mentioned by both poets, while γύψ is the *vultur fulvus* or *cinereus*, Gm., though Homer's distinction may not be quite accurate.

Αἰστός, μόρφνος, περκνός, ἀνοπαῖα,—*Falco naevius*, L.

The eagle is, according to Homer, the fleetest, strongest, and boldest of birds, black, of very lofty flight, and able to carry a fawn or a hare in its talons, possessing the keenest sight among all birds, and attacking all indiscriminately, cranes, geese, and swans; which description agrees *most* exactly with that of the *falco imperialis*. Another bird is mentioned by Homer, *Il.* xxiv. l. 315.

—αἰετὸν ἦμα, τελειότατον πεπετηνῶν,
Μόρφνον, θηρητῆρ', ὃν καὶ περκνὸν καλέουσιν.⁵

⁵ μόρφνος and περκνός, are both understood in Greek as dusky.

He the eagle sent, the bird of surest augury,

The predatory Morphnos, which they Percnos also name.

Of this bird, Aristotle remarks in his *History of Animals*, B. IX. ch. 32 :—Ἐτερον δὲ γένος ἀετοῦ ἔστιν, ὃ πλάγγος καλεῖται, δεύτερος μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ · οἰκεῖ δὲ βήσσας καὶ ἄγκη καὶ λίμνας · ἐπακαλεῖται δὲ νηπτοφόνος καὶ μορφνός, οὗ καὶ Ὅμηρος μέμνηται ἐν τῇ Πριάμου ἐξόδῳ. —But there is another kind of eagle, which is called plangos, second in size and strength; it inhabits glades and valleys and lakes, and is also called duck-killer and morphnos, which Homer mentions at the going out of Priam from Troy to the Grecian camp.

The arrows of Hercules are said by Hesiod, in the *Scut. Herac.* l. 134, to be,

μορφνοῖο φλεγύας καλυπτόμενοι πτερόγεσσι.

Feathered with the pinions of the tawny morphnos.

There seems no doubt of this bird being the *Falco nævius*, L., as conjectured by Cuvier.

With regard to the word ἀνοπαῖα, which occurs in the *Odyssey*, B. I. l. 320, where many would read ἀν' ὀπαῖα, "through the apertures in the roof," though Aristarchus and others prefer,—

ὄρνις δ' ὥς ἀνοπαῖα διέπτατο.

And like the bird anopæa, flew away—

Interpreting the ἀνοπαῖα to be εἶδος ὀρνέου ἀετώδους, "a species of bird like the eagle;" I would rather, however, agree with Schneider, that ἀνοπαῖα is equivalent to ἀνωφερές, "borne up in the air, dashing on high," which opinion is also confirmed by a fragment of Empedocles.

Αἰθυίη.—*Sula alba*? Solan goose.

αὐτὴ δ' ἄψ ἔς πόντον ἐδύσατο κυμαίνοντα

αἰθυίη εἰκῶα · μέλαν δέ ἑ κύμα κάλυψεν.

Odysse. B. v. l. 352.

And back again the goddess dived into the billowy main,
Aithuia-like; the sable wave then veiled her from his sight.

We also find in the same Book, at line 337,

αἰθυίη δ' εἰκῶα, ποτὴ ἀνεδύσατο λίμνης.

Aithuia-like, she from the deep sprang upwards on the wing;
which line Suidas would reject as spurious, because λίμνη does

not elsewhere occur in Homer for the ocean. There is a passage in Aristotle regarding the αἰθυία, and if the interpreters had paid more attention to this author, they would have committed fewer blunders in naming animals; he says,—ἡ δὲ αἰθυία καὶ οἱ λάραι τίκτουσι μὲν ἐν ταῖς περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν πέτραις, τὸ μὲν πλεῖθος δύο ἢ τρία · ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν λάρος τοῦ θέρεος ἡ δ' αἰθυία ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἔαρος εὐθὺς ἐκ τροπῶν καὶ ἐπακαθεύδει, ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι ὄρνιθες · οὐδέτερον δὲ φωλεῖται τούτων τῶν ὀρνέων.—*Hist. Animal.* B. v. ch. 9. —The *aithuia* and the *lari* usually lay two or three eggs in the rocks by the sea-shore, the latter in summer, and the former at the commencement of spring, just as the season changes; it also broods like other birds; but neither of them hides in holes.

In another part of his work, Aristotle places it among the sea-birds, but not the web-footed; it cannot, therefore, be referred to the genus *Mergus*. The accounts given of its voracity by the ancients, have made Schneider doubtful whether it may not be the *Larus Parasiticus*, L.;⁶ but that bird, as he correctly observes, does not dive.

I must acknowledge that I do not know what this bird may be; but I may also add, that all the opinions I have hitherto met with, are to be rejected. Following Gesner, (*Hist. Av.* 118,) many have held it as a *mergus*, which Aristotle plainly demonstrates to be incorrect, as he rejects the *aithuia*⁷ from the order of the *Palmipedes*. Crusius, in his *Lexicon* to Homer, is of opinion that it is a *fulica*, which, however, is disproved by the number of its eggs, as the *Fulica atra* lays seven or eight.

It may also be noticed here, that Minerva was worshipped under the name of *Athene Aithuia*, as we learn from Pausanias, because she was favourable to sailors.

Αἶξ, αἶξ ἄγριος, ἱεῖλος,—capra *Hircus*, L.; capra *Ægagros*, capra *Ibex*, L.; capra *Rupicapra*, L.

Homer makes frequent mention of great flocks of goats, and Hesiod says that the best time for celebrating festivals is when the goats are fattest.

Αἶγες ἄγρια are often met with in both poets, as inhabiting the most lofty rocks, and being a prey to lions. The *Rupicapra*

⁶ *Lestris parasitica recentiorum.*

⁷ Sir William Jardine, Bart., has

identified this bird for me as the *—* alba, or solan goose.—T.

(gems, chamois, capra rupicapra, L. hodie Antilope Rupicapra) and the Ibex, are still found in Greece. The capra ægagros, along with these, has been observed in Asia Minor; and I am of opinion, that Homer comprehended these three species under the name of αἴγες ἄγριαι, but Hesiod only the first two. According to Sonnini, the modern Greeks call the rupicapra and ibex by the same name, and there is a great affinity between all the three species. ἱέραλος occurs only once in Homer, *Il. B. iv. l. 105*; and the ancient grammarians have expended much imagination upon the word, as it had become in their time obsolete. It is most probably derived from ἵκω, "to come," and ἄλλομαι, "to leap." Schneider thinks it is used for the ibex, in which he seems more correct than Koeppen, who understands by it the ægagros, the horns of which are too much curved for forming a bow, as, we learn from Homer, was done with those of the ἱέραλος αἰῖ for Pandarus. The quality κέρα ἑκαυδεκάδωρα, "horns sixteen palms long," is attributed to it, which must be understood to be the length of each horn; and the Chinese and Turks of the present day use the horns of the ibex for the same purpose.

Ἄκρίς,—Gryllus migratorius, L.

ὥς δ' ὅθ' ὑπὸ ρίπῃς πυρὸς ἀκρίδες ἡμερόντα
 φευγόμεναι ποταμόνδε τὸ δὲ φλέγει ἀκάματον πῦρ
 ὄρμενον ἐξαίφνης, καὶ δὲ πτώσσουσι καθ' ὕδωρ.—*Il. xxi. 12.*

As when impelled by blaze of fire the locusts rise in air
 Riverward flying; while the flame burns on unweariedly
 That sudden burst forth, and they fall fear-stricken in the wave.

Ἄκρίς is the general name of locusts, but it applies especially to the *gryllus migratorius*, L. Bochart, in his *Hierozoicon*, shows from the ancients, how these animals were destroyed by fire. Koeppen correctly remarks about the locusts falling into the river,—“When the poet makes them fall into a river, he must have had some particular cases in view with which he was acquainted, where it occurred in the neighbourhood of a river. Such cases must have been likewise known to his contemporaries, because a swarm of locusts was an object of interest to all, and all were inimical to them.”

Ἀράχνη,—Epeira diadema, L.

The spider is called ἀράχνη and ἀράχνης indiscriminately;

therefore Thomas Magister is in error when he says that ἀράχνη is the ὕφασμα, "web," ἀράχνηον the νῆμα, "thread," and ἀράχνης the ζῶον, "animal." Our reader will easily perceive how apposite the epithet ἀρασιπότητος, "hovering on high," is to the spider.

Ἄρκτος,—Ursus arctos, L.

Homer rarely mentions this animal, the ursus arctos, L.; and it is not found in Hesiod. It is enumerated in the hymn to Venus, l. 160, along with lions, panthers, and wolves, which Anchises had slain on Mount Ida. The bear is at present found in the greater part of Europe, and also in many quarters of Asia.

Ἄρπη,—Falco fusco-ater, Ægyptius, Gm.

ἡ δὲ ἄρπη εἰκὼς τανυπτέρυγι, λεγυφώνῳ.

"She like the Harpa long of wing, with voice that screameth shrill."

As Homer compares Minerva in the *Iliad*, B. XIX. l. 350, and of which bird Eustathius observes, ζῶον θαλάσσιον, λάρω πολέμοῦν · φιλεῖ δὲ τροφήν συνάγειν καὶ φυλάσσειν ἐπὶ τοῖς κάρφεσιν εἰς χορηγίαν τοῖς νεοσσῶς.—"A sea fowl, hostile to the laros; it is in the habit of collecting and preserving food among the debris on the shore as a supply for its young."

The name is indicative of a rapacious bird; it appears to me to be the falco fusco-ater, falco Ægyptius, Gmel. Gesner has observed that the harpa of Oppian and Ælian is quite a different bird from the harpa of Aristotle, who, however, says no more on the subject than has been quoted above from Eustathius. The harpa of Oppian and Ælian was a mountain bird, which attacked the eyes of its prey. (*Vide* Ælian, *H. Animal*. B. II. c. 47; and Oppian, *Ixeut*. B. I. c. 8.)

Βοῦς, ταῦρος,—Bos taurus, L.

The epithets bestowed on the ox, εὐρυμέτωποι, "broad-browed," and ἐλισσόποδες or ἐλλίποδες, "rolling or trailing-footed, having a heavily trailing step," graphically delineate that animal, especially the former, as the broad forehead is a characteristic of the Bos taurus, L., and its step is heavy and difficult. J. H. Voss and Hippocrates (*De Articulis*, ch. 7.) have observed that the term ἐλλίπους is applied to the oxen, because the ancle-joint is more lax in them than in other animals, and they bend the foot more in walking.

The epithets taken from the horns, *ἐλικες*, "crumpled," *ὀρθόκραιρος*, "straight-horned," *κέρατα ἐλικτὰ*, "wreathed horns," *εὐκραιρος*, "fine-horned," prove that even in the time of Homer there was a variety among these animals. As the ox is but rarely mentioned, it is to be supposed, that even in the heroic age, the Greeks castrated their oxen, that they might be the more easily subdued, and their flesh be fitter for food; which opinion is confirmed by Hesiod's precepts on fattening oxen.

Γέρανος,—*Ardea Grus*.

The *geranos* is mentioned by both poets as flying in flocks over the ocean, and with loud screams attacking the pygmies,⁸ and being the messengers of approaching winter. The *geranos* appears to be the *ardea grus*, which during summer inhabits the south and east of Europe, but in winter migrates to Africa.

Δελφίν,—*Delphinus Delphis*.

ὥς δ' ὅπῳ δελφίνος μεγαλήτεος ἰχθύες ἄλλαι
φεύγοντες, παμπλάσι μυχούς λιμένος εὐόρμου,
δειδιότες· μάλα γάρ τε κατεσθίει, ὅν κε λάβῃσιν.

Hom. *Il.* xxi. l. 22.

As from a dolphin monstrous huge the other fishes all
Fleeing, swarm to the harbour-creeks of some safe anchorage
In dread, for soon he gorges down all whom he seizes on.

All notices of the dolphin in either poet accord exactly with the habits of the *delphinus delphis*, and I willingly agree with Cuvier in his opinion as to the identity of these animals.

Δράκων, ὄφις, ὕδρος,—*Generale Serpentium nomen*.

In the time of Homer and Hesiod there appears to have been no distinction made between the *dracon* and the *ophis*, for we read in Hesiod's *Shield of Hercules*, l. 144,—

ἐν μέσσω δὲ δράκοντος ἔην φόβος, οὐτα φατειός
ἔμπαλιν ὕσσαισιν πυρὶ λαμπομένοιαι δεδορκώς.

⁸ Aristotle says of the pygmies, οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τοῦτο μῦθος, "This is no fabulous race;" and Strabo relates that there were many even after the time of Alexander the Great, who believed in their story. It would be a work of some interest to investigate this subject, com-

paring the testimony of the ancients with the discoveries of the moderns. In the meanwhile, any one wishing information, may consult the authors cited by Tzschukius, in his notes to *Pomp. Mela*.

τοῦ καὶ ὀδόντων μὲν πλῆτο στόμα λευκὰ θεόντων,
δεινῶν, ἀπλήτων.

In midst thereof a dragon dread was seen unspeakable,
Which with its eyes did backward glance, that shone as if with flame.
Its mouth was thickly set with teeth, that ran in a white line
Grim, unapproachable.

And a little further on, still describing the shield,—

ἐν δ' ὄφρων κεφαλαὶ δεινῶν ἔσαν οὔτι φατειῶν
δώδεκα · τὰ φοβέεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων,
οἵτινες ἀντιβίην πόλεμον Διὸς οὐ φέροιεν.
τῶν καὶ ὀδόντων μὲν καναχὴ πέλεν, εὖτε μάχαιτο
Ἀμφιτρωνιάδης · τὰ δὲ δαίετο θαυματὰ ἔργα.

And on it were grim serpents' heads quite indescribable
Twelve; shooting fear into the tribes of mortals upon earth,
Whoe'er against the son of Jove should dare to wage the war,
From their teeth came a clashing sound, as oft as marched to fight
Amphitryon's son; such wondrous works were blazoned on the shield.*

Homer often mentions the *drakon* as ὀρέσπερος, “an inhabitant of the mountains,” βεβρωκὺς κατὰ φάρμακα, “that feeds on noxious poisons,” ἐλισσόμενος περὶ χεῖρ, “coiling itself round its hole.” It is also described as ἐπὶ νῦτα δαφνός, “crimson on the back,” and preying upon small birds. This general name is bestowed by Homer on all venomous serpents, whence one is struck with terror on beholding the *drakon*.

ὥς δ' ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνρορος ἀπέστη
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης, ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα,
ἅψ τ' ἀνεχώρησεν, ὥχρος τέ μιν εἶλε παρειάς.

II. B. III. l. 33.

“As one who hath a dragon seen and backward springing flees,
Within a mountain's woody glades, while quivering every limb
He back retreats, a pallid hue is spread upon his cheeks.”

That Homer uses the terms *drakon* and *ophis* promiscuously, is, however, clearly proved by the following passage:

ὄρνις γάρ σφιν ἐπῆλθε, περησέμεναι μεμαῶσιν,
αἰστὸς ὕψιπέτης, ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λαὸν ἔεργων,
φοινήεντα δράκοντα φέρων ὀνύχεσσι πέλωρον,
ζῶν, ἔτ' ἀσπαίροντα. καὶ οὕτω λήθετο χάρμης.

* With all due deference to the author, the dragon and serpents here do not seem identical,—both on the shield.—T.

κόψε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα κατὰ στήθος παρὰ δευρὴν,
 ἰδνωθεὶς ὁπίσω · ὃ δ' ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἦκε χαμᾶζε,
 ἀλγήσας ὑδύνησι, μέσῳ δ' ἐνὶ κάββαλ' ὁμίλῳ ·
 αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας πέτετο πνοιῇς ἄνεμοιο.
 Τρῶες δ' ἐρρήγησαν, ὅπως ἴδον αἰόλον ἔφην
 κείμενον ἐν μέσσοισι, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο.

Il. B. xii. l. 200.

"A portent came before them then, all eager to pass through,
 An eagle high in air, that drew the people to the left;
 A gory *drakon* huge he did within his talons bear,
 Alive, still throbbing, nor as yet from struggling did it cease,
 But struck the eagle on the neck, tho' grasped against his breast,
 Recoiling backwards; then he cast the reptile to the ground,
 With anguish moaning; down it fell in centre of the band,
 While clanging loud, up soared the bird on breezes of the wind.
 The Trojans shuddered to behold the streaked ophis lie
 In midst their host, a prodigy of Ægis-bearing Jove."

Neither the *drakon* nor the *ophis* indicate to me any distinct species; as what Homer sings of the former is mixed up with fable, and he seems to call that fabulous animal, as well as serpents, by the common name of *drakon*.

The *hydrus* is thus mentioned, Il. B. ii. l. 720:

ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν ἐν νήσῳ κεῖτο κρατέρ' ἄλγεα πάσχωιν,
 Ἀήμνω ἐν ἡγαθέῃ, ὅθι μιν λίπον υἱεὶς Ἀχαιῶν,
 ἔλκεϊ μοχθίζοντα κακῷ ὀλοόφρονος ὕδρου.

"But he within an island lay, sooth, suffering pangs severe,
 In Lemnos isle divine, him there Achaia's sons did leave
 Sore troubled by the festering wound of a hydrus venomed."

What animal this may be, is a point to me uncertain, nor have other writers been more successful in identifying it; but the name would indicate an aquatic serpent.

Ἐγχελὺς,—*Muræna Anguilla*.

Eels are reckoned by Homer and Hesiod, as well as later writers, such as Aristotle and Athenæus, to be distinct from the other fishes, from which they recede so much in form, that it is not strange they were named separately from them by each poet.

Ἐλαφος, νεβρός, κεμάς,—*Cervus Elaphus*, L.

Elaphi are often mentioned in Homer with the epithets *ταχέες*, "swift," *ἀγρότεραι*, "wild," *κασαί*, "horned," *φυζαυαί*, "shy."

They bring forth and rear *nebri* in the woods. They are also found in the mountains, and are a prey to lions, panthers, and θῶες. This animal is the *cervus elaphus*, L., which is proved by a passage in Aristotle, where he says, "the elaphus loses its horns at the commencement of spring." The young are called νεβροί, as is proved by the epithets νεγγενέες, "new born," γαλαθηνός, "sucking," as well as that the eagle can carry them off in its talons.

κεμάς occurs only once in Homer, and not at all in Hesiod; Homer says of dogs, *Il. B. x. l. 361.*

ἦ κεμάδ' ἦε λαγῶν ἐπαίγεται ἔμμενές αἰεὶ,
χῶρον ἀν' ὀλήενθ', ὃ δέ τε προθέησι μεμηκώς.

"A kemas or a hare they chase aye constant on the track
Thro' woody regions, he the while with cries runs on before."

Appollonius, in his *Homeric Lexicon*, says, οἱ μὲν ἐλάφου γένος, αἱ δὲ δορκάδος, "some hold them of the genus *Elaphus*, others the genus *Dorcas*." Koeppen translates it, "das reh," the roe. I rather hold πρῶς to be the roe, as will be shown in its place. The animal described by Ælian, under the name of kemas, *Hist. An. B. xiv. ch. 14*, is the antelope pygmæa. The etymologist says, διαφορὰν δὲ φασιν εἶναι κεμάδος καὶ νεβροῦ · κεμάδα γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ἐπακοιμωμένην τῷ σπηλαίῳ, νεβρὸν δὲ τὸν μείζονα καὶ ἐπὶ βορὰν νεμόμενον,— "The difference between the kemas and nebros is said to be, that the kemas lies in caverns, while the nebros is larger, and frequents pastures." Eustathius, however, asserts, ἐλάφων τὰ μὲν νέα νεβροί, αἱ δὲ ἀρτίως ἐκ νεβρῶν ἐπ' ἐλάφους μεταβάλλουσαι κεμάδες,— "The young of elaphi are nebri, those in the transition state between nebri and elaphi are kemades." As we have proved Eustathius to be correct in the case of the nebri, we may also give him the credit of being so with regard to the kemades; I therefore hold the kemas to be the *cervus junior*, the horns of which are still small, and which is called by the Germans, "spiesser, spiesshirsch," and in France, dagues.

Ἐλέφας,—*Elephas Indicus.*

Although the elephant itself had not been seen in Greece previous to the time of Alexander the Great, yet from the fable of the ivory shoulder of Pelops, and other stories of ancient date, we are aware that ivory was an article of merchandise

there. Homer and Hesiod frequently mention it as employed in the adornment of household furniture, and bridles were ornamented with it. The ancients generally believed it to be the horn of the animal; the Sacred writers, however, are not to be understood as in error with regard to the teeth of the elephant. Aretæus of Cappadocia has given a beautiful description of the elephant in the 11d B. and 13th ch. of his work *De Morb. Diut.* The principal error I would find in it is, that he represents them as being only black, while in the time of Horace, we are aware, from one of his epistles, that a white elephant had already been brought to Rome; and as interpreters have placed Aretæus in the second century *post Ch. N.*, when there was frequent intercourse with that capital, how could he be ignorant that white elephants existed, when he describes that animal so graphically? The probability is, that Aretæus lived at a much earlier period.

Ἐρωδιός,—*Ardea Cinerea*, L.

ταῖσι δὲ δεξιὸν ἦκεν ἔρωδιὸν ἔγγυς ὁδοῖα
Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίῃ · τοὶ δ' οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν
νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην, ἀλλὰ κλάξαντος ἄκουσαν.

Il. B. x. l. 274.

To them upon the right, sent an *Erodius* near the way
Pallas Athene, tho' to sight it was not visible
Thro' shady night, yet still they heard the clang of it around.

Zopyrus asserts that the true reading in the second line, instead of παλλὰς is παλλὼν, "dusky, ash-coloured," applied of course to the ἔρωδιός. Aristotle mentions the ἔρωδιός ὁ παλλός, "the ash-coloured erodius," thus, (omitting the absurdities about the emission of blood from the eyes *in coitu*.) εὐμήχανος δειπνοφόρος καὶ ἑπαγρος ἐργάζεται δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν · τὴν μέντοι χροιάν ἔχει φαύλην,—*Hist. Ann. B. ix. ch. 18.*—It is cunning, carries its food, and is a bird of prey; it pursues its operations during the day; it is of a dirty hue;—and Zopyrus also remarks its swarthy hue and cunning habits; it can only be the *ardea cinerea*, L. It is impossible to say how this bird has been assigned to Minerva; nor have I ever been able to discover any coins stamped with Minerva and the erodius.

Εὐλαί, σκώληξ,—Larvæ of Insects which breed in wounds and dead bodies,—Larvæ Muscæ mortuorum.

The Eulæ are mentioned by Homer in many passages, as—

οὐδὲ μιν εὐλαί
ἔσθουσ', αἳ ῥά τε φῶτας Ἀρηϊφάτους κατέδουσιν.

Il. xxiv. l. 414.

“ — Nor do the Eulæ him

Devour, who make their banquet on those mortals slain in war.”

And again—

νῦν δέ σε μὲν παρὰ νηυσὶ κορωνίαι, νόσφι τοκήων,
αἰὺλαι εὐλαί ἔδονται, ἐπεὶ κε κύνες κορέσωνται,
γυμνόν.—Il. xxii. l. 508.

But now on thee, from parents far, beside the crook-beaked ships
The wriggling eulæ shall devour, when dogs have had their fill
Naked.

The grammarians, as Suidas, the Scholiast, and Erotianus, explain σκώληξ as animals having their origin peculiarly in wounds and carcasses, as may be seen from all the passages in Homer, and is confirmed by Hippocrates. Hesychius also correctly remarks, οἱ ἐν τοῖς τραύμασι γιγνόμενοι σκώληκες, “The skoleces having their origin in wounds,” The later Greeks erroneously confound these words; so in Aristotle we read τὰ δὲ ἔντομα πάντα σκυληγοτόκει, “But all insects produce their young as skoleces.”

The skolex of Homer is clearly the Lumbricus terrestris, as is evident when he says of Harpalion, Il. xiii. l. 654,—

ὥστε σκώληξ ἐπὶ γαίῃ
καῖτο ταθείς.

“ Like a skolex on the earth
Out-stretched he lay.”

But all scholars must admire those lines of Homer in which he describes the generation of the eulæ from the ovula of insects, and proves himself so close an observer of nature; not like Aristotle and Galen, who believe that they arise from putrid matter.

ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰνῶς
δεῖδω, μή μοι τόφρα Μενοτιάδ' Ἰλαμον ὕδιν
μῦλαι, καθῆσαι κατὰ χαλκιστύπους ὠτειλάς,

εὐλὰς ἐγγείωνται, ἀεικίσσωσι δὲ νεκρόν—
ἐκ δ' αἰὼν πέφαται—κατὰ δὲ χροά πάντα σαπῆη.

Il. XIX. l. 21.

But very sore I dread
Ere now Menœtius' warrior son
The flies through his brass-smitten wounds
Have eulæ gendered in, and now his corpse defiled—
For life has from it fled,—and all his frame corrupt become.

Θώς.—*Canis aureus*, L.

It is not very easy to determine what animal the θώς of Homer may be; in Hesiod it is not met with. It is found in the *Iliad*, B. XI. l. 473.

ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν
Τρῶες ἔπονθ' ὥσεί τε δαφονοὶ θῶες ὄρεσφιν,
ἀμφ' ἔλαφον κερατὸν βεβλημένον, ὅντ' ἔβαλ' ἀνὴρ
ἱπ' ἀπὸ νευρῆς · τὸν μὲν τ' ἤλυξε πόδεςσιν,
φεύγων, ὅφρ' αἶμα λιαρὸν καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη ·
αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τόνγε δαμάσσεται ὥκυσ' οἰστός,
ῥυμοφάγοι μιν θῶες ἐν οὔρεσι δαρδάρουσιν.
ἐν νέμει σκερῶ · ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγάγε δαίμων
σίντην · θῶες μὲν τε διέτρεσαν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δάπτει.

"And him around

The Trojans all were bustling like red Thoes on the hills
Around a stricken horned stag, the hunter hath struck down
With arrow from the string; by speed it hath escaped from him
Still fleeing, whilst the blood is warm and knees have power to move;
But when at last the swift-launched shaft its vital force subdues,
Raw-feeding Thoes on the hills then rend it limb from limb
Within a shady grove; but chance has brought a lion there
All-ravenous,—the Thoes flee, and he his banquet makes."

There are four opinions with regard to this animal. Aldovrand and Scaliger affirm that it is the lynx, some believe it to be the genetta, others the jackall, as Bochart, Gesner, and Buffon, while others, like myself, think the animal's identity still doubtful.

Millin de Grandmaison has published a very valuable dissertation on this animal in the *Journal de Physique*.—"Let us first see what the ancients say of the thoes. Aristotle asserts that all the internal parts are similar to those of the wolf; its body is elongated towards the tail, but more compact anteriorly;

it is neither friendly to man, nor does it flee from him; its prey is the same as that of the lion, by which it is often driven from its gorge. It is difficult to reconcile the definitions of later writers with the dicta of Homer and Aristotle. It is to be noted, however, that the greater part of these had no scientific acquaintance with natural history. They knew that the thos bore a resemblance to the wolf; so that they called all animals thoes, which in any way were like the wolf."

Many errors have crept into natural history from vague descriptions of this sort, and names foolishly and erroneously adopted. In this way the Dutch, when they emigrated to the Cape of Good Hope, called many of the animals in that region by common Dutch names, which, however absurd, these animals still retain. But all the opinions of the ancients do not appear to me so absurd as they do to Millin. Hesychius, Suidas, and Eustathius, say that the thos is an animal resembling the wolf, produced from it and the hyæna; and Oppian sings,—

δηθάα δ' αὐτε λύκαι καὶ παρδαλιέσαι δαφοναῖς
εἰς εὐνὴν ἐπέλασαν, ὅθεν κρατερόφρονα φύλα,
Θῶες· ὁμοῦ δὲ φέρουσι διπλοῦν μεμορυγμένον ἄνθος,
μητέρα μὲν ῥινοῖσι, προσώπαις δ' αὖ γενετῆρα.

Cyneg. B. III. l. 335.

"And often too the wolves with the female panthers red
Have couched, and from the union have sprung bands of nature fierce,
The Thoes, which present of both the double-coloured hue;
The fur betrays the dam indeed, the form betrays the sire."

Eustathius elsewhere remarks, that the ancients also named the thos *λυκοπανθήρ*, "wolf panther," from its resemblance to the wolf; but those who believe these two animals to be identical are in error, as the wolf-panther is a timorous fractivorous animal, while the thos will even contend with the lion.

Let us proceed to examine the opinions of the learned.

First, some imagine the thos to be the lynx, or *Lupus cervarius*; and Millin de Grandmaison is of this opinion, and with some degree of justice, as Homer represents the thos attacking the stag. All the ancients testify that it resembles the wolf; and Gesner correctly remarks that it almost always occurs in the poets joined with the wolf, thus insinuating that they are congeneric. I cannot, however, discover any good ground for this opinion, which Hermolaus Barbarus has already

and I believe it has been deduced from Oppian having attributed to them a variegated hide.

It is easy to prove that it cannot be the Genetta, as the whole length of that animal is only a foot and a half.

I have no hesitation in agreeing with those who assume it to be the Jackal, *Canis aureus*, in proof of which I shall follow Millin in his arguments.

1. The *Canis aureus* is an inhabitant of Turkey and Asia Minor, and abounds at the present day in Constantinople, so that Homer and Aristotle must have been well acquainted with it.

2. Aristotle writes that the thos is fond of mankind, and not afraid of them; which is confirmed by the testimony of all the ancients. Jackals also often approach travellers, and are easily tamed.

3. According to Aristotle, it is less than the wolf. Guldenstaedt mentions that the jackal is of an intermediate size between the largest and smallest dogs; but there are dogs as big as the largest wolf.

4. Homer always speaks of thoes in the plural number, and jackals are observed in bands.

5. In Homer thoes are always met with among the mountains, which jackals also prefer to the plains.

6. The thoes devour the stag in a shady wood; jackals haunt the woods by day.

7. Homer and Aristotle both mention the thoes as contending with lions: we have seen a single lion chasing a troop of jackals. Quintus Smyrnæus also, in his poem, describes a wild sow as driving away the thoes from her young; from which we may gather, that the thos is inferior to her in strength.

Other authors have called the thos variegated; but it is very probable that they called other animals thoes, in which they observed resemblance to the wolf. We find nothing about their spots in Homer, who would certainly have applied some epithet to them had they existed, but he only calls them *δαφνοῦς*, red, tawny.

I therefore agree with Millin, that the thos of Homer and Aristotle is the jackal, *Canis aureus*, L., and that those authors of a different opinion have confounded fabulous stories and absurd descriptions quite unworthy of credit, some of whom have even gone so far as to contend that it is a species of ape.

Ἰδρις,—Formica Nigra.

This animal, the Formica, is once mentioned by Hesiod, but requires no further illustration.

Ἰκτίς,—Mustela Erminea.

Dolon the Trojan, in the 10th book of the *Iliad*, placed on his head *καδέην κώνην*, "a helmet made of the skin of the *κτίς* or *ἰκτίς*. Aristotle's account of this animal is as follows:—*ἡ δὲ ἰκτίς ἔσα μὲν τὸ μέγεθος ἡλίκων Μελιταίων κυνίδιον τῶν μακρῶν, τὴν δὲ δασύτητα καὶ τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὸ λευκὸν τὸ ὑποκάτω, καὶ τοῦ ἥθους τὴν κακουργίαν ὅμοιον γαλῇ· καὶ πθασσὸν γίνεται σφόδρα, τὰ δὲ σμήνη κακουργεῖ. τῷ γὰρ μέλιτι χαίρει· ἔσα δὲ ὀρνιθοφάγον ὥσπερ αἱ αἰλουροί· τὸ δὲ αἰδοῖον αὐτῆς ἔσα μὲν ὀστοῦν*,—*Hist. Anim.* B. IX. ch. 6.—
"The Iktis is about the size of the small Melita lap-dog; but in its rough shaggy fur, outward appearance, and in the whiteness beneath, as well as in its cunning disposition, it resembles the galea. It becomes exceedingly tame, but injures the beehives, from its fondness for honey; it eats birds also like the cats; its penis is osseous."

Some have supposed it to be the Viverra, "ferret;" and there are a variety of opinions. For my own part, I think the *Mustela Erminea*¹⁰ agrees best with the description of Aristotle, particularly considering the "whiteness beneath."—This description also agrees with the *Mustela Boccamela* Celt., which hitherto has only been found in Sardinia. May it not also have been an inhabitant of Greece?

ἵππος,—Equus, Cavallus, L.

We shall make a few remarks upon this animal; and in the first place we observe, that with the ancients mares were more esteemed than horses for racing and in war. Homer, however, praises both indiscriminately; for example, in *Il.* B. II. l. 764, *Εὐμελὺς ἔλαυνεν ἵππους ἄμφω θηλείας*, drove steeds both female; and in other places, *ἵπποι ἄρσενες*, male steeds are commended. In the second place, even anterior to the age of Homer and the Trojan war itself, the Greeks cultivated the art of horsemanship, as is proved from the traditions of the Centaurs, although

¹⁰ The *M. Erminea*, according to Sir W. Jardine, has neither shaggy hair, nor does it eat honey.

Homer always speaks of his heroes as borne in chariots ; and also Hesiod, except in one passage in the *Shield of Hercules*, l. 286, where he thus mentions the use of the saddle-horse :—

τοὶ δ' αὖ προπάροιθε πόλῃος
νῶθ' ἵππων ἐπιδάκντες ἐθύονεν.

But some before the city
Mounting the backs of horses coursed.

Homer only mentions the saddle-horse in two places,—*Odysseus*. B. v. l. 371, and *Il.* B. xv. l. 679.—I cannot quit the horse without recalling to the reader's recollection the very beautiful description of a generous steed in the *Iliad*, B. vi. at l. 506, ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος. κ. τ. λ. There are several very appropriate epithets bestowed on the horse by both poets ; for example,—εὖσκαρθμοι, “ swift-bounding,” χαλκόποδες, “ brazen-footed,” ὠκυπέται, “ fleet-flying,” ποδώκες, “ swift of foot,” μώνυχες, “ single-hoofed,” ἐριαύχενες, “ with high arching neck,” ὑψηλές, “ loud-neighing ;” and particularly ἀερίποδες, “ that lift the feet on high,”—together with many more.

Ἴρηξ, ἱρηξ φασσόφωνος. κίρκος,—Falco Subbuteo—Falco
Peregrinus—Falco Nisus, L.

ἱρηξ ἑοικώς
ὥκει, ὅστ' ἐφόβησε κολιούος τε ψῆράς τε.

Il. B. xvi. l. 582.

“ Like to an irex
Swift, which routs the jackdaws and the starlings.”

And again, *Il.* B. xiii. l. 62.

αὐτὸς δ' ὥστ' ἱρηξ ὠκύπτερος ὤρτο πέτεσθαι
ὃς ῥά τ' ἀπ' αἰγυλίου πέτρης περιμήκεος ἀρθεῖς,
δρμήσῃ πεδίου διώκειν ὄρνεον ἄλλο.

“ He like the irex swift of wing, has risen for his flight,
Which poised o'er rugged ridge sublime
Some other bird may rush to chase along the plain below.”

Also see Hesiod's *Works and Days*, l. 201.

ᾧδ' ἱρηξ προσέειπεν ἀηδόνα ποταλόδερον
ἔμμε μάλ' ἐν νεφέεσσι φέρων δνύχεσαι μεμαρπύως·
ἥ δ' ἔλεδον, γραμπτοῖα πεπαρμένη ἀμφ' δνύχεσαι,
μύρετο.

The irex thus bespoke the neck-streaked nightingale
 Bearing aloft in clouds, with talons clutching fast,
 While she in piteous tone, upon his crooked claws transfixed
 Was mourning.

Many species of birds are comprehended under the general name of irex. Aristotle says, B. ix. ch. 36, γένη δὲ τῶν ἱεράκων φασὶ πλεονεξ εἶναι οὐκ ἑλάττω τῶν δέκα,—“Some say there are no fewer than ten species of ireces;” while he himself enumerates eleven. It is principally deserving of notice, that Homer generally mentions this bird as flying from a rock; whence the opinion has arisen that they belong to the Falcones, and are of the order nobiles; so the irex without an additional epithet must be the Falco subbuteo. On the other hand, with Scaliger and Camus, I would recognise the irex φασσοφόνος, “dove-killer,” as the Falco peregrinus, especially as Aristotle calls it somewhat larger than the other, and very partial to wood-pigeons.—A more difficult question arises as to what bird the κίρκος of Homer is. The name seems derived from its flying in circles; but this is characteristic of many birds of prey, and denotes to us none in particular. Camus supposes it the Buteo, but that cannot be called a very swift bird; we also read that it pursues the smaller birds, starlings and the like;—is it then the Falco Nisus, L.? It is also said to have been sacred to Apollo, but I have not been successful in finding it represented on coins. From the following line of Oppian “on hunting,” B. i. l. 64, it would appear that the ancients were acquainted with the mystery of hawking.

αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ δρυμὰ συνέμπορος ἔσπετο κίρκος.

“Them to the coppice followed the attendant kirkos too.”

Κάπρος, σὺς καπρίος, σὺς,—Sus Scropha.

There are very many beautiful comparisons drawn from the boar to be found in both poets; thus Hesiod,—

κάπρος χαλιόδων φρονέει θυμῷ μαχέσασθαι
 ἀνδράεα θηρευτῆς, θήγει δὲ τε λευκὴν ὀδόντα
 δοχμῶνθις, ἀφρὸς δὲ περὶ στόμα μαστιγέοντα
 λείβεται, ὅσος δὲ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπυρόντα ἔκτεται
 ἔρθας δ' ἐν λοφίῃ φρίσσει τρίχας ἀμφ'

"A boar with fangs protruding when he meditates to fight
 With the huntsmen that pursue him, and his white tusk he whets
 Half sideways turning, while the foam around his gnashing mouth
 Is flowing, and his eye-balls twain are like the glittering fire,
 And he bristles straight the hairs upon his back and round his neck."

And in Homer, *Il.* XIII. l. 470,—

ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἰδομενεῖα φόβος λάβε, τηλύγετον ὦς,
 ἀλλ' ἔμεν' ὥς ὅτε τις σὺς οὔρεσιν ἀλιδ' παποιθῶς,
 ὅστε μένει κολοσυρτὸν ἐπερχόμενον πολὺν ἀνδρῶν
 χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ, φρίσσει δέ τε νῦτον ὑπερθεν
 ὀφθαλμῷ δ' ἄρα οἱ πυρὶ λάμπετον · αὐτὰρ ὀδόντας
 θήγει, ἀλέξασθαι μεμαῖως κίνας ἦδ' ἐκ αἰὲρ ἀνδρας.

"But dread seized not Idomeneus, as if a puny child,
 For he stood, as trusting in his strength a wild boar on the hills,
 Which waits the numerous rabble-throng of hunters coming on
 Within a desert region, and he bristles up his back,
 His eyes are glaring like the flame, besides his tusks he whets,
 All eager to beat off from him the dogs and hunters both."

And again, *Il.* B. XVI. l. 823,—

ὥς δ' ὅτε σὺν ἀκάμαντα λέων ἐβήσατο χάριμα
 ὡτ' ὄρεος κορυφῇσι μέγα φρονέοντα μάχεσθον,
 πίδακος ἀμφ' ὀλίγης · ἐθέλουσι δὲ πᾶμεν ἄμφαν·
 πολλὰ δὲ τ' ἀσθμαίνοντα λέων ἐδάμασσε βίηφι.

"As when a lion presses hard a boar untired in fight,
 What time they two on mountain ridge magnanimous contend
 About a little fountain whence they both of them would drink,
 Yet panting hard the lion hath subdued him by his might."

The ancients reared herds of swine among their domestic animals; and that they were in much repute in the heroic ages, is evident from the honour bestowed on Eumæus, the swine-herd of Ulysses.

Κίχλη, — *Turdus Iliacus, Musicus et Pilaris.*

ὥς δ' ὅταν ἦ κίχλαι τανυσίπτεροι ἦε πέλειαι
 ἔρκει ἐνπλήξωσι, τόθ' ἐστῆκει ἐνὶ θάμνῳ,
 αὐλὴν ἐσιέμεναι, στυγερὸς δ' ὑποδέξατο κοῖτος
 ὥς αἶψ' ἐξείης κεφαλὰς ἔχον, ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσαις
 δειρῆσι βρόχαι ἦσαν, ὅπως ὀρεπτα θάνοιεν.

Odys. B. XXII. l. 468.

"As when the thrushes long of wing, or pigeons in the snare
May fall, the which is set for them within a shrubbery,
To roost retreating, but a direful perch receives them there ;
So they in line did keep their heads, and round the necks of all
Were nooses, that most piteous of all deaths they might die."

Thrushes and other birds of that sort were eaten by the Greeks as a relish before wine ; and as there was an ancient law at Athens which forbade *κχλίζειν*, "to eat thrushes,"¹¹ it is conjectured perhaps that these birds were not abundant. This name comprehends the *Turdus iliacus*, *musicus*, and *pilaris*.

Κόκκυξ,—*Cuculus canorus*, L.

ἦμος κόκκυξ κοκάζει δρυὸς ἐν πετάλοισι,
τὸ πρῶτον, τέρπει τε βροτοὺς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.

Hesiod, *Op. et Di.* l. 484.

"When the kokkux cries kokku mid the young leaves of the oak
For the first time, and glads men's hearts upon the widespread earth."

The word *κοκάζειν*, "to cry kokku," is generally used to express the note of the cuckoo, but it is also applied to that of the common cock and some other birds.

I am much surprised at the remark of Sonnini on the *cuculus*, especially as the ancients have given such a distinct account of its cry : he says,—"*Il ne fait point entendre le chant d'amour qui son nom exprime, et qui pour le vulgaire est aussi l'annonce de l'infidélité.*"—*Sonnini*, Tom. II. p. 188.

Κολοίβς,—*Corvus monedula*.

This bird is mentioned by Homer along with the starlings, which the *κίρκος* put to flight, and is said to fly in flocks ; I therefore look upon it as the jackdaw, *corvus monedula*, L., which is about the size of a pigeon, and is fond of companions.

Κορώνη, *Κορώνη ἐνάλιος*,—*Corvus corone*, *Larus cachinnans*,
Pall.

μηδὲ δόμον ποιῶν ἀνεπίξεστον καταλείπειν
μή τι ἐφεζομένη κρώζῃ λακέρυζα κορώνη.

Hesiod, *Opp. et Di.* l. 744.

¹¹ This is more likely to have been some early enactment against luxury
ing in general.—T.

Nor when you build a house unfinished leave it,
Lest perching there may croak the noisy crow.

The verb κρώζεν, "to crow or caw," is often applied to the corvi.

It is a more difficult question to determine what bird Homer meant by the κορώνη εἰνάλιος:—

τανύγλωσσοί τε κοῤῥῶναι
εἰνάλιαι, τῆσιν τε θαλάσσια ἔργα μέμηλεν.
Odyss. B. v. l. 66.

"And the long-tongued coronæ of the main,
Who labour on the sea."

In another passage they are called simply κοῤῥῶναι:

οἱ δὲ κορώνησιν ἔτελοι περὶ νῆα μέλαιναν
κύμασι ἐμφέροντο.—*Odyss.* B. xii. l. 418.
"They like coronæ round the sable bark
Were borne along the waves."

Hesychius supposes the korone of the sea to be the aithuia; it is distinguished, however, from this bird in Arrian's *Periplus*. It is probably the *Larus Cachinnans*, Pall., of which that author remarks, "adultorum vox inter volandum corvina, cum sono cachinnantis hominis æmulo alternans."—*Zoogr. Rosso-Anat.* T. ii. p. 319.

Κύνος,—Cynus Musicus, Bechst.

Homer sings,

κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων
Ἀσίῃ ἐν λεμῶνι, Καῦστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα.
"Of swans lithe-necked
In the Asian mead, around Caÿster's streams."

And we thus read in Hesiod,

οἱ δὲ κατ' αὐτὴν
Κύννοι ἀσροπότα μεγάλ' ἤπυνον.—*Scut. Her.* l. 315.

"And on it swans
High-hovering clamored shrill."

This bird is the *Cynus Musicus*, Bechst., which abounds during winter in Southern Europe and Asia Minor. Their note is said to resemble the sound of a trumpet; so the poet correctly sings, μεγάλ' ἤπυνον, "they clamored shrilly."

Κύμινδης, χαλκίς,—*Strix Uralensis*.

ἐνθ' ἥστ' ὄζαισιν πεπυκασμένους εἰλατίνουσιν
 ὄρνιθι λεγυρῇ ἐναλίγκιος, ἦν τ' ἐν ὄρεσσιν
 χαλκίδα καλῆσκαυσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν.

Il. B. xiv. l. 289.

"There sat he densely-shaded among the fir-tree boughs,
 Like to that bird shrill-piping, the which amid the hills
 The gods do Chalcis call, but men Cymindis name."

With regard to this bird being called one name by gods and another by men, the probability is that the divine name was only the more ancient of the two. Aristotle says of the cymindis :—ἔστι δὲ μέλας καὶ μέγεθος ὅσον ἱεραξ ὁ φασηφόνος καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν μακρὸς καὶ λεπτός.—*Hist. Anim. B. ix. ch. 12.* "It is black, and about the size of the dove-killer falcon, (*Falco Peregrinus*,) in shape it is elongated and slender." He also mentions in another passage that it is rare—

In the birds of Aristophanes, l. 1178,—

Ἄλλ' ἐπέμφαμεν
 τρισμυρίου ἱερακας ἱπποτοξότας
 χωρεῖ δὲ πᾶς τις ὄνουχας ἡγκυλωμένος
 Κερκινὴς τράορχης, γυψ, κύμινδης, αἰετός.

But out

We sent three myriad hawks, equestrian bowyers,
 Them joins each bird with crooked talons armed,
 Kestrel, buzzard, vulture, cymindis, and eagle.

Cuvier believes this bird to be the *Strix Uralensis* of Pallas, with which Aristotle's description agrees, whence the Germans have named it "*Habicht-eule*," "hawk-owl," a name very suitable to its figure. In Europe it is very rare, it is most frequently met with about the Ural Mountains; although it does not see by day, yet it is often observed wandering among trees.

Κυνομυία,—*Hippobosca equina*, L.

This fly is often mentioned by Homer, and Pliny describes it in his *Nat. Hist. B. xi. ch. 34*, as a fly that peculiarly attacks dogs, principally attacking their ears, which they can free from its bite. It is the *Hippobosca equina*, L., which attacks both horses and dogs.

Κυνοραστής,—Acarus Ricinus, L.

ἐνθα κύων καίτ' Ἄργος ἐνίπλειος κυνοραστῆων.

Odys. B. XVII. l. 300.

There the dog Argos lay, his coat quite full of ticks.

This animal is easily distinguished from the preceding, as it belongs to the Arachnida. Hesychius correctly interprets it, ὁ ἐν τοῖς κύωνι κρότων, "the louse that is found in dogs."

It is the *Acarus Ricinus*, L., an animal which perforates the cuticle of dogs, and fixes itself by suction, on which account it is very difficult to get them extirpated.

Κύων,—*Canis familiaris*.

The very beautiful description of Argos, the dog of Ulysses, as given in the *Odyssey*, B. XVII. l. 291–320, is too well known to require quotation here.

Two species of dogs are mentioned by the poet, hunting dogs, which also took care of flocks and cattle, and τραπεζῆς, table or house-dogs, pet-dogs which were held in lower estimation. We learn from Homer that these were large animals and of great ferocity, as poor Priam dreaded that he would be finally devoured, and his blood drunk by his table-dogs—his portal-guards, whom he had bred within his own halls.—*Il.* B. XXII. l. 66. The epithet ἀργίποδες, applied to dogs, has been correctly explained by grammarians, as signifying λευκοί, "white—white footed."

Λαγώς, πτώξ,—*Lepus timidus*.

We find hares mentioned oftener than once in Homer; and the epithet πτώξ, derived from πτώσσω, "to crouch or cower from fear," is in the following passage used for λαγώς.

ὥστ' αἰετὸς, ἐν ῥά τέ φασιν
 ὀξύτατον δέρεσθαι ὑπουρανίων πετεηνῶν,
 ὄντα, καὶ ὑφ' ὅθ' ἔοντα, πόδας ταχὺς οὐκ ἔλαθε πτώξ
 θάμνη ὅπ' ἀμφικόμῳ κατακείμενος· ἀλλὰ τ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ
 ἔσσουτο, καὶ τέ μιν ὥκα λαβὼν ἐξελετο θυμόν.

Il. B. XVII. l. 674.

"Like an eagle which they say
 Is sharpest sighted of the birds that fly beneath the sky,
 Which, tho' in air, the Ptox swift-footed yet cannot escape

Beneath the thick-leaved coppice laid, but down upon him there
Pounces the bird, and grasping soon deprives him of his breath."

Λάρος,—*Larus leucophthalmus*, Licht. ; *Melanocephalus*,
Atricilla, Linn.

σεύατ' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κύμα, λάρω θρηνη ἐσσιῶς,
δοτε κατὰ δεινούς κόλπους ἄλως ἀτρυγέτω,
ἰχθῦς ἀγρώσσαν, πικρὰ πτερὰ δέεται ἄλμυ.

Odys. B. v. l. 51.

"And o'er the billow rushed he, like to the larus bird,
Which down among the dreadful depths of the salt barren main,
Chasing the fish, full many a time drenches its wings with brine."

In the passage formerly quoted from Aristotle, concerning the aithuia, mention is also made of the larus ; it seems to be a general name for many birds of the same genus, the chief of which are the *Larus Leucophthalmus*, Licht. ; *Melanocephalus*, *Atricilla*, Linn.¹²

Λέων, λις,—*Felis Leo*, L.

From many passages in the writings of Homer and Hesiod, we perceive that they were well acquainted with the habits of the lion,—see the attack upon him by the peasants in the *Iliad*, B. xx. l. 164, and the assault of the ravenous animal on the flocks, B. xii. l. 299, and in B. xviii. l. 161, where he cannot be driven from his prey ; the epithets used by the poet are particularly graphic and descriptive. The very common idea among the ancients, that the lioness only brought forth one whelp at a birth, is not to be found in Homer, who, better informed, always speaks of them in the plural number, thus, *Il.* B. xvii. l. 133. :—

ὥς τίς τε λέων περὶ οἷσι τέκεσσι
ἢ ῥά τε νήπα' ἄγοντι συναντήσωνται ἐν ὕλῃ
ἄνδρες ἐπακτῆρες.

"As any lion round his whelps,
Whom hunters in the forest meet leading his little ones."

And also in many other passages ;—while Herodotus on the contrary mentions that "the lioness produces but one young

¹² I am informed, however, by Sir W. Jardine, that neither of them is the prey of the lion.—T.

one in her life, for at the birth of her whelp she loses her matrix,"—B. III. ch. 108. Gronovius supposes that Herodotus had this account from the Egyptians, as Horapollon says that the lioness is the symbol of a woman who has only borne once; but Horapollon himself does not seem of this opinion, as in another passage he speaks of σκύμνοις λέοντος, (B. II. ch. 38,) the whelps of a lion. Aristotle mentions the slow flight of the lion, (*Hist. Anim.* B. IX. ch. 44,)—ἐν δὲ ταῖς θήραις δραμιένος μὲν οὐδέποτε φεύγει οὐδὲ πτήσσει, ἀλλ' ἐὰν καὶ διὰ πλῆθος ἀναγκάσθῃ τῶν θηρευόμενων ὑπαγαγεῖν, βάρην ὑποχωρεῖ καὶ κατὰ σάελος, καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ ἐπιστρέφόμενος — ἐν δὲ παῖς ψιλαῖς · ἐὰν ποτ' ἀναγκάσθῃ εἰς φανερόν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος φεύγειν, τρέχει κατατείνας καὶ οὐ πηδᾷ.—“But if he be seen in the chase, he never flees nor shows signs of fear; but if forced by numbers to retreat, he goes off slowly at an ambling pace, turning round every now and then;—and if any time in bare spots he is forced by the multitude openly to flee, he runs continuously on without leaping.”

It would be a long task to select from Homer all those passages where the lion forms the simile,—they are so numerous, that we may be pretty sure it was well known in Asia Minor; indeed, from ancient testimony, they seem to have existed in some abundance also in Europe. Herodotus narrates that the camels of Xerxes were killed by the lions in Thrace, and adds that they were found only between the Nessus and Achelous. In the time of Aristotle, their number was much diminished, as may be conjectured from the fact of his never having seen them dissected. They were still in Europe in the days of Pausanias, in the second century, see B. VI. chap. 5, where they are mentioned as produced in Thrace.—The cause of their disappearance needs no explanation. Some suppose they have found an argument for the temperature having been formerly colder, because the *Cervus tarandus* and other animals of the frigid zone were once found in the middle of Europe; but since animals of the torrid zone existed in Greece, it is not of much value.

Λύκος,—*Canis Lupus*.

The wolf is often mentioned by Homer; the following is one of his descriptions from the *Iliad*, B. XVI. l. 156.

λύκαι ὧς
 ὠμοφάγαι, τοῖσιν τε παρὶ φρεσὶν ἄσπατος ἄλκι,
 οἳ τ' ἔλαφον κεραὺν μέγαν οὔρεσι θηώσαντες,
 δάπτουσιν · πᾶσιν δὲ παρήϊον αἷματι φοινόν.
 καὶ τ' ἀγαληθὸν ἴατον ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου
 λάβοντες γλώσσοισιν ἀραῆσιν μέλαν ὕδωρ
 ἄσπον, ἐρευγόμενοι φόνον αἵματος · ἐν δὲ τε θυμὸς
 στήθεσιν ἄτρομός ἐστι, περισσένεται δὲ τε γαστήρ.

"Like wolves

The raw-devouring, and endowed with force immense,
 Which killing a huge antlered stag devour him on the hills ;
 And while the jaws of all of them are ruddy with the blood,
 They rush in troops, from some dark spring
 To lap with slender tongues the surface of the stream,
 Belching forth the clots of gore, while the courage in their hearts
 Is dauntless, as their bellies are filled to satiety."

Wolves are also called by Homer *πολιοί*, "gray." These animals were very abundant in Greece in ancient times, as is seen from Plutarch, in his life of Solon:—"The Athenians, because their fields were better for pasture than corn, were from the beginning great enemies to the wolves." Apollo is also called *λύκαιος* and *λυκαοκτόνος*, from his aid in their destruction.

(To be completed in Part XIV.)

XXI.

THE BRITISH EXPEDITIONS OF C. JULIUS CÆSAR.

THERE is perhaps little to add on this subject that is new ; but as I happened lately to read Dr. Halley's remarks upon it, I have thought that it may be useful to revive the substance of them, with some few additional observations. The Essay of Halley is characterized by a clearness and convincingness that are seldom displayed by professed antiquarians ; indeed, few men have possessed so sound and vigorous an understanding.

The time and place of Cæsar's landing in Britain in his first expedition are fixed by Dr. Halley as follows. (*The Philoso-*

phical Transactions and Collections, Abridged to the end of the year 1700, by John Lowthorp, Vol. III. p. 412.) The first expedition was in B. C. 55, in the consulship of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, and M. Licinius Crassus. The season is indicated by Cæsar's expression that a small part of the summer remained. (*De Bell. Gall.*, IV. 20.) He reached the coast of Britain about the fourth hour, (IV. 23.) which, according to the Roman mode of dividing the day, would be between nine and ten in the morning. He found the enemy on the cliffs, which he describes as so near to the sea, that a missile could be thrown from the higher ground upon the shore. These cliffs, (montes,) are admitted to be the chalk rocks of Dover and the South Foreland. Cæsar cast anchor here, and staid till the ninth hour, which would be till about three in the afternoon, at which time, having the wind and tide (ventum et æstum) with him, he sailed eight (most M.SS. read VII.) Roman miles, and anchored in an open and level shore, (aperto ac plano litore naves constituit) and here he landed. After being four days in Britain, there was a full moon, (eadem nocte, IV. 29.) which, as Cæsar observes, makes the greatest tides in the ocean; and as the Romans were ignorant of this, their gallies, which were drawn on shore, were filled with water. He proceeds to say that the autumnal equinox (propinqua die æquinocitii, IV. 36.) was now near, and after some days' stay, he returned to Gallia.

Halley determines the precise day of the landing as follows:—It appears from the eclipse of the moon, which Drusus made use of to quiet the revolt of the Pannonian army on the news of the death of Augustus, (Tacitus, *Annal.* I. 28.) that Augustus died A. D. 14, or A. V. C. 767; and the landing of Cæsar was 68 years before, or B. C. 55. In this year, B. C. 55, the full moon fell out August 30. after midnight, or 31. in the morning before day. The preceding full moon was August 1. soon after noon, which is therefore not the full moon mentioned by Cæsar; nor could the full moon which is mentioned by Cæsar be the full moon in the beginning of July, for that moon would not be ten days after the summer solstice; and Cæsar could not have said, as he does say, that he sailed for Britain when a small part of the summer was left. The full moon mentioned by Cæsar was therefore the full moon on the 30th of August, at night; and Cæsar landed in Britain on the 26th of August, in the afternoon, about a month before the autumnal equinox.

I am informed by Professor De Morgan, that in a MS. memorandum of the late Francis Baily, there is the following remark,—"full moon at B.C. 55, August 30, at night; therefore Cæsar landed August 26." Professor De Morgan informs me that by an independent calculation he has arrived at the same result.

Halley observes, that as it is admitted that the high lands off which Cæsar anchored were the cliffs of Dover, or the cliffs in that neighbourhood, it only remains to see whether he sailed north or south to find a landing-place. The data which Halley takes to determine this are: 1. That it was four days before the full moon. 2. That that day, by three of the clock in the afternoon, the tide ran the same way that he sailed. 3. That a S. by E. moon makes high water on all that coast, the flood coming from the southward. Hence it will follow, that on that day it was high water at Cæsar's anchorage, about eight in the morning, and consequently low water about two; about three the flood-tide would be set in, and Cæsar says that he went with it; and as the flood sets to the northward, it is plain that the open coast to which he was carried, was the Downs, or the coast of Deal.

The circumstances of the second expedition and landing, are briefly these: Cæsar left Gallia (v. 8.) with five legions, and 2000 horse. He sailed from the Portus Itius at sunset, and the length of the passage he estimates at 30 Roman miles, (v. 2.) The wind was "*lenis Africus*," which Dr. Halley takes to be S.W. About midnight the wind fell, and he could not keep his course. Being carried along by the tide, at day-break he saw that he had left Britain on the left hand. The tide then turned, and the ships were rowed to that part of the island where he had landed the year before;¹ which, as above shown, is the coast at, or about Deal. The situation of the Portus Itius is taken by Halley to be either Ambleteuse or Calais, because Ptolemy calls the Promontory of Calais cliffs, *Ἰκον ἄκρον*, and

¹ Cæsar says, (v. 8.) "*tum rursus sestus commutationem secutus remis contendit ut eam partem insulæ caperet, qua optimum esse egressum superiore sætate cognoverat. Qua in re.*" Drumann, *Geschichte Roms. Iulii*, p. 131, observes, that Dion (xv. 1.) "*observes, that Cæsar landed here in his first expedition; Cæsar does not say so, but it is*

probable." Certainly Cæsar does not say that he did *land* at the same place; but he says that his men rowed for the place where he had landed the year before; and he proceeds to say that a landing was made, which, according to common use of language, means at the place for which they were rowing.

it is reasonable to conclude that the Portus Itius was very near thereto. D'Anville (*Notice de la Gaule*, Itius Portus) assents to the opinion of Du Cange, that Itius is Wit-sand, or, as it is generally written and pronounced, Wissan, which is at the bottom of a cove between Gris-nez, which he assumes to be the Promontorium Itium, and another point called Blanc-nez. But D'Anville adopts the erroneous opinion that Cæsar landed at Hythe, which is clearly shewn to be false by Halley's reasoning. As the place of Cæsar's landing is certain, we must make use of that fact to assist us in determining the position of Itius, rather than assume the position of Itius in order to the determining of the landing place of Cæsar. It is sometimes assumed that Cæsar sailed from the Portus Itius on his first expedition, but he does not say so; and a comparison of the two passages (iv. 21. and v. 2.) rather leads to the conclusion that he did not. Strabo (p. 199. ed. Casaub.) has confounded the two expeditions.

Halley argues on the supposition of the Portus Itius being either Calais or Ambleuse, and the "Africus" being a S.W. wind, that Cæsar's course must have been about N.W., for he supposes that a ship in those times could hardly sail nearer to the wind than eight points. Now this course, he argues, would carry Cæsar to the Downs, but would not bring him to the low tract towards Dungeness, which is about W. of Calais, and not more than W.N.W. of Boulogne, even if that should be taken to be the Portus Itius. Whence Halley concludes, that if Cæsar was not bound more northerly than the South Foreland, he could not have thought the Africus, a S.W. wind, proper for his passage, his object being to land where he landed the year before.

The Africus, of course, was a name given in Italy to the wind which blew from Africa, but it had a reference to a definite point of the compass. Due south is Auster or Notus; the Africus was "ab occasu brumali," (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 47.) and Bruma is the winter solstice. The Africus therefore would be north of S.W. if we take Pliny's definition of Africus, and Cæsar's course would be to the north of N.W., upon Halley's supposition of the ancients' capacity for sailing; and this may help to explain how he got so far out of his course as to leave the isle of Thanet on his left; for this was the part of Britain that he first saw in his second voyage.

Dion Cassius (xxxiv. 51.) states, that Cæsar, after anchor-

ing, sailed round a promontory, and directed his course to the other direction, (*ἔκραν τινα προέχουσαν ἑτέρως παρεκκρίσθη.*) Halley remarks, the only promontories on the coast are Dungeness and the South Foreland; but it could not be Dungeness, because Cæsar sailed eight Roman miles from the place where he anchored to the place where he landed; and Dungeness is 20 miles from Dover, direct distance. Accordingly, he concludes that the promontory of Dion is the South Foreland, and Cæsar must have anchored off Dover, for eight miles sail from Dover, round a promontory, would bring him to the shore which he describes in his fourth book as "apertum et planum," and in his fifth book as "molle ac apertum." Reimarus, in his notes to Dion Cassius, (xxxix. 51.) refers to Halley's paper in the Transactions, but commits the stupid blunder of saying that Halley has remarked that Cæsar sailed south from "Dower," as the learned editor writes it, though the object of Halley's paper is to show that he sailed north.

Dion Cassius (xxxix. 51.) says that the barbarians opposed Cæsar on his landing in the shallow waters (*εἰς τὰ τενάρη,*) which term is not to be taken as meaning swampy places; *τέναρος* simply means "a shallow," as appears from Herodotus (viii. 129.) and other writers. "And so," observes Halley, "this objection against the assertion that Cæsar landed in the Downs, which is known to be a firm champaign country, without fens or morasses, will be removed; and the whole argument will, 'tis hoped, be admitted by the curious."

If, however, any of those who maintain the opinion that Cæsar landed in a swamp, insist much on that point, they may be answered by saying that he landed a little north of Deal, at the outlet of the Stour.²

After Cæsar had landed, in his second expedition, he advanced

² In my notes to the translation of Plutarch's Life of Cæsar, I remarked (note to chap. 23.) that he landed on the coast of Kent; either at Deal, or between Sandgate and Hythe. The assertion was safe enough, for he could not land anywhere else; but I regret that I had not time to investigate the subject then, being fully occupied with the various matters which the notes required. I take this opportunity of referring to

another note in the same translation, (c. 22.) in which I have given the substance of an excellent German essay on Cæsar's passage of the Rhine; in which the writer proves, most clearly, that Cæsar crossed that river, near Coblenz, and below that city. The establishment of such points in the northern campaigns of the illustrious Roman, is well worth the labour.

into the interior with part of his forces. After marching twelve Roman miles, (v. 9.) he spied the enemy, who advanced with their cavalry and chariots to a river, and from higher ground (*ex loco superiore*) attempted to repel the Romans. The Britons evidently made a stand on the higher ground of a stream, which the Romans had to cross from the other side. Now, as the Romans advanced from the Downs, as here assumed, they would first come to the smaller branch of the Stour, which is a very inconsiderable stream; but if they advanced twelve Roman miles, they would come upon the main branch of the Stour, a few miles below Canterbury; and the west bank of this river is high land, and the east side is low; and this is just the position which Cæsar describes. Gale, in his paper hereafter referred to, fixes on the same place; but he does not remark that the banks are high, which is the case. If Cæsar had advanced twelve miles from Hythe, the only stream that he would find would be the upper water of the Stour about Ashford, which is there a very inconsiderable stream, and the banks do not answer the description of Cæsar. Camden (*Britannia*, p. 238, ed. Gibson) says there is a tradition that Cæsar encamped at Chilham, or Julham, and he thinks that this is the place where Cæsar encamped after beating the Britons on the river; he adds that it is exactly twelve miles from the coast; but a note on the margin truly observes, "it is said to be more." In fact it is 19 English miles from Deal, direct distance. Camden adds, "nor is there a river between." But the smaller branch of the Stour is between. The value of the tradition of the name Julham may be left out in the account. The enemy were driven back from the river, and retired into the woods and hills; which hills may be the elevations N.W. of Canterbury, about Herne Hill.

Cæsar's course was to the Thames, (*Thamesis*), which he places 80 Roman miles from the sea; and this means that the point to which he was making was 80 miles from the place where he landed. He knew nothing of the course of the Thames, and he pretends to know nothing. With that singular good sense and perspicuity which characterize his writings, he tells us simply what is to the purpose, and what he knows. The Thames—all that he knew of the Thames—was 80 Roman miles from the sea, which means that part of the sea which concerns his narrative.

On arriving at the Thames, he found Cassivellaunus on the opposite side with a large force, and the bank defended with sharp stakes. Stakes of the same kind were also fixed in the stream, under the water. The Romans, however, crossed the river, and the Britons fled.

This, says Cæsar, was the only place where the Thames could be forded; which means, of course, the only place up to that point. Whether there were really other places below this point where the river could be forded, is immaterial; it was the lowest ford that he had any information about. No conclusion can be derived as to the passage of the Thames from this statement about the ford; but there is other evidence about it which is somewhat curious. Bede, in his history, quoted by Reimarus in his note on Dion Cassius, (XL. 3.) speaks of stakes in the Thames, which Bede believes to be the stakes mentioned by Cæsar, as being visible in his time, though he does not say that he had seen them; he says they are as thick as a man's thigh, and being surrounded with lead, are immoveably fixed in the river. Cæsar says nothing of the lead; nor does Bede (I. 2.) fix the position of the stakes; nor does he say that he had seen them. Camden (*Britannia*, p. 182, ed. Gibson) takes Cæsar's ford to be at Cowey Stakes, near Oatlands, on the Thames, near the confluence of the Wey. There is a paper in the *Archæologia*, (I. 184.) by Mr. Samuel Gale, on these Cowey Stakes. He says that the wood of these stakes has become so hard as to resemble ebony; and it is evident, from the exterior grain, that the stakes were the entire bodies of young oaks. The distance of Oatlands from the Downs, agrees with Cæsar's distance of eighty miles, and Camden remarks:—"Now this ford we speak of is at the same distance from the sea, and I am the first that I know of who has mentioned and settled it in its proper place." Gale adds, in a note to his paper in the *Archæologia*,—"Since the writing of this, one of the stakes, entire, was actually weighed up between two loaded barges, at the time of a great flood, by the late Rev. M^r. Clark, Junior, of Long Ditton."

It is not possible to trace Cæsar's course north of the Thames. There were no roads or regular built towns by which he could indicate his course. The position of the British town of Cassivellanus, which was merely a spot defended by a ditch and rampart, (v. 21.) is uncertain; and Cæsar gave it no name: all conjecture about it is mere guessing. He returned to the coast,

but he does not say by what route. He left the island near the time of the autumnal equinox, B.C. 54.

Q. Cicero, the brother of the orator Marcus, accompanied Cæsar in his second expedition to Britain; and Marcus sent several letters to Quintus while he was in Britain, and received several from him. (*Ad Quint. Fratr.* III. 1.) One letter from Quintus was dated the 10th of August, according to the unreformed calendar, which Marcus received on the 13th of September. Quintus sent another letter, from Britain, on the 25th of September. (Cicero, *Ad Attic.* IV. 17.) Marcus Cicero also corresponded with Cæsar while Cæsar was in Britain. Cæsar wrote a letter on the 1st of September, which Cicero received on the 27th of September, (*Ad Quint. Fratr.* III. 1. § 7.) Cæsar wrote again to Cicero (*Ad Attic.* IV. 17.) on the 25th of September, at the same time that Quintus wrote, at which time Cæsar was thinking of leaving the island; and he actually left about the equinox, or the 25th September of the reformed calendar. Cicero received Cæsar's last letter on the 22d of October of the unreformed calendar. Cicero's letter to his brother Quintus, (*Ad Quint. Fratr.* III. 1.) mentions the letter of Quintus, which was dated from Britain on the 10th of August, and the letter of Cæsar, dated on the 1st of September. Cæsar explains to Marcus why no letter from Quintus accompanied his own letter, by informing him that Quintus was not with him when he had come to the coast. Quintus, therefore, appears to have brought up the rear of the army in its retreat. Cicero (*Ad Quint. Fratr.*, III. 1. § 7.) tells his brother that he had not answered Cæsar's letter of the 1st of September, on account of Cæsar's sorrow. Cicero alludes to the death of Julia, Cæsar's daughter, which probably took place in September, B.C. 54. The first letter of the third book of the letters of Marcus to Quintus, could not have reached the British coast before Quintus left it. He would get the letter soon after he returned to the Gallic coast. When Marcus wrote this letter, he knew that intelligence had been dispatched to Cæsar of his daughter's death, and that he would receive it before he could receive a letter from Marcus in reply to that of the 1st of September. Plutarch (Cæsar. 23.) says that Cæsar, on returning to the Gallic coast, found letters which were just going to cross over to him. These letters informed Cæsar of the death of Julia, his only child.

There are two papers in the *Archæologia* (II. 134.) by Daines

Barrington, on Cæsar's invasion of Britain, and more particularly his passage across the Thames. He says, "There seems to have never been a worse planned or conducted enterprise than each of these invasions." If, in place of "invasions," the reader will put "papers," he will have a very correct notion of this gentleman's two essays. In his second paper, he endeavours to shew that Cæsar did not cross the Thames; and that the river which he calls the Thames, was the Medway. His remarks on the inconclusive nature of the evidence which Camden derives from the Cowey Stakes, are the only part of the essay that is worth reading. He suggests that these stakes are only "the remains of a fishing wear; so many of which, in the Thames particularly, are directed to be destroyed by the 23d chapter of *Magna Charta*." He also says that the stakes lie across the stream of the Thames; and, if his delineation is correct, there is only a single line of them; and he says that such stakes could not possibly have obstructed the passage of an army, for, to answer that purpose, they should have been fixed in the direction of the stream, and, according to his figure, in a single line, close to the Middlesex bank. But if there was more than a single line of stakes across the river, such stakes would also make a line in the direction of the river, and form an obstacle to an army; and it is not certain, so far as he shows, that there is only a single line across the river. The stakes may perhaps deserve some further examination, if they still exist.

As a sample of Barrington's accumulation of impertinent (I mean non-pertinent) arguments, I select the following:—"Cæsar twice mentions this name (Thames); but dwells not at all upon its beauties, tide, or other circumstances, which must have necessarily struck him. He does not moreover seem to have heard of such a city as London, upon the banks of the river; which Tacitus describes as being a place of great trade in the time of Nero, (*Annal.* XIV. 33.) and Ammianus Marcellinus calls, not only a flourishing, but ancient town. On the contrary, Cæsar describes the Britons as living merely within a trench and fortification of wood, without mention of even a covered hut." Those who are acquainted with Cæsar's Commentaries, will remember the expression "*creberrima ædificia, fere Gallicis consimilia*," (v. 12.) Barrington's conclusion ought to be that Cæsar never was in Britain.

To strengthen his argument, Barrington communicates, in a

third paper, some remarks of the Rev. Dr. Owen, on the time employed in Cæsar's two expeditions into Britain; which remarks, he informs us, in a note, "are printed from some scraps of paper, just as they occurred to him upon reading Cæsar's account of his invasion of Britain." The length of time that the first expedition occupied is given correctly enough. As to the time employed in the second expedition, the Doctor assumes, for certain reasons, that Cæsar landed in Britain, in his second expedition, about the same time in both years, or rather, about eleven days sooner in the second expedition, and about the 19th or 20th of August. He quitted Britain, according to the Doctor, about the 19th of September; and his whole stay was therefore about thirty-two days. He then concludes, that if we consider how he was occupied, he could not, in this space of time, have advanced to the Thames, crossed, and advanced some distance north of it, and returned to his ships—"maugre all the inconveniences and embarrassments mentioned by him, 180 miles in the compass of 20 days." He deducts ten days for the refitting of the ships, and two more for the time (*aliquamdiu*) which Cæsar waited before he went away. I am not inclined to admit the impossibility of Cæsar's doing all this in twenty days. But the true answer is, that the Doctor does not know how long Cæsar was in Britain, in this second expedition. Cæsar does not say that he set out on his second expedition, as he did on the first, near the close of summer. The second expedition to Britain chiefly occupied the campaign season of B.C. 54, as is apparent from Cæsar's own work, (v. 4.) It has already been mentioned that one letter, written from Quintus to his brother Marcus Cicero while he was in Britain, was dated 10th August, and another 25th September, according to the unreformed calendar. From these two letters alone, we therefore see that Cæsar was in Britain at least 45 days. This interval between two letters, agrees very well with a letter of Marcus to Quintus, (III. 3.) which we may presume to have been written just before he received the letter of the 25th of September, for he says, "it is now more than fifty days that I hear nothing from you, nothing from Cæsar; no news from your whereabouts, no letter, not even a rumour." Now the letter of the 10th August was received on the 13th September; and that of Cæsar, dated the 1st of September, on the 27th of September. Cicero was speaking very loosely, unless he wrote this letter to Quintus (III. 3.) just be-

fore the 22d of October, and was therein referring to the letter of Cæsar dated 1st September: the 29 days which September then had and 21 days of October make exactly 50 days. This letter to Quintus, (III. 3.) appears to show that Cicero had then received no news of the army leaving Britain; it was therefore written before the 17th letter of the 4th book to Atticus, in which he informs Atticus of receiving letters on the 22d of October, which informed him of the army being then about to leave Britain.

Cæsar left Britain, after his second expedition, a little before the equinox, (v. 23.); and as the Roman unreformed calendar was then in arrear, the above dates of the 25th September, and 10th of August, belong to an earlier period in the year than those dates respectively. Ideler makes this 25th of September of the unreformed calendar, correspond to the 31st of August of the Julian calendar. The letter of the 10th of August, therefore, from Quintus, belongs to the middle of July, and Cæsar was in Britain above 60 days at least, if he left after the 21st day of September of the reformed calendar.

If he did not in this time accomplish all that Barrington and Owen would have been able to do, if they had commanded, the great difficulties which these two gentlemen have supposed, for the purpose of showing that he got no further than the Medway, may excuse the Roman general. But he probably knew the business of war as well as they did, and so accomplished all that he could. The war of a large disciplined army in a new country, and against a barbarous people, is always slow and difficult, and not attended with the brilliant results that mark a regular campaign, where there are disciplined armies on both sides; as the experience of recent times has often shown. To suppose that any person who invaded Britain from the east coast of Kent, would not attempt to make his way to the Thames, and that if he had any success at all, he would not accomplish it, shows great ignorance on the part of these writers; but the curious reader may refer to these papers, and form his own judgment of them.³

GEORGE LONG.

³ It is from Drumann, (*Geschichte Roms*, Iulii, p. 303, n. 38,) that I learn that Ideler makes the 26th September (qu. 25th September) of the unreformed

Julian Calendar of B. C. 54, correspond to the 31st of August of the Julian Calendar. (Ideler, *Handb. d. Chronologie*, 2, 166.) I have not Ideler's book

XXII.

ON THE USE OF THE WORD 'Αριστοκρατία.

THERE is perhaps nothing which more strikes a modern reader as partaking of that character for disputations trifling with which the ancients have sometimes been charged, than the language which the Greeks held concerning Aristocracy. Not only do we find the necessary ambiguity resulting from the fact, that the term is used sometimes according to its etymological sense, as the government of the best,—and sometimes according to the subsequent sense which it still bears, as the government of nobles; but these two meanings seem to be so inextricably, even studiously interwoven, that serious arguments are founded upon them, which could have no weight except on the hypothesis that the two senses were united by a real, as well as an etymological, bond. Thus, in the dispute of the Seven Persians in Herodotus, (III. 81,) the advocate of Aristocracy against Democracy and Monarchy is made to say without contradiction,—*ἡμεῖς ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμολίην, τούτοις περιθέωμεν τὸ κράτος· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνέσομεθα ἄριστων τε ἀνδρῶν οἰκὸς ἄριστα βουλευόμενα γίνεσθαι*; where it is clear on the one hand, that the actual form advocated is purely a government of nobles; whilst, on the other hand, the arguments by which he supports it are drawn from the assumption, that it is also the government of the best. Such also seems to have been the feeling which lay at the root of the wish of many Athenians to establish an oligarchy in their country, instead of the existing democracy. Men like Antiphon and Crito and

to refer to. It appears that the year of confusion began on the 13th October, A. V. C. 707, (Cary, *Palæologia Chronica*, 167,) "which shews that the old Roman year at that time had run forward so much as is between the 13th of October and the 1st of January next ensuing, and that from the 13th of October to the 1st of January, twelve months after, are 445 days, as Censorinus hath stated it." This will make the "precipitation," as Cary calls it, in the year before the Julian emendation amount

to near three months, and would place Cæsar's landing in B. C. 54, in the latter part of May. It is clear that he did very little in B. C. 54, before his British campaign. It is however difficult to determine with any precision what was the amount of error in any given year before B. C. 46. Probably some person who has more inclination for these investigations may look still further into it. There are some remarks on this subject by Clinton, *Fasti, Introduction*, Vol. II.—G. L.

Plato, who felt that in the Athenian assemblies they were shorn of the influence naturally due to their talents, were by their very position disposed to favour a change of constitution. This, as Dr. Arnold has well shown in his note on Thucyd. VIII. 89, has always been the case with men similarly situated under any government. But the peculiarity of their case consisted in this, that the Utopia to which they looked forward as one in which merit was sure to meet its reward was always an aristocracy. Alcibiades alone may be an exception, if we are to suppose that there was any foundation for the charges against him, as aiming at a tyranny at the time of the mutilation of the Hermæ. Amongst all the other eminent men disaffected to the existing constitution, there seems to have prevailed but one political theory. Sparta—in itself one would have thought the most alien to the mind of a great Athenian—constantly floated before their imaginations, not merely as a source of temporary support, but as an image of ideal excellence. Hence, it would seem, the contrast which Pericles, throughout the Funeral Oration, draws between the Spartan and Athenian character, as if in covert reproach of the party who opposed themselves to him as the leader of the democracy;—hence the well-known Laconism of Plato and Xenophon—hence the close practical league which the disaffected party at Athens, during the close of the Peloponnesian war, cultivated with Sparta. And thus the disappointment of the more eminent of these revolutionists, which led to the reaction against the Four Hundred, seems to have been embittered by reflecting that the new constitution, which still denied them their due place in the government of the country, had been by them founded on the idea of the ascendancy of merit.

But this apparent confusion manifests itself most strongly in the systematic treatment of political science by Plato and Aristotle. In the Republic of Plato, it is needless to point out how constantly we recognize in his ideal polity the features of the Spartan aristocracy. And in the Politics of Aristotle, the *ἀριστοκρατία* of the Seventh Book, though evidently distinct from the existing constitution which bore that name, as being far more democratical, (see VII. 13,) yet has some peculiarities taken from it, apparently for no other reason than the identity of name, as, *e. g.* the occupation of strongholds in the country, (VII. 11,) which has an evident connection with a go-

vernment by nobles, but none whatever with an abstract idea of a perfect constitution.

The difficulties suggested by this seeming confusion are manifold. How, for instance, could they, with such a view, avoid the strange conclusion, that some actual government had realized that ideal perfection which all governments must attain, unless they cease to be governments altogether?¹ How again could any one form claim, as its distinguishing characteristic, appointment with regard to merit? And yet more, as we may be sure that no government in Aristotle's time did make its appointments uniformly with regard to merit, how could such a constitution as is described under the name of an aristocracy be distinguished from a mild oligarchy? And lastly, how is the blending of the actual aristocracy and the ideal polity so called, to be reconciled with the decided preference given in Aristotle (*Pol.* III. 10,) to democracy?

The best answer to these difficulties may perhaps be found by considering the actual history of the real, as distinct from the ideal, constitution known by the name ἀριστοκρατία. As described by Aristotle, it borders on the one side on a constitutional government (πολιτεία), on the other side on an oligarchy. Its main virtue is self-control, (σωφροσύνη,) (*Thucyd.* VIII. 64, 82, 17, 65.) Its main object is national education, (*Rhet.* I. 85.) Its distinguishing outward characteristics are *election*, (αἵρεσις,) as opposed to *lot*, (κλήρος,) in the appointment of its officers, in whom it looks only for merit. The officers most peculiar to it are παιδονόμοι, γυμνασιονόμοι, and νομοφύλακες. Locally it is distinguished from oligarchy and tyranny, whose seat is in the citadel, and from democracy, whose seat is in the market-place, by the occupation of strong places in the country, (*Pol.* VII. 11.) The most notable specimen of it in Greece, was the constitution of Lacedæmon, (*Pol.* II. 6; VII. 14.)

Now if we go back to its origin, we shall find it closely connected with the βασιλεία, or kingdom, with which, by Plato and Aristotle, it is so remarkably associated. In both (as distinguished from the other pure form of government, πολιτεία,) ἀρετή is said to be the ruling principle; both have a twofold meaning;

¹ Isocrates (*Panath.* 260,) states this difficulty strongly, when he asserts that an ἀριστοκρατία may exist equally under an ἰσχυραρχία, δημοκρατία, or μοναρχία;

and when he calls the Athenian government an ἀριστοκρατία. But this plainly was not the usual language either of philosophers or statesmen in Greece.

early times at once determined the governors of a nation; and to have disputed their right, would have seemed as unnatural as it would have been inexpedient. The διοτρέφες βασιλῆες of Homer, and the descendants of Odin amongst our own ancestors—the foundation of the fame of Danaus on his invention of wells, and of the Roman kings on their several institutions—the labours of Minos, Theseus, and Hercules, as well as of the knights of the feudal ages, in suppressing pirates, robbers, and monsters,—are obvious instances of the truth of Aristotle's assertion respecting the origin of monarchy.³

This fact was also strongly expressed in words. Carlyle has well shown, in his chapter on Realized Ideals, in his *History of the French Revolution*, how much more striking was the resemblance between names and realities in early than in later times, not because the governments themselves were better, but because the foundations on which they rested were then more clearly seen, than they had been since they have been overlaid by the systems of later civilization. Thus the government of nobles in Greece would naturally have been called the government of the best, (ἀριστοκρατία,) in the same way as the Teutonic chiefs were called by names which implied their strength or knowledge, (könig—king,) and the assembly of Saxon councillors, by names which denoted their wisdom, (witena-gemote.) Such must always be the case in those early ages, when words take their rise, and when men aim at their ends and act on their principles, with the rude straightforwardness of barbarism, rather than in those later ages, when words have become technical and crusted over with second intentions, and when the simplest end can be attained only by circuitous means and cumbrous machinery, and the most obvious principles are perplexed by counteracting maxims and circumstances. The same tendency is discoverable in early legislation. It has been observed by Guizot, that the direct recognitions of virtue, and formal prohibitions of vice, which abound in the codes of the early Franks, diminish under the Carolingians, and finally disappear at a later period, (*Civil. de France*, II. 32.); a fact which indi-

³ διὰ τῶν ἰσως βασιλιεύοντο πρότερον, ὅτι σπάνιον ἢ ὑγρῶν ἀνδρες πολλὸν διαφέρουσας παρ' ἀρετῆν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τότε μικρὰς αἰεῦντας πόλεις· ἵτι δ' ἅπ' ὑπεργνώσας καθίστασαν εὐς βασιλεῖς, ὅτις ἔστιν ἔργον

τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν·· ἵτι δ' συνίσταται γίγνισθαι πόλεις ὁμοῖες πρὸς ἀρετὴν, ὅταν ὑπάρκουν ἀλλ' ἰζήτουν καίον τε καὶ πολυταίαν καθίστασαν.—(*Pol.* III. 14.)

cates, not of course that rapine and murder were more effectually suppressed throughout Europe in the days of the Merovingians than they are at present, but that the moral end and origin of government was then acted upon and seen, not indirectly, but directly.

The name then seems to have *originated*, first, in the real coincidence of early aristocracies or oligarchies with the best conceivable government under existing circumstances; and secondly, in the tendency of a simple age to express this coincidence in language. Had the only constitution of those times been monarchy, there seems every reason to suppose that the title ἀριστοκρατία would have been appropriated to it, as in fact it was in the Teutonic nations, as before alluded to, under the name of "könig," or "king," and as it is more or less in the polity of Plato; but, this not being the case, it became fixed in the form which generally prevailed, and was perpetuated accordingly. This brings us to the reason why, in later times, when other governments had arisen, which must of necessity have laid claim ultimately to regard for merit, the name and dignity of an ἀριστοκρατία was still assumed by the oligarchical forms of constitution, and its assumption by them acknowledged in other states. The name would be naturally retained by the governments which had once possessed it, so long as they themselves existed; the old βασιλεία, according to Aristotle (*Pol.* III. 14,) and Thucydides (I. 13,) speedily became extinct; but their more extended development, in what were more usually termed ἀριστοκρατίαι, lingered on in Lacedæmon and other parts of Greece, where a concurrence of circumstances tended to preserve the old state of things unaltered. It was thus not in its character of exclusive government, but in its character of an ancient state, that Sparta was so actively engaged in suppressing what, but for their novelty, might have seemed the kindred governments of "Tyranny;" it was in this character also that she so long retained her practical influence, as the natural mistress and protectress of Greece.

An honourable title, thus possessed, would not be lost, unless some rival power disputed it. Even if there is a tangible good to be gained, it is seldom that an ancient name can be transferred from one object to another, much less if there is any other impediment to the alteration. In Greece, moreover, there were especial reasons why it should not have been claimed by oligarchies or democracies. For by "oligarchies," in the

strict sense of the term, the Greeks understood those governments of a few, which, either as being newly established or altered in form, and founded usually on commercial principles, were divested of the hallowed associations which clung to the princely and heroic constitutions of ancient times. It was a difference not of degree, but of kind. The mere accidental circumstance of similarity in the number of the governors, could not efface the chasm which existed between the colonial oligarchy⁴ of Corcyra, and the national aristocracies of Crete and Sparta, although political partizanship might at times create a strong sympathy between them. In the case of such money-getting states, as Corcyra, the truth forced itself on mankind, and expressed itself in language, that the government of a few was now only the government of a few and nothing more—that it had the evil of exclusiveness without its good—that it was *ὀλιγαρχία*, and not *ἀριστοκρατία*. Similar causes would also operate in preventing the claim from being put forward by democracies. And here two other reasons would also interfere. First, the principle which the commons were compelled to assert, was by their very position not so much the ascendancy of merit, as the relief of the oppressed; whatever consciousness they may have had of their own moral approximation to the few, was not so much an acknowledged fact to which they could appeal, as an overwhelming motive urging them to proceed. Secondly, the history of the struggles of the Roman Plebs, between the years U.C. 311–389, shows how essential it must have been to their success, to put forward a definite cry of the interests of the *δῆμος*, rather than a vague watchword of the interests of merit, which would have afforded so wide an opening for all the influences so powerfully exercised by the Roman patricians. From the same cause, it became characteristic of democracies to institute election by lot for election by suffrage; an institution which, considered abstractedly, would seem to diminish rather than increase the influence of the people—but which was in fact intended as a measure to prevent the otherwise probable occupation of all offices by the nobles, exactly

⁴ Thus Aristotle repeatedly insists on the fact, that the leading difference between an oligarchy and a democracy, lies in the preference given by the former (not to exclusiveness, but) to

wealth; and that, if it were possible for the governing majority of a state to be also the most wealthy, that state would not be a democracy, but an oligarchy.

analogous to the Lex Licinia, which, in excluding the plebeians from the power of filling up one of the consulships, far more effectually secured to them the other, than if both had been left nominally open to them.

There being then this clear difference between the "aristocracy," properly so called, as the constitution of the heroic ages, —and the "oligarchy" and "democracy," properly so called, as being the constitutions of later ages; it only remains to be seen how far there was any ground for the tendency of the Greeks to blend the attributes of this actual "aristocracy" with those of the ideal and perfect polity, further than appears from what has been already stated. That the old aristocracies had no such inherent and indisputable superiority over the constitutions of a later date, is obvious from the very fact of those later governments having arisen. To use the language of Aristotle, in the passage so often referred to, the moral and intellectual powers which had at first been possessed only by a few, were shared by an ever-increasing number of the community—who thus became naturally entitled, as they were naturally qualified, to a greater share in the government than they had before possessed. But however much this may have been the case, there must have been some ground, not merely in words, but in things, for the notion in question.⁵ In a people so susceptible

⁵ It may not be uninteresting to give a list, which might easily be enlarged, of words which from a general sense have passed into the half-cant, or slang phraseology of Greek politics: and it is curious how many of them are to be found in that remarkable sketch of the whole progress of a Greek revolution which we possess in the viiith Book of Thucydides.

- (1.) *πονηρίς*, in the sense, not of general wickedness, but of the low meanness of the rabble or extreme democracy. —Thuc. vi. 53, 89; viii. 47, 73, 97; Arist. *Pol.* iv. 8; v. 11; Aristoph. *Eq.* 185, 186; *Nub.* 101, 102.
- (2.) *καλοκαγαθίς*, in the sense of "gentlemen," and hence, especially of the "higher orders," or "the aristocracy;" a meaning too well known to need illustration, except for the sake of the

striking instance of it in Thucyd. viii. 48, and the antithesis in which it stands to *πονηρίς* in the two passages above quoted from Aristophanes.

- (3.) *ισομιμῆς*, like the Latin "boni," "optimates," in the same sense as *καλοκαγαθίς*.
- (4.) *δυνατοί*, again in the same sense, "the higher orders;" but a name not like the two former, assumed by themselves, but applied to them by those who considered themselves oppressed. (Compare the sense of *δυναστεία*, in Arist. *Pol.* iv. 5; Thuc. vii. 62, in the sense, not generally of "oppression," but specially "of aristocratical oppression.") —Thucyd. *passim*, but especially viii. 21, 48, 44, 63, 90.
- (5.) *εὐφροσύνη*, (as applied specially to the temper of oligarchies or aristocracies.) Thuc. i. 84; iii. 65, 82,

—so implicitly trusting—so enslaved to the meaning of words as were the Greeks, with words so fraught with philosophical truths, and so calculated to influence a nation, as were the words of the Greek language, it is not surprising that even the mere name of ἀριστοκρατία, should have on the one hand really tended to preserve a higher standard among those states to which it was applied; and on the other hand, led others to suppose that they really contained a living principle of virtue in a greater measure than usual, and that however much they failed of realizing their theory, yet still that their theory was itself good and noble, and that whoever drank freely of the spirit of their constitution would receive only good, whereas he who drank of the spirit of later governments would receive good mixed with much evil. If the mere sight of the rocks of the Pnyx was sufficient to inspire the Athenian populace with a totally distinct frame of mind, (Aristoph. *Eq.* 750,) if the mere sound of the word “tyranny” was sufficient to throw them into a frenzy, (Thucyd. vi. 53.), we can well understand how a veneration for the title and forms of the constitutions, which lingered amongst the mountains of the Peloponnesus, should still so sway the mind of Greece, that no democratical or oligarchical tendencies could easily counteract its influence.

There was, moreover, one feature peculiar to the older governments, which entitled them to peculiar respect. In them, and not in the new constitutions, whose very origin set them free more or less from the restraint of ancient ties, was to be found a deep reverence for law,—a controul exercised by law over the mass of society. Education, according to the spirit of the constitution, (παιδεία πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν) was the especial aim—self-controul (σωφροσύνη) the especial virtue—of those govern-

84; viii. 53, 64; ἀνολεσμία, (as applied specially to the vice of democracies.) Thuc. vi. 89. For the great fact on which this difference of meaning is based, see *Ar. Pol.* iv. 3.

(6.) *ἰσημερία*, as the especial virtue of aristocratical constitutions.—Thuc. viii. 64; *Arist. Pol.* iv. 8. See *Pindar passim*, for its especial application to Corinth.

(7.) *ἰσμενίδιος*, in the sense of “fit,” or “congenial, in a political and party point of view.”—Thuc. vii. 40; v. 64,

82; iv. 78; vii. 73, 86; viii. 17, 46, 47, 48, 63, 64, 70.

(8.) *κατασκευασμένοι*, especially of the distress suffered by the rich from the public burdens.—Thuc. viii. 47, 63.

(9.) *ἰσόμενα*, political agreement.—Thuc. viii. 76, 93. Compare Aristotle's definition of it, as *πολιτικὴ φιλία*.—*Eth.* ix.

(10.) *μηδ' ἑαυτοῖς*, used for one party keeping watch on another.—Thuc. vi. 40; viii. 69, 73.

ments which most nearly approached antiquity. Obedience to law is the very essence of the Spartan character. It has been described as such once for all by Herodotus in the argument which he makes Demaratus hold with Xerxes, (vii. 104.) It has been exemplified in the celebrated epitaph of those who died at Thermopylae, (vii. 228.) Such a feeling, valuable at all times, was especially valuable, and especially suited to be a safeguard of virtue, in an age when human law was regarded as the great—almost the only fixed—sanction of right and wrong. It is the same spirit which animated the party of Aristophanes against the sophists of Athens, whose disputations had the effect of weakening their respect for law. In proportion as this principle was the ideal rule of aristocracies, and in proportion to its especial sacredness, was the horror entertained in them against any violation of it, and the mischief attendant on such violation. Unconstitutional conduct (*παράνομία*) was with the Spartans the worst of crimes, and as from the strictness with which the bond of law was kept up resulted the peculiar purity of their internal relations, so from the same cause resulted the peculiar vices of their external relations, when they escaped from its restraint. Like children who have been held in leading-strings, they rushed into excesses at the slightest relaxation. The Harmosts of Sparta, who were sent out to govern foreign countries, were notorious for the lawlessness of their proceedings, (Thucyd. iv. 132.) Pausanias was dazzled and intoxicated as soon as he came into contact with Persian grandeur, (Thucyd. i. 133.) The Athenians appeal to the heartless indifference of the Spartans towards their allies, as a well known fact, (Thucyd. v. 109.) and nowhere does the licentiousness and lawlessness (*ἀνολοσία*) of heathen manners appear more remarkably than in those Dorian aristocracies of Magna Grecia, which had been transformed into oligarchies. It is an instance of the proverb, "A beggar mounted runs his horse to death."

It would thus seem that the identification of the *ἀριστοκρατία* with the ideal polity, was the result, not so much of a strong antipopular feeling, but of a strong reverence for antiquity, especially in regard to the influence of law. The process of this identification may be illustrated by the process which identified the character of ideal wickedness with the "tyranny," except that in the case of aristocracy the name of the ideal was conferred on the actual; whilst in the case of a tyranny, the

actual was conferred on the ideal. In the case of the aristocracy, the name of perfect government was never torn asunder completely from the form which was once supposed so nearly to have approached it; and therefore when, in after times, men wished to embody the great ideas which they had conceived of perfect politics, they naturally turned to the body in which these ideas had been clothed before. In the case of the tyranny, the fact that an ambitious and selfish government had been first fully exemplified in a usurping "prince," or stamped the once honourable name of members of the royal families, τύραννος, with a stain of perpetual infamy, and impressed the Greeks with the notion that no name could be so fitly applied to the principle of the utmost possible misgovernment, as the name which described the order of those who first broke down the ancient system of states by their usurpation. Just in the same manner the name Reynard was applied to the abstract idea of cunning in the fox, from the cunning Prince of that name in the middle ages; and the names of Whig and Tory to the respective principles which they designate, from their accidental exemplifications in the Scotch Covenanters and Irish marauders. Thus, as the Greek took no account in the one case of misgoverned aristocracies, so in the other case he took no account of well-governed tyrannies; as in the one case the virtue of the citizen could be developed perfectly only in the ἀριστοκρατία, (*Ar. Pol.* III. 4,) so in the other case the τυραννικός was held to be only imperfectly wicked, until he was armed with the actual power of the τύραννος, (*Plato, Rep.* VIII.)

This representation of ἀριστοκρατία will enable us to arrange the seemingly discordant classification of constitutions in the works of Greek authors. The two scientific divisions in the *Ethics* (VIII.) and *Politics* (III.) coincide exactly, with the exception of the substitution of πολιτεία in *Pol.* III., for τυμοκρατία in *Eth.* VIII. With these also agrees that in *Isoc. Panath.* 260; because, though he only enumerates *three*, viz., oligarchy, democracy, and monarchy, yet his position, that in each of these the government may, or may not, be conducted on principles of aristocracy, shews that they would accordingly be split up into three pure, or three corrupt forms. The four forms in the VIIIth and IXth Books of *Plato's Republic*, in *Xenophon's Agesilaus*, and in *Aristotle's Rhetoric*, might be expected *a priori* to coincide with each other, and to differ from those in the *Ethics*

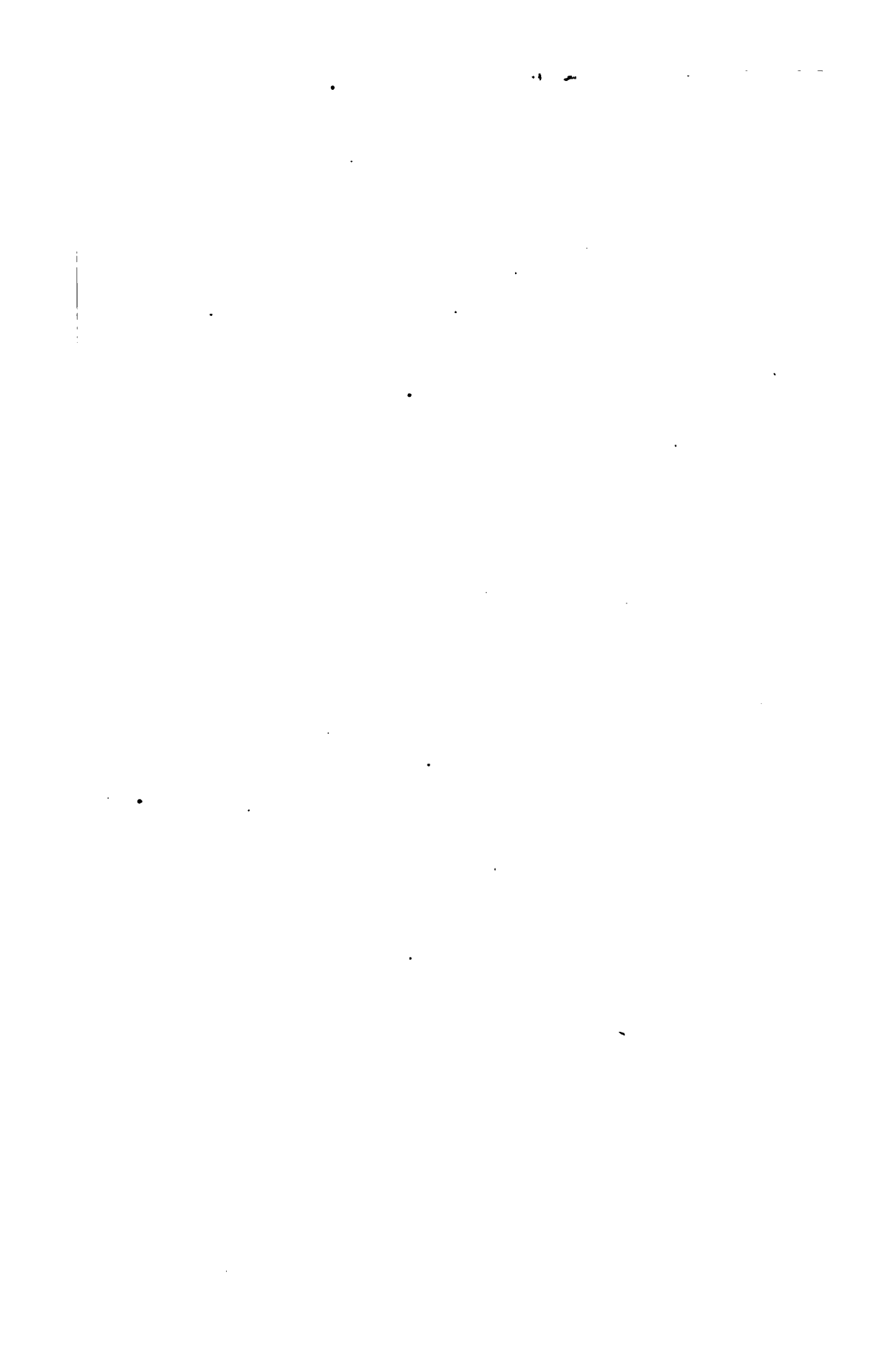
and *Politics*, for this plain reason, that the ideal or scientific arrangement which Aristotle followed in the two last named treatises, is superseded in these by a representation of the actually existing order of things. From this same cause, however, these four forms will be found to coincide with four out of the six forms in the *Ethics* and *Politics*, viz. the three corrupt forms, and that which, under the name of πολιτεία in the *Politics*, and of τυμοκρατία in the *Ethics*, is distinguished from the other two pure forms, as being not merely ideal, but actual. We shall find accordingly, that in adjusting these distributions of the existing constitutions of Greece, in Plato, Xenophon, the *Rhetoric*, the *Ethics*, and the *Politics*, the ὀλιγαρχία and δημοκρατία occur in all, and will therefore be allowed in all to coincide. The τυραννίς also of Plato, of Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, and of Xenophon, will be identified with one of the two sub-divisions into which Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* divides μοναρχία, viz., τυραννίς; the other sub-division being ἡ κατὰ τάξιν. It remains, therefore, to see whether, under the only remaining form of government in these classifications, we are to find merely different names for the same constitution, or different constitutions. There will be little difficulty in identifying the ἀριστοκρατία of the *Rhetoric* with the κρητικὴ ἀριστοκρατία of Plato; or in perceiving that both of these terms answer exactly to that milder and more ancient form of government, which we have shewn to be the only proper representative of the Greek ἀριστοκρατία. Further, this ἀριστοκρατία having, as we have seen, much more in common with the old βασιλεία of the heroic ages than with the more modern ὀλιγαρχία, may fairly be assumed to agree with Xenophon's βασιλεία, which would be taken from the Spartan constitution, as it appeared when the regal element was strongly brought forward, as in the person of Agesilaus. Lastly, if we examine the passage in Arist. *Pol.* iv. 7, when he describes what may be called the outlying constitutions—and of these, chiefly the ἀριστοκρατία in its actual state, as distinct from the ideal ἀριστοκρατία, which forms the subject of Arist. *Pol.* vii., we shall find that he considers it to be hardly discernible from the πολιτεία or τυμοκρατία of *Pol.* iii. and *Eth.* viii. For, having closed the chapter on the actual ἀριστοκρατία, he proceeds,—“We must now enquire about the form commonly called πολιτεία . . . which we have placed in this order, not as being a corrupt form any more than the

ἀριστοκρατία, of which we have first spoken, but because it and they have all fallen short of the most perfect form, and are thus numbered with the corruptions, although these corrupt forms are really corruptions of them." In other words, the likeness between the πολιτεία and the actual ἀριστοκρατία is so great, 1st, from their being the only two good forms of actual government, and 2dly, from a real similarity of external form, that the one may be made to stand for the other; as the πολιτεία stands for the actual ἀριστοκρατία in the regular enumeration in *Pol.* III. 6, so the ἀριστοκρατία stands for the πολιτεία in *Rhet.* I. 8. Each member in the different classifications is thus accounted for: the second sub-division of μοναρχία in *Rhet.* I. 8, (ἡ κατὰ τάξιν βασιλεία) being easily appended to Xenophon's βασιλεία.

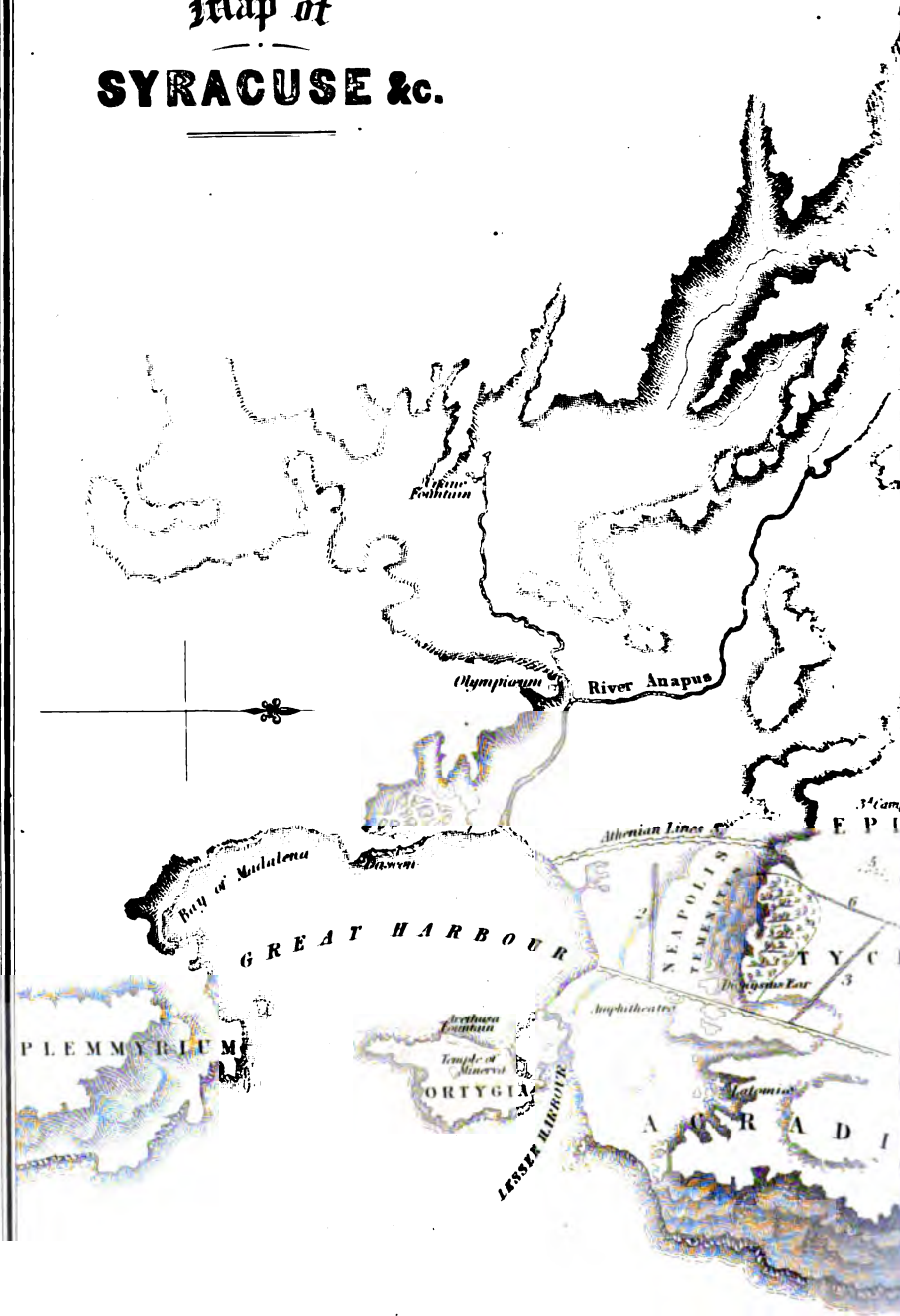
The following table may perhaps assist in explaining the above remarks.

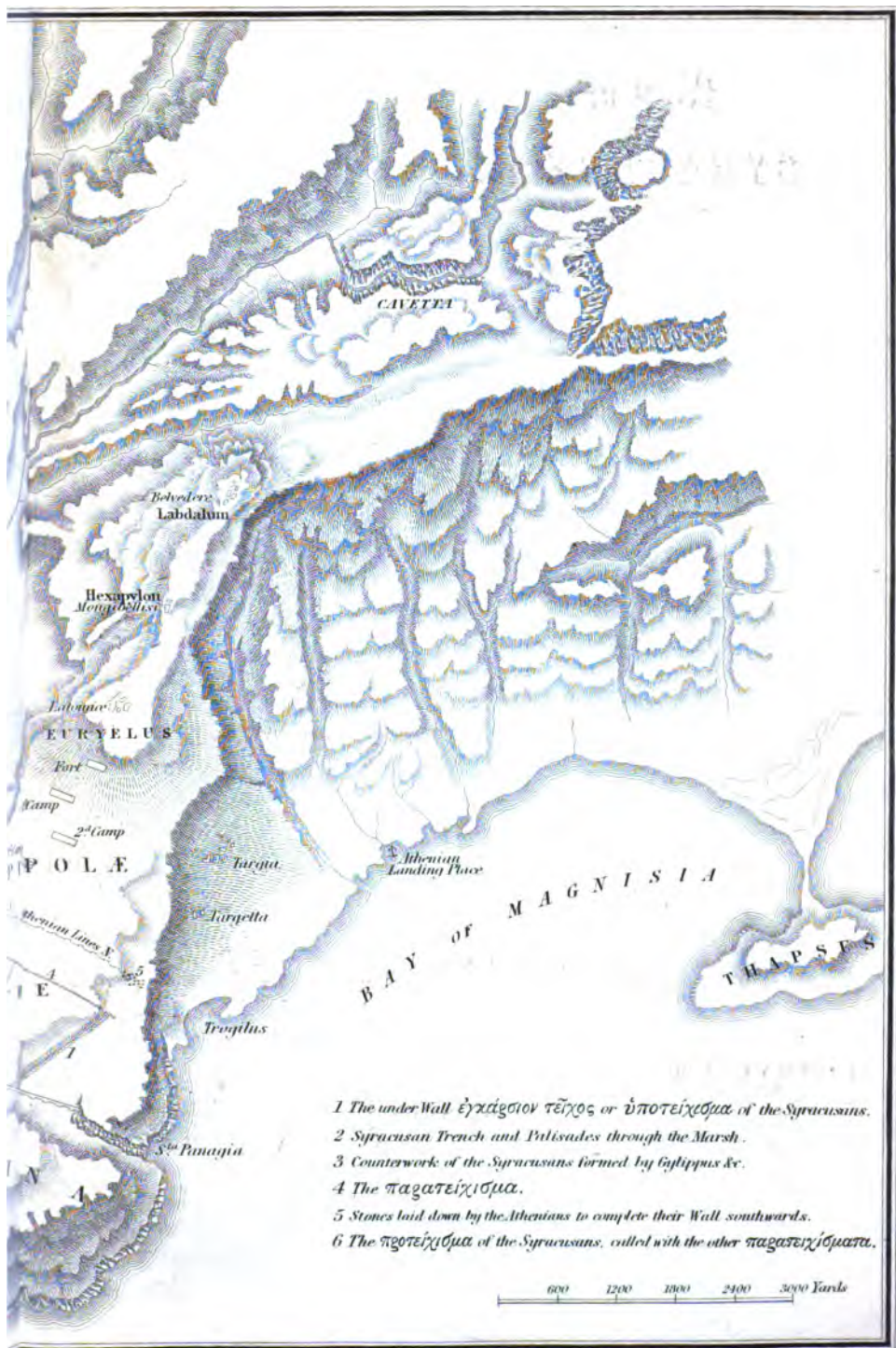
	Plato's Republic.	Xen. Agosl.	Aristotle's Rhetoric.	Arist. Ethics.	Aristotle's Politics.
IDEAL FORMS.	ἀρίστη πολιτεία, called indifferently,	βασιλεία or ἀριστοκρατία		βασιλεία	βασιλεία
				ἀριστοκρατία	In III. 6, and VII. ἀριστοκρατία
ACTUAL FORMS.	κρητική ἀριστοκρατία	βασιλεία	ἀριστοκρατία or βασιλεία κατὰ τάξιν	τιμοκρατία	πολιτεία in III. 6. ἀριστοκρατία in IV.
	ὀλιγαρχία	ὀλιγαρχία	ὀλιγαρχία	ὀλιγαρχία	ὀλιγαρχία
	δημοκρατία	δημοκρατία	δημοκρατία	δημοκρατία	δημοκρατία
	τυραννίς	τυραννίς	μοναρχία, sub- divided into βασιλεία κατὰ τάξιν	τυραννίς and τυραννίς	τυραννίς

If, therefore, we ask what was the relative position given by Aristotle to the ἀριστοκρατία, the answer seems to be this. Of the three pure forms, βασιλεία and ἀριστοκρατία are the best, and of these two, βασιλεία,—*Eth.* VIII. 12. But then these two forms, in the strict sense of the words, belong to an wholly ideal state of society; or, (to use Aristotle's expression,) being perfect constitutions, they imply perfect citizens, (Arist. *Pol.* IV. 2, III. 4.) Therefore, when he comes to compare constitutions from a practical point of view, the only one of the pure constitutions which really existed, at once assumed the chief place, viz. πολιτεία; or (as he expresses himself at length in *Pol.* III. 12,) that form in which, under the laws, the majority possesses the sovereign power. But, as we have seen, he so nearly allies the πολιτεία in *Pol.* IV. 8, to the ἀριστοκρατία, that it is diffi-



Map of **SYRACUSE &c.**





- 1 The under Wall ἐγχαῖσιον τείχος or ὑποτείχισμα of the Syracusans.
- 2 Syracusan Trench and Palisades through the Marsh.
- 3 Counterwork of the Syracusans formed by Gylippus &c.
- 4 The παρὰ τεῖχος.
- 5 Stones laid down by the Athenians to complete their Wall southwards.
- 6 The προτείχισμα of the Syracusans, called with the other παρὰ τεῖχος.

cult there to discover which he prefers. The difference, however, lies in the more democratical form of the πολιτεία,—and when we consider the delight with which he exposes the faults of the Spartan constitution, (*Pol.* II. 7,)—the spirit of censure rather than of praise in which he appears to have reviewed all the constitutions which he enumerates in *Pol.* II. generally,—when we see, that in speaking of existing forms, he usually adopts the name πολιτεία, and not ἀριστοκρατία, to express the highest form—and that in the ἀρίστη πολιτεία of *Pol.* VII., he gives a decided preponderance to the democratical element—it would appear that he abides on the whole by his decision in *Pol.* III., and places the πολιτεία first, and the actual ἀριστοκρατία second.

It may, in conclusion, be worth observing, that in this last age of Greece, we find traces of the word πολιτεία itself assuming the same importance that in earlier ages was attached exclusively to ἀριστοκρατία. How highly it was prized, appears from the praise bestowed by Thucyd. VIII. 98, on what seems to have been thought an exemplification of it; and thus the supposed excellence of the actual form in this case invested its name with an ideal character of praise, as the supposed wickedness of the actual τυραννίς invested its name with an ideal character of blame; πολιτεία, and not ἀριστοκρατία, is the title of Plato's Utopia, as well as of Aristotle's, and the name, *par excellence*, of a constitution; and the subsequent theories of imaginary states, have from it usually taken the forms of "republics" or "commonwealths."

A. P. STANLEY.

XXIII.

AN ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN THE POSITIONS OF THE ATHENIAN LINES AND THE SYRACUSAN DEFENCES, AS DESCRIBED BY THUCYDIDES, IN BOOKS VI. & VII. OF HIS HISTORY.¹

I HAVE frequently had occasion to remark that the Editors of the Classic Historians, when determining local positions,

¹ This Essay, which has been printed | with considerable improvements and
before, appears here as a second edition, | additions by the author.—ED.

were too often inclined to trust to those who had preceded them, without taking sufficient trouble to compare and examine for themselves; and, though more attention has of late been paid to this necessary part of a historian's and critic's duty, by studying the reports of modern travellers, there are still many doubtful points left unsettled, partly through vagueness in the descriptions of the original writers themselves, and partly from not thoroughly comprehending the meaning of the terms employed. I was particularly struck with this when examining the remarks of two of the most distinguished Editors of Thucydides (Göller and Arnold) on the operations of the Athenian army before Syracuse, and the drawings they have given of the positions of the hostile forces. It appeared to me that something more satisfactory might be obtained regarding the relative situations of the Athenian and Syracusan lines, than what these and other Editors had produced, by a strict examination of the historian's language, and the different localities in the neighbourhood of the city.

It is well known to philologists, that the Greek prepositions were originally employed to mark the *relative* positions of bodies towards each other, and that, in the bearings of places, they are generally used with an accurate distinction by the Greek writers, and by none more so than Thucydides. Commentators have frequently fallen into errors by not sufficiently attending to these distinctions: and I think I shall be able to show, in the course of the following remarks, that the two Editors above mentioned have failed in pointing out the true positions of the opposing armies, by paying too little attention to the precise meaning of the terms employed by the historian. There is no doubt an obscurity in some of Thucydides' descriptions: but this might have been expected, as he was not an eye-witness of the siege, and must have received the report from some of the parties engaged in it, less able than himself to describe places and events with minute accuracy. All that he had to do was to state the leading circumstances as they occurred, without giving any further particulars of the nature of the ground, or the distance of places from each other, than was necessary for a general account of the operations of the contending armies. All that can be expected, therefore, in an attempt to determine the positions of the Athenians and Syracusans at different periods of the siege, is merely an approximation to the truth. I have no doubt that

a person on the spot, with Thucydides in his hands, notwithstanding the changes that have taken place since the siege, would be able to point out very nearly the positions of the lines of both armies; for, however the works of man may disappear and decay, the grand features of nature are imperishable: and these form frequent points of reference by the historian.

The scene of the principal operations of the two armies lay between the port called Trogilus, towards the northwest of the city, (near which, at a short distance from Thapsus, the Athenians effected their second landing,) across a part of the slope of Epipolæ, a hill overlooking the city, and downwards to the large harbour, near the low marshy ground in that quarter. If these lines had been completed, they would have formed a large segment of a circle, embracing the districts called Tyche and Temenites, and also a portion of the Marsh Lysimelia. The fortifications of Syracuse on the west were, at that period, carried a little below the Portus Trogiliorum, across the lower part of Tyche and Temenites, and terminated a short way above the docks at the large harbour; thus enclosing that part of the city called Acradina. The following description, kindly furnished to me by a literary friend,² will convey a distinct idea of the different quarters of the city:—"The position of ancient Syracuse is easily ascertained, as it was built on rising ground; and its walls, 22 miles in circumference, may be traced all round the edge. The modern town occupies only the Island of Ortygia, containing, according to Barigny's statement, 18,000 inhabitants in 1787. Half a mile from the modern gate, that is, from the point where the island approaches the mainland, connected by a drawbridge, a single granite pillar is shown, marking the site of the ancient forum. From this central point, looking north-east, we had Acradina on the right hand, and Neapolis on the left; Ortygia behind, and Tyche before us: beyond which, and in a north-west direction, at a distance of about five miles from the forum, the citadel of Epipolæ, answering exactly to the description of Thucydides: *Τῶν Ἐπαπολῶν χωρίου ἀποκρήνου τε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺς καίμενου. —μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἐπαφανές πᾶν εἶσω*—VI. 36."

I shall pass over the first landing of the Athenians in the large harbour, and the subsequent battle, in which the Syra-

² George Forbes, Esq., Banker, Edinburgh.

cusans were defeated, as the Athenians soon after set sail for Catana, with the intention of wintering there, and recruiting their forces. During the winter, however, the Syracusans built a wall near the city, almost entirely fronting Epipolæ, and carried so far as to enclose the temple of Apollo Temenites, in order that, if they should not be able to keep the field, the Athenians would be obliged to form their lines at a distance from the city. In both Gölner's and Arnold's map, the wall is carried round the whole of the district called Temenites, on the one side fronting Epipolæ, and on the other the Marsh. But this does not seem warranted by the expressions of Thucydides. His words are: Ἐτείχιζον δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακούσιοι ἐν τῇ χερσὶν πρὸς τῇ πόλει, τὸν Τεμενίτην ἐντὸς ποιησάμενοι, τείχος παρὰ πᾶν τὸ πρὸς τὰς Ἐπιπολάς ὄρων. VI. 75. This wall is afterwards called προτείχιμα, a front or outwork. If the historian had intended to describe this wall as carried from the city on the one side, looking towards Epipolæ, *round* the whole of the Temenites to the walls on the other at the great harbour, he would have used the compound verb περιτείχιζον. Besides, "τὸν Τεμενίτην" is not the whole of the district, but only the chapel or statue of Apollo with the sacred grove, which the Syracusans were anxious to secure within their lines, as he was the tutelary god of their city. Neither does it appear, from the expressions of the historian, that the Syracusans carried this wall from the city walls on either side. Thucydides uses the preposition πρὸς with the dative case, πρὸς τῇ πόλει, not *at* the city, but *fronting* the city at a short distance. If the Syracusans had carried this wall *from* the city, the expression would have been, as elsewhere, ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀρξάμενοι. It seems to have been intended as an *out-post*, both to prevent the Athenians from carrying their line of circumvallation near the city; and as it was constructed opposite Epipolæ, it served also to guard the town from an attack in that quarter.

The Athenians sailed from Catana during the night, and landed about daybreak at a place nearly half-way between Thapsus and the modern Santa Panagia. Although the Syracusans were sensible that the city would be exposed to the greatest danger from an attack on that side, and had formed the design of guarding the descent from the heights, yet they probably expected that the Athenians would most likely land their forces at the great harbour, as they had formerly done: and accordingly they

were reviewing their troops on the banks of the Anapus, while the enemy were marching rapidly and unobserved up the heights, and soon gained the ascent at Euryelus, a broad ridge or knoll on the upper part of Epipolæ.

"Meanwhile," says Dr. Arnold, "the Syracusans, surprised by the sudden appearance of the Athenians on the heights, hastened from the banks of the Anapus to attack them. The Syracusans were defeated, and fell back into the city; and the Athenians, on the following day, after having ineffectually descended the slope of Epipolæ towards Syracuse, to try to provoke the enemy to battle, returned to their former position, and built a fort at Labdalum"—"on the highest part of the cliffs of Epipolæ," says Thucydides, "looking towards Megara."

After fortifying Labdalum, a fort evidently near the modern Belvidere, and leaving a garrison in it, the Athenians descended to Tyca or Tyche, which Dr. Arnold thinks is about the middle of the slope of Epipolæ, exactly south of Targetta; and here they first began their line of circumvallation on the northern side towards Trogilus. Thucydides says: *καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν ἐτείχιζον τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ πρὸς βορρᾶν τοῦ κύκλου τεῖχος.*—ἐπὶ τὸν Τρώγιλον καλούμενον. By observing the situation of Trogilus, and attending to the name of the place Tyca, it would appear that they began their line where the district called Tyca meets Epipolæ, on the ground towards the north, in the direction of Trogilus, and considerably lower down, in order that, as the historian says, their line might be as short as possible from the great harbour to the other sea. They apparently chose this position, both to secure the transport of provisions and other necessaries from their fleet, which was still lying at Thapsus, and also to block up the Syracusans in that quarter. It will be necessary to keep this position in mind, in order to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the place and direction of the two counterworks of the Syracusans, which, I apprehend, have been very much misunderstood by all the commentators on Thucydides. The first of these the historian calls *an under wall*, B. VI. c. 99: *οἱ δὲ Συρακούσιοι οὐκ ἔτι ἐβούλοντο διακινδυνεύειν, ὑποτείχισαν δὲ ἄμεινον ἰδοῦναι εἶναι ἢ ἐκεῖνοι ἐμελλόν ἄξεν τὸ τεῖχος.* "The Syracusans resolved no longer to hazard a battle; but it seemed more advisable to build an under (or transverse) wall in the direction where the *Athenians* were about to carry their wall." He adds: *ἐτείχιζον οὖν ἐκλαθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς σφετέρως πόλεως*

ἀρξάμενοι, κατώθεν τοῦ κύκλου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος ἄγοντες, τὰς τε ἐλάδας ἐκκόπτοντες τοῦ Τεμένους καὶ πύργους ξυλίνους καθιστάντες. "They therefore proceeded with the building, commencing from their city, carrying forward a transverse wall below the circumvallation of the Athenians, cutting down the olives of the sacred groves, and raising wooden towers." "The situation of this counterwork," says Dr. Arnold, "has been much disputed. My own opinion is, that it was carried in a north-west direction, parallel to and under the southern cliff of Epipolæ, in that lower elevation half-way between Epipolæ and the plain, which was partly occupied at a later period by the quarter called Neapolis, and at the time of the siege by the sacred ground of Apollo Temenites, which the Syracusans had lately enclosed within their line of defence, for the express purpose of lengthening the line of the enemy's circumvallation. Thus, of the three counterworks which the Syracusans attempted at different periods of the siege, the first was carried along the plateau or terrace of Neapolis; the second at a still lower level, down in the very valley; and the third was above the first, upon the slope of Epipolæ itself."⁸ I shall make no observations upon the line marked by Göller in his map, which seems to be a very incorrect one, as it is obviously at variance with the historian's description; and besides, he makes it commence from the wall round the Temenites, instead of from the city. There appear to me to be various reasons for suspecting the accuracy of the position assigned by Dr. Arnold to this counterwork. It is true, the Athenians intended to carry their lines of circumvallation from Trogilus across the slope of Epipolæ down to the great harbour. But the only demonstration they had yet made, was to extend them in the direction of Trogilus, which would have brought them very near the walls of the city on the *northern* side, where the danger was most imminent. It does not appear from the historian's description, that a single stone had as yet been laid down in the direction of the line assigned by Dr. Arnold; and, therefore, the wall which he supposes the Syracusans were building, could not be called a *ὑποτείχιον*, or under wall. It would have been equally useless to have carried their wall up Epipolæ, because the Athenians had not yet commenced their works in that quarter, with the exception of Lab-

⁸ See his Map.

dalum ; and, in fact, never did carry them completely across the slope of the hill. They began, as has been already stated, in the low ground, carrying their wall northward. It was evidently the purpose of the Syracusans to prevent the Athenians from completing the blockade in that quarter ; and they, therefore, began their wall *in the direction where the Athenians were about to carry theirs, viz. northwards, towards Trogilus.*

Without a particular knowledge of the ground, it is difficult to ascertain from what part of the city the transverse wall commenced, or the precise direction in which it was carried. As it was intended *to cut* the proposed Athenian line, it must have been to the northward of it, and evidently was so, because we find the historian stating, B. VII. c. 4, "that the Syracusans and their allies, after the arrival of Gylippus the Lacedemonian with reinforcements, commenced building a single wall through Epipolæ, proceeding upwards from the city, *πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον (τείχος)* towards the cross wall." It seems clear from this passage that the Athenians had not destroyed the whole wall first built by the Syracusans, but only that part of it which approached their own lines, together with the palisades erected to protect the workmen. If they had begun it more to the south, there would have been no need of a new wall running up from the city in that quarter, which they afterwards built. Besides, if the Athenian lines had been begun to be formed "on the higher ground, on the slope or face of Epipolæ," according to Dr. Arnold, by what way would the Syracusans have marched to join Gylippus ? They did not proceed up Epipolæ, nor on the southern side, but along the base of the hill in the opening between the Athenian lines, which evidently at that time did not reach the cliffs on the north side.⁴

After destroying a part of this counterwork, the Athenians resolved to send their fleet round to the great harbour, and, at the same time, to carry their lines from the cliffs of Epipolæ on the southern side, downwards across the low ground as far as the harbour. The Syracusans endeavoured to intersect this line, by digging a trench and forming palisades across the marshy ground, somewhat similar to their works on the north-

⁴ The supposed direction of this *ἰσορρίχιον*, will be seen in the accompanying map, which is also called *ἰσολόγιον τείχος*, which is also called

ern side. Their attempt was defeated by the Athenians, who took both the palisades and the trench, and drove the right wing of the Syracusans back to the city, while the left fled to the river Anapus, where they rallied, and put to flight a select body of Athenians who pursued them. In this skirmish, Lamachus, the colleague of Nicias, was slain, the only officer, after the departure of Alcibiades, who seems to have united enterprise with judgment. After this repulse of the enemy, the Athenians soon completed a double line of circumvallation from Epipolæ to the shore, with the exception of a small part, close upon the beach; and in the mean time they seem to have paused in their operations on the north-west side of the town.

Nothing could show more clearly the incapacity of Nicias, now the sole Athenian general, for so important a command, than the neglect to fortify the heights of Epipolæ.⁵ He knew that the Syracusans had sent to Lacedæmon and Corinth to beg assistance, and that Gylippus, a celebrated Spartan officer, was on his way with a reinforcement to join them. He supposed that Gylippus would attempt to enter Syracuse by sea, and never seems to have imagined that he would cross the island and enter by Epipolæ. If he had finished his lines on the northern side of the hill towards Trogilus, and fortified the heights at Euryelus, it would have been impossible for Gylippus to have forced an entrance, or for the Syracusans to have marched out to join him, as all the other points were sufficiently guarded. All that Nicias thought proper to do, was to erect a fort at Labdalum, at some distance behind Euryelus, and not within view of the Athenian lines, into which he put an insufficient garrison. The slope of Epipolæ was still open, and by it the Syracusans, hearing of Gylippus' approach, marched out with a numerous body to meet him, having passed through the open space between the Athenian lines.⁶ When they had united

⁵ The indecision of Nicias became proverbial. Καὶ μὴν, says Aristophanes, *Ac.* 689, μὰ τὸν Δι', οὐχ' ἰσχυροτάτοις ἴσιν ὧς ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ μιλλουμένην.—μิลλουμένην, to be as hesitating and slow as Nicias.

⁶ The historian does not inform us whether they passed through the space between the lines that reached to the base of Epipolæ on the south, and the

commencement of those that were apparently begun about the middle of the slope towards the north; or at the northern extremity of these, in the space between the unfinished part and Trogilus. As they evidently did not ascend Epipolæ by Euryelus, but marched along the base of the hill on the north side, it is probable that they passed through the latter opening.

their forces, they advanced in order of battle, and ascended, without opposition, the heights of Euryelus by the same pass through which the Athenians had formerly reached it. They then descended the slope against the Athenian fortifications. Neither party seems to have been anxious to come to an engagement: but it was clearly the duty of Nicias to have hazarded one, as the Syracusan troops were so ill disciplined and unsteady, that Gylippus thought it prudent to withdraw them to the height called *Temenites*, which seems to have been, not as Dr. Arnold imagines, "the cliff of Epipolæ, just above Neapolis," nor, as some other commentators have supposed, the eminence now called *Mongebellisi*, which would have placed them in the rear of the Athenians, but a rising rocky ground, at the extremity of the sacred grove, opposite to and adjoining the southern termination of the cliffs of Epipolæ. "It was at this period of the siege," says Dr. Arnold, "that the Syracusans commenced their third counterwork, which Thucydides describes as a single wall, carried up through Epipolæ in a cross direction."—"The direction of the wall," he says, "cannot be doubted; it was to be carried up the slope of Epipolæ, and pass to the northward of the finished part of the Athenian lines; thus effectually preventing the enemy from carrying their lines across Epipolæ and down to the sea shore at Trogilus." The words of Thucydides are: *Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτείχιζον οἱ Συρακούσαιοι καὶ οἱ ἑμίμαχοι διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀρξάμενοι ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον, τεῖχος ἀπλοῦν.* I have examined the passage here quoted with as much attention and care as possible, and also the opinions of several commentators, and I am convinced it will not bear the interpretation put upon it by Dr. Arnold and others. In his note upon it, the Doctor says: "They, *i. e.* the Syracusans, began to carry a single wall (the Athenian circumvallation was a double wall,⁷ c. 2, § 4,) up the hill of Epipolæ in a cross direction, that is, to cross the line of the Athenian wall,"—"as we had *ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος* in a similar sense, vi. 99, § 3." Göller⁸ seems to have formed a more correct notion of the passage, though his account is not very clear: "*i. e.* πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος ἀπλοῦν ἐτείχιζον, ut τεῖχος bis cogitur,

⁷ Dr. Arnold has confounded the wall built by the Athenians on the south towards the great harbour, which was

double, with the wall on the northern side, which is nowhere called double.

⁸ Second Edition.

estque τὸ τεῖχος ἐγκάρσιον illud τεῖχος Syracusanorum, quod captum per Athenienses vidimus, VI. 100. A Syracusanis igitur præter prius, vel potius versus prius ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος nunc murus alius perducī cœpit, ne hostes sibi exitum ex urbe intercluderent. Non poterant novum murum aliter dirigere, nisi versus murum priorem, ut qui transversus esset, nisi forte vellent eum παράλληλον cum priore facere, id quod insanum fuisset." It is impossible that the words ἐτείχιζον—πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος ἀπλοῦν can bear the meaning of "they built a single wall in a cross direction," because the preposition πρὸς, with the accusative, preceded by an active verb, must signify *towards, in the direction towards some point*, and not *in a cross direction*. Dr. Arnold seems to have fallen both into the geographical and grammatical mistake by making the ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος, which the Syracusans first built, "to run along," as he says, "the terrace of Neapolis, i. e. to the south of Epipolæ," and not to the northward, as has been already described.

The Syracusans, by commencing their wall from the city upwards through Epipolæ, had *three* objects in view:—1. To prevent the Athenians from carrying their line of circumvallation across the base of Epipolæ; 2. To defend their intended counterwork, by preventing the Athenians from turning it in their rear; and lastly, To counterwork them in the direction of Trogilus. This part of their line the Athenians seem to have neglected while they were finishing that on the southern side. Thucydides says, VII. 22: τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ τοῦ κύκλου πρὸς τὸν Τρώγλιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐτέραν θάλασσαν λίθοι τε παραβεβλημένοι τῷ πλεονὶ ἤδη ἦσαν, καὶ ἔστιν ἂ καὶ ἡμίεργα, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξευργασμένα καταλείπετο· παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν αἱ Συράκουσαι ἦλθον κινδύνου. "On the other part of their line towards Trogilus to the other sea, stones had already been laid down for the greater part, and some parts were left half, and others wholly finished: to such a state of danger had Syracuse been exposed." They now began to turn their attention anew to this other part; and in order to prevent them, Gylippus began to carry on a counterwork, proceeding from the city upwards, a little to the south of the Athenian wall, and then in an oblique direction across a part of the slope of Epipolæ, towards the ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος, which the Syracusans had formerly raised, and which had not been entirely destroyed. If I understand Dr. Arnold aright, he seems to think that this ἀπλοῦν τεῖχος was both to be carried up the slope of Epipolæ,

and to pass to the northward of the Athenian lines: which could not possibly be, if the account already given of the place where these lines commenced be correct. Besides, it is clear that the wall was not intended to be *εγκάρσιον*, i. e. to cut through the projected line of the Athenians, but that it ran in a *parallel* direction with theirs. This is evident from what the historian says in B. VII. c. 5: 'Ομὲν Γύλιππος ἅμα μὲν ἐταίχιζε τὸ διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν τεῖχος, τοῖς λίθοις χρώμενος οὓς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προσπαρεβάλοντο σφίον· ἅμα δὲ παρέτασεν ἐξάγων ἀπὸ τοῦ τειχίσματος τοὺς Συρακούσιους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμαχοὺς. The expression πρὸ τοῦ τειχίσματος means "before his fortification;" and then he adds: καὶ ἐν χερσὶ γενομένοι ἐμάχοντο μεταξύ τῶν τειχισμάτων, "and then, having joined battle, they fought between the lines." But how could they be said to fight *between the lines*, if the counterwork of the Syracusans was a wall run straight up to intersect the Athenian lines? Gylippus apologizes for the defeat which the Syracusans sustained, by taking the blame upon himself, as he had drawn them up ἐντὸς λίαν τῶν τειχῶν, "too much within the lines," where their cavalry could not act. In preparing for another engagement, Thucydides observes, καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν μάλλον ἢ πρότερον προεξαγαγὼν ξυνέμισγεν αὐτοῖς· τοὺς δ' ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς ἐκ πλαγίου τάξας τῶν Ἀθηναίων, κατὰ τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, ἣ τῶν τειχῶν ἀμφοτέρων αἱ ἐργασίαι ἔλθον· καὶ προσβαλόντες οἱ ἱππῆς ἐν τῇ μαχῇ τῇ εὐνόμενῃ κέρα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπερ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἦν, ἔτρεψαν. "And Gylippus, having led his troops more without the lines than formerly, joined battle with them, and having stationed his cavalry and darters on the flank of the Athenians, in the open space where the works of both lines stopped; and the cavalry, having attacked during the battle the left wing of the Athenians which was opposed to them, put it to flight."⁹ But if any doubt could remain as to

⁹ Dr. Arnold, in a note, remarks: "The Syracusans fronted towards the west; their cavalry, therefore, being on their right, was on the north of their line; and it was on the northern side of Epipolæ, which presented the greatest extent of clear ground, the finished part of the Athenian line being on the southern side, towards the cliffs looking to the south." It appears quite evident that the Athenians never attempted to

fortify that part of Epipolæ at all. They seem to have commenced their line towards the north, about the middle of the slope; their first object being to shut out the Syracusans from the Port of Trogilus. They no doubt intended to draw their lines quite across, so as to meet the double wall already built from the cliffs of Epipolæ to the great harbour; but this they never accomplished. This, I think, is quite evident from the

the direction of the wall which the Syracusans were raising, it will be removed, I should suppose, by the following expressions : *καὶ τῇ ἐπούσῃ νυκτὶ ἔφθασαν παροικοδομήσαντες, καὶ παρελθόντες τὴν τῶν οἰκοδομίαν.* "And in the following night they (the Syracusans) got the start of them in building their parallel line, and passed the building of the Athenians." The preposition *παρὰ*, in composition with both participles, shows clearly, with the first, that the Syracusan wall was built *parallel* to that of the Athenians, and with the other, that it was carried in the same direction and *past* it. The same kind of expressions are employed by Nicias in his letter to the Athenians. In consequence of getting before, or outflanking the Athenians, the historian subjoins the following remark, c. 6: *ὥστε μηκέτι μήτε αὐτοὶ κυλύεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπεστερηκέναι, εἰ καὶ κρατοῖεν, μὴ ἂν ἔτι σφᾶς ἀποτειχίσαι.* "So that they themselves could no longer be stopped by them, and they wholly deprived the Athenians, even if they should prove victorious, henceforth of the power of circumvallating them."

It is then stated, that upon the arrival of the ships of the Corinthians, Ambraciotes, and Leucadians, the crews assisted the Syracusans in completing the rest of the wall, *καὶ ξυντείχισαν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, μέχρι τοῦ ἑγκαρσίου τείχους*,—VII. c. 7. This passage has given occasion to various comments:—"Some," says Dr. Arnold, "have supposed it to be the Athenian line of circumvallation, which was *ἐγκάρσιον* to the counterwork;" while Gölner understands it of the counterwork itself, translating the words *ξυντείχισαν τὸ λοιπὸν*, &c., "*prius absolutis muri extremis, intermedia quoque ædificando ope Corinthiorum etc. expleverunt.*" Dr. Arnold himself is of the former opinion, for in his note he says, *μέχρι τοῦ ἑγκαρσίου τείχους*, "as far as the line of the cross wall of the Athenians, which crossed the line of the Sicilian (Syracusan) cross wall at right angles;" and then he refers his readers to the memoir and map of Syracuse. If the observations already made respecting the direction of the Athenian lines be at all correct, it is impossible that the wall of the Athenians could be at right angles with the Syracusan cross wall, when it is evident that the two were run in parallel lines. The historian nowhere calls the Athenian wall *ἐγκάρσιον*; and

night march of Gylippus to attack the forts at Plemvrium: for by no other way could he have marched his troops

to make the attack in the morning. See *Thucyd.* VII. 22, 23.

it appears to me that both the Editors have mistaken the meaning of the terms and the position of the wall, supposing it to have been on the southern side of the Athenian lines; for Gölter says, in a note to his second edition, "Syracusani, opinor, postquam inde ab urbe paulatim opus produxerant, relicto hinc inde locis natura munitionibus intervallo, quo citius ultra κόλον pervenirent, extrema muri prius absolverant, Quibus absolutis intermedia quoque ope Corinthiorum et reliquorum, qui modo advenerant, ædificando expleverunt. Quare Corinthii etc. dicuntur ædificationem juvisse μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους." It is quite clear that the Syracusans, having already passed the Athenian wall, must have been anxious to carry their line of defence onwards to the transverse wall, as a *point d'appui*, which would effectually prevent the enemy from an attack on the side of the city next Trogilus, where it was probably weakest.

In the second edition of his Thucydides, Dr. Arnold has made some remarks upon the above statements. "On the map of Syracuse," he says, "I had ventured to understand it (the ἐγκαρσιον τείχος) as meaning the Athenian circumvallation, which was running at right angles to the counterwork; and Bishop Thirlwall considers this interpretation as admissible, (Thirl. Gr. vol. III. p. 418, note.) Mr. Dunbar supposes it to mean the old counterwork of the Syracusans, mentioned in VI. 99, and the wall which was carried to meet it, he believes to have run parallel to the Athenian lines, as appears, he says, by the expressions παροικισθῆσαντες and παρελθόντες. But this last notion appears to me quite erroneous." Notwithstanding the high character of Dr. Arnold for scholarship, I am confident that my opinion is correct. If I may judge from his "conjectural plan," he appears to have thought that the Syracusan line was carried up (not through) Epipolæ, and at right angles to the Athenian circumvallation. But παροικισθῆσαι signifies, either *to build past*, or *to build in a parallel direction*. How can the first meaning be reconciled with the statement of the historian in c. VI. ? ὁ δὲ Νικίας καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζοντες — ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι σφίσι μὴ περιορᾶν παροικισθόμενον τὸ τεῖχος (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρεληλύθει τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ τείχους τελευτήν, ἣ ἐκεῖνων τείχεσις καὶ εἰ προέλθοι —.)¹⁰ The Athenians were carrying their line to-

¹⁰ The clause following καὶ εἰ προέλθοι, | rect, and misunderstood by all the Editors of Thucydides I have had an op-

wards Trogilus: the *τελευτήν*, therefore, was towards the *north*, not the *south*, as Dr. Arnold seems to have thought, if we may judge from the sketch of the *plan*. Would the Doctor or Bishop Thirlwall have translated, ἅμα δὲ παρέτασσεν ἐξάγων ἀπὸ τοῦ τειχίσματος τοὺς Συρακουσίους, c. v. and at the same time leading out from time to time the Syracusans before the wall, he drew them up at right angles? And what is the meaning of καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπαρετάσσοντο? Surely these verbs mean, in the first instance, that Gylippus drew up the Syracusans in a line parallel to the Athenians; and in the second, that the Athenians were drawn up in a line parallel and opposite to them. The historian, when giving an account of the first battle that was fought by Gylippus, represents that general as taking blame to himself for drawing up the troops ἔντος λίαν τῶν τειχῶν, too much within the lines. Let any one with a competent know-

portunity of consulting. In Poppo's, Göller's, Arnold's, and Bloomfield's Editions, the reading is, ταὐτὸν ἢ δὴ ἰσίου αὐτοῖς καὶ τι μαχημένοι διὰ παντός, καὶ μὴδὲ μάχεσθαι. All these Editors refer αὐτοῖς to the Athenians. Bloomfield says in a note, "It is well pointed out by Dobree, that the αὐτοῖς has reference to the Athenians; and the sense as laid down by Dobree, Poppo, and Göller is, that if it (meaning their cross wall,) should proceed further, it would soon make that it should be always the same thing to the Athenians, although conquering in battle, as if they had not struck a stroke." It appears to me that the scholiast was more correct in referring αὐτοῖς to the Syracusans, οἱ Συρακούσιοι ἐν ἀσφαλίᾳ ἱμιλλῶν ἵσθαι μὴ τὰ ταῦτα, εἴτε μάχωντο καὶ νικῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἴτε καὶ ἡσυχάζουσιν ἐν τῶν αὐτῶν. If the historian had intended to refer the pronoun to the Athenians, he would have used σφίσι, as he always did; thus, ἀγωνηαῖον εἶναι σφίσι μὴ περιεῖν κ. τ. λ. But if αὐτοῖς refers to the Athenians, how must we translate καὶ μὴδὲ μάχεσθαι? Would the carrying the εὐχίσις of the Syracusans beyond the lines of the Athenians, have enabled the latter not to give battle? I apprehend the

καὶ μὴδὲ μάχεσθαι must necessarily be referred to the Syracusans, and if so, αὐτοῖς also must be referred to them. Having settled this point, I hope, satisfactorily, I now proceed to the reading, which I consider faulty. The expression καὶ εἰ περιέλθῃ (ἢ εὐχίσις) is conditional. The wall had not yet been carried past the termination of the Athenian lines, (ἢ δὴ γὰρ καὶ ὅταν εὐ περιελθῇ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ τείχεος τελευτήν ἢ λυθῇ εὐχίσις.) But if it should be carried past, what would be the consequence? The literal translation of the words that follow is,—It now effected the same thing for them (the Syracusans) at all times when giving battle, to be victorious, and not to give battle. Now this affirms a *past* action, whereas it was a *contingent* one, depending upon the carrying the wall beyond the termination of the Athenian lines. The expression must, therefore, be made *contingent* upon the preceding protasis καὶ εἰ περιέλθῃ. I have no doubt that Thucydides wrote, ταῦτ' εἰ ἢ δὴ ἰσίου αὐτοῖς καὶ τι κ. τ. λ. It would now effect this (these things) for them, both to conquer whenever they engaged, and also to decline an engagement.

ledge of the Greek language, examine Dr. Arnold's "conjectural plan" with the works of the contending parties represented therein, and let him try to fix the *position* of the two armies when engaged, μεταξὺ τῶν ταχισμάτων, c. v. and, I imagine, he will find himself very much puzzled to reconcile the opinion of the editor with the description of the historian.

Dr. Bloomfield, in his second edition of Thucydides, lately published, has also given a representation of the Athenian lines and the Syracusan defences, "from unpublished Topographical and Historical Notes, by Col. W. M. Leake." These do not differ very materially from what I had given in the map accompanying the "Attempt to ascertain the positions of the Athenian lines and the Syracusan defences;"¹¹ but are very dissimilar to the drawings of the works in the map published with his translation of Thucydides. I cannot, however, understand how Col. Leake should have marked the Athenian camp at Syca, near the cliffs of Epipolæ, on the south. If they were encamped there, how was it possible for them to defend their lines to the north, which lay at some distance? Besides, the name *Syca* is of very doubtful authority. The historian makes frequent mention of *olive trees* growing in that quarter, but none of *fig trees*; from which, if there were, the district would have taken its name. There can be little doubt that the part of the slope on which the Athenians were encamped was called *Tyche*, from τύχη, where there was a small temple dedicated to the Goddess Fortune. Although the Athenians had fortified the cliffs of Epipolæ to the south nearest their double lines, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου ἐτσίχιζον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κρημνὸν, τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔλους, ὃς τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα ὄρεα, καὶ ἥπερ αὐτοῖς βραχύτατον ἐγένετο καταβᾶσι διὰ τοῦ ὄμαλου καὶ τοῦ ἔλους ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὸ περτεΐχισμα, l. vi. 101, yet the space between the Athenian lines, begun in the direction of Trogilus and the cliffs on the southern side, appears to have remained open during the whole period of the siege. Having again examined with the utmost care the account given by the historian of the operations of the two armies, and both the memoir of Dr. Arnold on the map of Syracuse, and Col. Leake's notes in the appendix to Dr. Bloomfield's edition of Thucydides, I have seen no reason whatever to change the opinion I had formed of the positions of

¹¹ Published in a small Pamphlet in 1842.

the lines for attack and defence; but I confess that the position I had assigned to Labdalum appears to be incorrect. Col. Leake remarks, p. 681 of the appendix, "The fact of Labdalum having been invisible from the Athenian position, shows that it could not have been on the height of Bufalaro, as Professor Dunbar supposes, and that it must have been on the cliffs behind, north (*rather north-west*) of that summit, or on the ridge of Belvidere." The march of Gylippus towards Syracuse confirms this opinion of Col. Leake. He could not have come along the ridge above Epipolæ without passing Labdalum, and being attacked by the Athenian garrison; of which we have no intimation by the historian. He must have approached by the northern side of the cliffs, where the Syracusans joined him. Thucydides says, *καὶ ἀναβὰς κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύηλον, ἥ περ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρῶτον, ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος (not τὸ στρατόπεδον) τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, c. II. The ascent in that quarter, a little to the west of Targetta, is not steep; and it seems to have led in the direction of *Euryelus*, or the broad knoll, probably near the spot I assigned to Labdalum, and above the ground where Epipolæ is broken by crags.¹² This, however, does not tally with the account given by Mr. Stanley to Dr. Arnold, of the positions of Labdalum and Euryelus. "Labdalum, Mr. Stanley thinks, must be placed at Mongebellisi, and not at Belvidere, and the conical hill of Belvidere he supposes to be Euryelus." Dr. Arnold adds, "Both these positions will suit the narrative of Thucydides perfectly." But Mongebellisi is nearer Syracuse than Belvidere; consequently, if Gylippus ascended by Euryelus, which Mr. Stanley considers to be the conical hill of Belvidere, he must have passed Labdalum on his march to Syracuse. From the appearance of the cliffs to the northward of Belvidere, it seems impossible for an army to have ascended in that direction. I am, therefore, decidedly of opinion that Col. Leake is correct in placing Euryelus nearer Syracuse than Labdalum, and that it is the *broad knoll*, as above described, and not a *conical hill*, which neither corresponds with the etymology of the word, nor with the description of the historian.

The next important event that requires elucidation is the unsuccessful attack made by Demosthenes, soon after his arrival

¹² In the accompanying map, I have placed Euryelus lower down on the slope of Epipolæ than in Col. Leake's map.

with reinforcements, to carry the Syracusan counterwork upon the slope of Epipolæ, which he rightly considered the key of Syracuse. It would appear that the Athenians, previous to the arrival of Demosthenes, having found themselves counterworked by the Syracusans, had abandoned the lines they had formed across a part of the slope of Epipolæ towards the north. Their opponents, perceiving the importance of keeping possession of the heights, had formed *three* encampments at a short distance from each other on the slope, and an outwork (τείχιμα) behind, to guard against a sudden attack. Demosthenes was aware of these defences; but he thought, if he could get possession of the ascent, and force the enemy's lines, he would thus put an end to the war. He accordingly made preparations for assaulting the παρατείχιμα of the Syracusans by a *coup de main*, in which he was unsuccessful. It would appear from the historian's account, though it is not very clear, that Gylippus and the Syracusans had not only completed their line to the north, so as to connect it with the ἐσχάρον τείχος, but had also carried it southwards, probably joining it with the προτείχιμα, which had been constructed some time before for the defence of Temenites; or, if any part was left unfinished, it was likely protected by the nature of the ground. Demosthenes could not remain before the Syracusan lines, because the enemy were encamped behind him, and might have attacked his rear, while those within the walls would have assailed him in front. His only chance of success, therefore, was to take the Syracusans in the rear, who were posted on the verge of the hill, drive them within their own lines, and thus establish a complete blockade. The historian says that he advanced after the first watch, along with his colleagues Eurymedon and Menander, towards Epipolæ, and arrived on the heights in the direction of Euryelus, where the former army had at first ascended, without being observed by the outposts. Some suppose, from the particular expressions used by Thucydides, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο πρὸς αὐταῖς (ταῖς Ἐπιπόλαις) κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύηλον, ἥ περ καὶ ἡ πρότερα στρατία τὸ πρῶτον ἀνέβη, that Demosthenes must have crossed the slope of Epipolæ, and proceeded by the same pass through which the Athenians had formerly ascended. This is not at all probable, as the distance between the Syracusan lines and their nearest encampment on the slope must have been small: and, although the troops marched during the night, they could not

likely have passed in that direction without giving an alarm. I am, therefore, inclined to agree with Dr. Arnold, that "the course of the army was at first inland in a westerly direction, till it turned to the right to begin the ascent by some of those roads or paths which probably then as now led to Epipolæ from the upper parts of the valley of the Anapus." He adds: "The surprise was complete; the Athenians gained the summit of the ridge unperceived; attacked and carried immediately the fortified post of the Syracusans close to Euryelus, and then hastened to descend the slope, turn the end of the counterwork, and attack the rear, where it was without defence." I confess I do not understand the learned Editor's observations in the next paragraph, when he says: "When they reached the extremity of the counterwork, they encountered the party of the six hundred Syracusans who had been stationed there to guard it," &c. The whole of this description appears to me to be totally at variance with the historian's account of the Syracusan defences, and the progress of the Athenians. What are we to understand by a counterwork, but a line of defence opposed to the approaches of an enemy? These had been formerly attempted by Demosthenes without success; and these, it is plain from the historian's description, he never reached, in this well-planned, but unsuccessful expedition. Having ascended Epipolæ in the direction of Euryelus, he came in the rear of the whole of the Syracusan defences; took first the *τείχος*, or fort, then advanced against the encampments, *ἃ ἦν*, says Thucydides, *ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν τρία*, *ἐν μὲν τῶν Συρακουσίων*, *ἐν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Σκαλιωτῶν*, *ἐν δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων*. The six hundred Syracusans held the first encampment; to them the fugitives from the fort announced the approach of the enemy. These attempted in vain to resist their attack. Their position, which, in all the editions of Thucydides I have had an opportunity of consulting, is called *παρετείχος*, ought, I am confident, to be denominated *προτείχος*, as the *first advanced post* which Demosthenes attacked, and which, as the historian states, was occupied by the Syracusans. This they took without much opposition, the garrison having fled at their approach.¹³ Then (says the historian) *οἱ δὲ*

¹³ This, I think, is confirmed by a reading in some of the MSS. omitted in the quotation given above, and which Dr. Arnold thinks genuine: In refer-

ence to the camps on the hill, Thucydides says: *ἃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν τρία* (i. *προτειχίσματα*, front works.)

Συρακουσῖαι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τῶν προτειχισμάτων. What are we to understand by the τῶν προτειχισμάτων, and how are they to be distinguished from the παρατείχισμα mentioned above? To me it seems obvious that the prepositions ought to change places: the παρατείχισμα, as I have already remarked, must be considered the προτείχισμα, or the advanced post, garrisoned by the Syracusans alone; while the προτειχισμάτων must be understood of those lines formed for the defence of the north-west part of the city, which ran parallel to the lines of circumvallation drawn by the Athenians, and are always denominated by the historian παρατειχίσματα, B. VII. c. 43. These Demosthenes attempted to carry previous to the night attack; and these, there can be no doubt, were occupied by Gylippus and the Syracusans with their allies, to resist another attack that might be meditated. It does not appear to me that the Athenians ever reached this counterwork. They carried the προτείχισμα, defended by the six hundred Syracusans; they repulsed Gylippus, who had advanced with the Syracusans and their allies from the παρατειχίσματα; and then, falling into disorder, they were arrested in their progress and put to flight by the Boeotians, who, in all probability, occupied the *third* encampment, or the one lowest on the slope, which (says the historian) was occupied by the allies, ἐν δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων. If they had turned the counterwork, as Dr. Arnold supposes, and got to the base of Epipolæ, they would not have been obliged, even when thrown into disorder, to have cast themselves headlong down the cliffs, but would have easily found their way to the Athenian camp. But it is evident from the historian's account that the rout took place near the verge of the slope, because he says, "some part of the army had just ascended, and others were still advancing." How any one could have supposed that the three camps were formed immediately under the walls of the city (or of the newly enclosed district of Temenites) appears to me quite incomprehensible, especially as it was distinctly stated by the historian that the *three encampments were* ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν; and that many of the Athenians, when pursued, threw themselves down the cliffs and perished, στενῆς οὐσας τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν πάλιν καταβάσεως. If they had been as near the city as has been represented, how could numbers of them have missed their way to the Athenian camp? Thucydides says: οἱ δὲ ὕστερον ἤκοντες, εἰσὶν οἱ, διαμαρτόντες τῶν ὁδῶν κατὰ

τὴν χώραν ἐπλανήθησαν · οὐδ', ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, οἱ ἱππῆς τῶν Συρακουσίων περιελάσαντες διέφθειραν, c. 44.

Col. Leake says in the appendix, "Driven back to the narrow entrance of Epipolæ (at Euryelus) or to the precipices, (at its northern side,) many perished in falling from them, after throwing away their arms. Of those who reached the plain in safety, many of the men recently arrived were unable, from their ignorance of the place, to find their way back to the camp, but, wandering in the night, were cut down in the morning by the cavalry of the Syracusans." I apprehend that the Athenians, after their defeat, attempted to gain their camp by throwing themselves down the cliffs on the *southern*, not the *northern* side of Epipolæ. The historian nowhere says that the Syracusan cavalry were posted on the northern side of Epipolæ, but on the southern, at *Polichne* and *Olympieum*; consequently, if any of the Athenian fugitives had thrown themselves down the cliffs on the northern side, they could not have been cut down by the Syracusan cavalry. Their object was to gain the camp on the southern side, which those acquainted with the ground reached in safety.

After this signal failure, the Athenians gave up all hopes of taking Syracuse, and endeavoured to secure their retreat by sea, by an attack on the enemy's fleet. They were equally unsuccessful in this attempt. Their navy was destroyed; and they had now no other chance of escape than by raising the siege, and marching across the island to some friendly State. Weakness, infatuation, and irresolution, seem to have ruled their counsels. Instead of commencing an immediate and rapid retreat, before the Syracusans had time to block up the roads and passes, they allowed themselves to be deceived by the enemy, and did not move from their camp till the third day after their defeat. Harassed at every step by Gylippus and the Syracusans, oppressed by hunger and thirst, and at last completely surrounded, they were obliged to surrender at discretion;—and thus terminated an expedition, conceived in folly, conducted without skill or energy, and ending at last in total ruin.

Φασὶ γὰρ δυσβολίαν

Τῇ δὲ τῇ πόλει προσεῖναι.—Aristoph. *Nub.* 583.

G. DUNBAR.

XXIV.

MISCELLANIES.

1. A FEW REMARKS ON ENGLISH HEXAMETERS.

WHEN Mr. Southey, some twenty years ago, in his famous poem, "*The Vision of Judgment*," resuscitated the long-laid "ghost of English hexameters," he did not do so under such favourable circumstances, (so far as himself was concerned,) nor with such accompaniments of public approbation, as could invite any future candidate for rhythmical excellence to imitate his bold example. Nay, the old English mastiff sent forth one of its rough conservative growls in the shape of a separate book of no less than eighty-four pages, (price four shillings!) of "historical and critical remarks" on the subject, by a Reverend Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge.¹ Most people imagined that the effect of this combined indifference and opposition had been, to lay the unquiet spirit of metrical innovation for ever;² but in these times, amid the prevalence of many other strange fermentations, it is nothing surprising that the ghost should have again appeared. Altogether surprising, however, is the stage upon which it has appeared, and the reception which it has met with. It has appeared on the thoroughly English and thoroughly conservative stage of *Blackwood's Magazine*; and seems to have given so much satisfaction to Christopher North and his readers, that after the first apparition, a second was called for and obtained. Two books of Homer's *Iliad*, professedly in the rhythm of the original, have been published in successive numbers of one of the most intelligent as well as most popular periodicals of the day.³ The phenomenon is a most remarkable one, and forces itself with a strong literary interest, both on the student of English literature

¹ "Historical and Critical Remarks upon the modern Hexametrists: by the Reverend S. Tillbrook, B. D., Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge. 1822."—A work valuable more for its facts than for its philosophy, and containing some curious points of information on the singular fates of hexameter verse in our early English literature.

² "I am well aware that the public are peculiarly intolerant of such innovations."—SOUTHEY, preface to *Vision of Judgment*.

³ See *Blackwood* for the months March and May of the present year, though in fairness we must mention that Christopher North was anticipated in his patronage of English hexameters by a writer in the *Westminster Review*, March 1845, in a notice of Sotheby's Homer, and "the *Iliad* faithfully rendered into Homeric verse: by Lancelot Shadwell, Esquire. Nos. 1. & 111. London. Pickering."

and on the classical scholar. To the one it is interesting to inquire how far our admirable language, even at the present late period, may admit of a new rhythmical developement; while the other is even more concerned to inquire whether, after the precedents which Pope and Dryden and Sotheby have already established, it be yet possible to make acceptable to the English ear, a style of translation which shall not merely transpose the soul and the body of Greek antiquity into our Saxon speech, but exhibit even the very attitude and posture, the vesture and drapery of the Hellenic Muse. On this subject we hope the few following remarks will not prove unacceptable.

The *beau ideal* of a translation as a work of art unquestionably is, that it shall be as much as possible a *likeness* of its original; the same in substance and in character, in significance and expression, in spirit and detail, in a word a *FAC-SIMILE*, as far as may be. There are pictures, copies from the great masters, done by their disciples, with such perfect cunning of the pencil, that even an experienced eye cannot distinguish them from the originals. To achieve that with words which has been achieved by lines and colours, were the perfection of the translator's art: but unhappily the thing is in the general case impossible. For the translator does not work with the same materials as his original: a good black or blue in the hands of Giulio Romano may produce the same effect as in the hands of Raphael; but no Coleridge or Shelley can in every case make the English language do that which Homer or Æschylus may have done with the Greek. A translator is often called on to make a *fac-simile* of a golden image with brass, sometimes with hard granite or gnarled gneiss; sometimes to reproduce upon coarse drugget and "hoddin grey," that fine figured broi'dery which was worked by delicate hands on the velvet mantle of a king. It is in vain, therefore, to expect a perfect *fac-simile* from a translator; we can only demand a reproduction of the original, in so far as the material employed will allow; and this necessary condition of the undertaking in the hands of a man of taste and judgment, will often lead to very considerable encroachments on the original idea of a *fac-simile*. It is impossible, for instance, even in the plainest prose, to give an Englishman ignorant of German any idea, through translation, of the style in which many German writers express themselves. A German sentence, partly by the habit of the language, partly by the vice of the writer, is often a thing so vast, complex, and involved, that it must be cut up into half a dozen separate sentences before it assumes the shape of readable and intelligible English. In like manner with the English language, it is impracticable to give an exact *fac-simile* of some of the Greek metres, because the rhythmical constitution and habit of our tongue imperatively repels the attempt. Take, for instance, the splendid chorus in the opening of "the Persians," written

in what metricians call the *Ionic a Minori* measure, and attempt a metrical transference of that into English :—

πεπέρακεν μὲν ὁ περσέπτολις ἤδη
 βασιλῆιος στρατὸς κ · τ · λ.

() () () () () () () () () () () () () ()
 To the Greek coast, with a vast host,
 () () () () () () () () () () () () () ()
 Went the great king o'er the broad stream,
 () () () () () () () () () () () () () ()
 To which fair Helle her name gave,
 () () () () () () () () () () () () () ()
 When she fell down from the ram's back to the deep sea !

This, be it observed, is as near a fac-simile as can be made to the Greek measure in our language, an accented syllable with us systematically performing the rhythmical function, which in Greek could only be performed by a long one; and the effect, as the English ear at once feels, is perfectly ludicrous and absurd. Further, if the metrical translator were, on the principle of exact fac-simile, to go a step beyond this, and compose English verses according to the ancient law, with a regard to the musical quantity alone, irrespective of the spoken accent, he would produce not merely an absurd and ludicrous rhythm, but a jargon out of which no English ear could extract any thing the least approaching to harmony. The general principle, then, on which a metrical translation must proceed is plain enough. The reader of a translated work is entitled to demand a fac-simile of the original; but this *only in so far as is consistent with the grammatical and rhythmical genius of the language in which the translation is made*. Now what is included in that wide word the GENIUS of a language? It includes two things essentially different; but which in the criticisms that have been made on English hexameters have too often been confounded; it includes, in the first place, and principally, whatever belongs organically to the grammatical and metrical *structure* of the language; and in the second place, whatever belongs by use and habit and association to the characteristic *style* and peculiar living expression of the language. Of metrical movements affected by essential structure, a language is either naturally capable, or capable only with considerable exertion, or absolutely incapable. Thus, the English language, by its structure, most naturally falls into the iambic movement, in which measure accordingly almost all our great poems of any length, as also our most popular songs and ballads, are written; but it is also capable, without any painful effort, of the trochaic movement; and when stirred with high lyric emotion, it does not refuse the tribrachic measure, which, however, according to its essentially accentual and not quantitative character, it mingles at random with dactyles, anapests, and every variety of the trisyllabic foot. The Italian language, on the other hand,

is, by its structure, utterly foreclosed from the free use of the iambic close, so natural to us. An Italian, therefore, cannot make an exact fac-simile of an English poem of which the closes of the verse are not all trochaics. But though we can write in trochaic rhythm, our language does not with the same facility—especially when rhyme is necessary—admit the trochaic close, or “double ending” as it is sometimes called. The consequence of which essential difference of structure is, that an exact rhythmical transference from Italian into English, or from English into Italian, is, in the general case, either impossible or extremely inconvenient. In this particular the Germans are infinitely more happy; for in their rich and various language, the single and double endings exist in a fair and even proportion, and suggest themselves accordingly to the poetic ear with equal facility. Let us now apply these remarks specially to the English Hexameter.

The question, whether there is any thing in the *organic structure* of the English language adverse to the use of the hexameter verse, as Tillbrook and the anti-Hexametrists generally maintain, must be answered in the negative or the affirmative, according to the kind of hexameter verse meant; the ancient hexameter verse, which is essentially *quantitative* in its structure, or the modern hexameter verse so successfully cultivated by the Germans, which is as essentially *accentual*. Of the genuine ancient, or pure dactylic hexameter verse, the English language is altogether incapable; not only because no language whose poetry is founded on elocutional principles can, without the most gross solecism, exactly imitate the rhythm of a language whose poetry is founded on the rules and practice of music, but because there are not a sufficient number of pure dactyles and pure spondees in the English language, to make the imitation possible for any length of time, in a style consistent with the comfort of the artist, and the demands of his art. A fashion indeed has prevailed in our common grammars, of marshalling forth certain measures familiar to our lyric poetry, under the name of dactylic and anapæstic; but it requires only a simple appeal to the ear to perceive that this phraseology is most inadequate, and like many other terms of art, borrowed from the ancient Prosodians, when applied to our modern tongues, has had no effect but to beget and to perpetuate confusion. The fact of the matter is, that our English dactylic and anapæstic verses, though they admit of any number of true dactyles and anapæsts, are, as was hinted above, rather tribrachic than dactylic in their character; the tribrach occurring oftener in them than the dactyle, and its equivalent the trochee, much more frequently than the spondee. We have indeed in English a woeful lack of genuine spondees; that is to say, spondees that are both full as to quantity and of harmonious flow. For spon-

dees by *position*, as they are sometimes called, are in fact trochees, and must be altogether discarded from the account; for position, which allowed the ancients to lengthen a syllable otherwise short, is so far from having that effect in English and German, that the common rule for both languages is, that a vowel before two or more consonants is short. According to this quantitative law, while *Wohl-laut* is a pure spondee in German, *Weltmeer* is an iambic, (though with the accent on the first syllable, like $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega\nu$ in Greek) *Ab'hang* is a pyrrhic, (though a trochee by abuse of language accentually,) and *Raúchfang* is a trochee both quantitative and accentual. In the English language, *female*, *outgo*, *outpour*, *foresee*, *live-long*, *bleach-green*, *wide-spread*, are genuine spondees as to quantity; but the number of such words in our language is few, and those that we have are in reality compound words only half-joined into one, and not half so harmonious as a spondee included in a single word; for in these compound words each element retains, in a manner, its separate existence, and comes upon the ear almost with a double accent which is not pleasant.* For spondees, therefore, we are driven to depend in a great measure upon the juxtaposition of two long monosyllables, as in that of Southey,

"In fall-orbed glory yonder moon divine,
Rolls through the dark blue depths."

But even this does not occur readily enough in a long composition, to enable the English translator to communicate to the English ear any impression of the stable mass of ponderous harmony which marches majestically to its goal, in the spondaic lines of Homer and Virgil. The fact of the matter is, the genius of the English language is essentially anti-spondaic; and in no respect are the hexameters of Mr. Southey and the Homeric translator in *Blackwood*, more inferior to their original than even here. The writer in *Blackwood*, indeed, strikes us as superabundant in tribrachs and dactyles of admirable smoothness for the most part, but not sufficiently tempered and varied by the spondees; but this is the natural vice of the English hexameter; for even in Mr Southey's masterly rhythm, when the majestic undulation (for we cannot call it march,) of the long continued dactyle or tribrach is suspended, we feel that the trochee and pyrrhic, even when aided by a dexterous use of comma and pause, have not weight enough to fill up the measure which the subtraction of so many syllables takes from the rhythm.

* This is the reason why such words are peculiarly offensive in the close of a verse, where we expect the metrical undulation to fall smoothly, and not to jerk off abruptly. The last line of the 1st Book of the Iliad in *Blackwood's*

Magazine, (May 1846,) offends in this view. "This he ~~sees~~ ~~is~~ ~~asleep~~ ~~and~~ ~~beside~~ ~~him~~ ~~throned~~." The ~~of~~ ~~Virgil~~, is ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~prime~~.

"Earth was hushed and still: all motion and sound was suspended,
Neither man was heard, bird, beast, nor humming of insect."

So much for the spondee. As for the dactyles, it will be manifest to every one who will appeal to his ear, that though our hexameter verse is by no means deficient in them, yet that tribrachs are decidedly preponderant; and these, along with the frequent trochees and pyrrhics, instead of real spondees, are apt to give a light and tripping air to the modern verse, the very opposite of that stability and steadiness which Dionysius and the critics so extolled in the ancient rhythm. The fact is, that while the ancient hexameter was, strictly speaking, march-time, our hexameter's musical correlative is rather jig-time, or waltz-time; and it requires great care in the writer, and even more in the reciter, to give to this measure, in its modern shape, that weight and majesty of movement which unquestionably belonged to its ancient prototype. But to proceed. Leaving the quantitative and musical element altogether out of view, the main question recurs,—Whether there is any thing in the mere *structure* of the English language adverse to a rhythm formed in imitation of the ancient hexameter, adopting the accentual, and rejecting the quantitative law; and to this question we think we may answer confidently—despite of what Tillbrook and others have urged—that there is *not*. This matter indeed has been already proved by the *fact*; for though the majority of English readers may not have reconciled—perhaps never endeavoured to reconcile—their ears to the new movement introduced to them in the "*Vision of Judgment*," it is most certain that the rhythm of that poem flows most easily, smoothly, and naturally, and that—whatever its effect may be on English feelings and associations—it offers no violence to the natural structure and movement of the English language. It is hard indeed to see how six dactylic or tribrachic feet in succession, should present any thing contrary to the rhythmical movement of the English language, when the same measure in dimeter, trimeter, and tetrameter extent is of the most frequent occurrence in our lyric poetry; and when we consider, as all our Orthoepists inform us, that the antepenultimate—tribrachic or dactylic accent—is the favourite accent of the English tongue. How naturally our language slides into the hexameter is indeed manifest, not only from the fact that this measure sometimes presents itself without being sought for, as in that well-known instance quoted by Southey,

"Why do the | heathen | rage, and the | people i- | magine a | vain thing!"

^s *Belonged*, we say strictly, not *belongs*; for, with our present barbarous habits of Latin reading, it is mere affectation to pretend that Mr. Southey's

hexameters do not sound as well—aye and a great deal better, to a well-trained ear than Virgil's.

but from many single experiments that can be made on our own lyric poetry, tending to shew how slight the change is that is necessary to transmute some of our dactylic metres into hexameters. Thus the following three dimeters,—

“ Not in the desert,
Son of Hodeirah,
Art thou abandoned,”

if written in own line, are in fact a hexameter ; but the law of Cæsura requires a slight change, thus :—

“ Not in the desert art thou, O son of Hodeirah, abandoned.”

And in the same poem, (*Thalaba*, Book II.) in the very next stanza, two lines occur which, if written in one, are also a hexameter, though a very slight change is necessary for the same reason :—

“ In the Domdaniel caverns
Under the roots of the ocean.”

Altered thus :—

“ In the Domdaniel caverns beneath the roots of the ocean.”

In vain, therefore, shall the nice academic ear rebel against Mr. Southey's grand innovation, on purely philological grounds. The learned Laureate knew his subject and his position too well ; and not without good reason, assuredly, had he “ long been of opinion that an English metre might be constructed in imitation of the ancient hexameter, which would be perfectly consistent with the character of our language, and capable of great richness, variety, and strength.”⁶ But there is something more in the matter. A whole army of English habits, feelings, and associations, remains behind ; and these, call them *prejudices* if you will, are a matter which no great poet appealing through the people's language to the people's ear, and the people's heart, much less any mere translator, can afford to disregard. The fact is, even Mr. Southey himself, with the true instinct of genius, felt much less confidence in the result of this “ experiment,” than in that other of the unrhymed and irregular rhythm which in his *Thalaba* he ushered into the British world with such admirable propriety, as “ the Arabesque ornament of an Arabian tale.” *Thalaba* is an oriental epic, as singularly original and felicitous in its manner as in its matter ; no student of English literature can afford to be ignorant of it ; but the “ *Vision of Judgment*,” is a pious curiosity in the subject as much as the style, and, except as a curiosity, has occupied no place in the series of the higher British poetry of the nineteenth century. What then are these feelings and associations with which we have to deal in this matter ? And are they such as should permanently stand in the way of a new school of translated literature, or are they likely

⁶ Preface to “ *Vision of Judgment*.”

to yield? On this point our opinion decidedly is, that the feelings of the English public on this subject are strong and invincible, and that they neither can, nor ought to yield. What they are, and on what they are founded, we need not particularly inquire. Some of them, no doubt, are foolish enough, and sound when put into an articulate shape, just as all nonsense does when painfully stilted itself into the altitude of reason; but in so far as they may be founded on the principle above enunciated, that the English dactylic, or more properly tribrachic measure, as the natural elocutional correlative of triple time in music, is essentially a measure of lyrical elevation; and by its own nature, as well as by the undeviating usage of the English language, not adapted for the calm and equable flow of old epic narrative: if this be the case, as we could prove at great detail, then this host of rebellious feelings and associations is entitled to something more than a mere prudent regard at the hands of any artificer of English verse; and in particular, it deserves serious consideration, whether the English hexameter, though unobjectionable on purely general grounds for some purposes, is therefore the fit measure, on æsthetical principles, for rendering the Homeric hexameter. For in this argument it must always be borne in mind, that the English hexameter is one thing, and the Homeric another. But, bating these considerations altogether, and treating the English feelings with regard to hexameter verse as a mere bundle of habits and associations,—still, as use and wont in all questions of language must have a great deal to say, there are the best possible reasons why, in the present matter, they should not be interfered with. No doubt Coleridge and Southey and Shelley, greeted though they were with sneers and contemptuous laughter on their first appearance, have done a great deal to enlarge the metrical conceptions of John Bull; but a good rhymist will wisely not put his patience to too severe a test in this direction, for many valid reasons, but principally for this, that every good rhymist is neither a Southey nor a Shelley. In vain, also, shall we plead in behalf of English hexameters, the example of our neighbours, the Germans; not, indeed, because their language possesses any peculiar structural superiority which might avail them here,⁷ but because the cases are not only not parallel, but altogether opposite. As a general rule, indeed, it may

⁷ They have fewer monosyllables, certainly, than we have; their verbs and the cases of their nouns being mostly disyllables from which we have cut off the termination; and the trochaic movement, commencing with the accent, is more natural to them. But practice has shown that these are merely accessory

points; and that the main objections made to English hexameters, on the score of structure, apply equally to the German. Surely this fact might have made our Tillbrooks pause a little in the fierce onset of their Quixotic wrath against the Laureate!

be laid down, that any thing peculiarly and characteristically German—so different is the national mind—will not suit the English taste; but the real want of parallelism lies in this, that the German polite literature is but of yesterday. Klopstock, Goethe, and Schiller, are the fathers of their literature; and were in a position, like Ennius among the Romans, and Dante among the Italians, to stamp authority upon whatsoever strange rhythm they chose to adopt. They have done so, and with the most signal success, as every body knows; for whatever certain narrow English critics may say, no man that has an ear for the melody of German poetry, will deny that Goethe's elegies, written in the Ovidian stanza, are perfect models of rhythmical harmony, and fill the ear with as grateful a sweetness as anything in Tibullus or the Sulmonian himself. All this, however, makes nothing for us. Had Shakespeare and Milton and Dryden used the hexameter as plentifully as the three German masters just named, no doubt they were in a condition, by the mastery of their glorious minds, to prescribe a new rhythmical law to that public ear, which now, being old and strong in a different habit, prescribes limits to the rhythmical masters of the present age. But Shakespeare, Milton, and Dryden, had too much common sense, and sound British conservatism if you like, to coquette with merely formal innovations of this kind. It is extremely doubtful, indeed, whether, on purely æsthetical principles, Klopstock and Goethe were defensible in what they did; certainly if their innovation was proper, it was proper only for such a people of erudite cosmopolites as the Germans, and forms no precedent on which other nations are entitled to proceed.

The matter then comes to a very short issue. The man who shall sit down to write a translation of the *Iliad* in English hexameters, must do so with the full consciousness that he is making a very delicate and doubtful experiment against the literary use and wont of a highly cultivated language, and against the banded associations and prepossessions of a whole people, "peculiarly intolerant of such innovations." Is there a motive sufficiently strong to induce a literary man to embark in a forlorn hope of this description? The enterprise, no doubt, is a brave one; it carries with it a magnificent sound; we cannot but be carried away with so fair an idea—a literal English FAC-SIMILE of the world-revered

"Blind old man of Scio's rocky isle,"

whose works are, and have been, and in all likelihood will for ever remain, at once the spelling-book and the Bible of all sublunar poetry. But let us beware of being robbed of our æsthetical senses by this one idea of a fac-simile, which it must be confessed has something of the mechanical in its nature, and may achieve wonderful likenesses—as the Daguerrotype does—only without the soul. A man, after ²

hanged, looks sufficiently like himself before that operation ; and a man who is drunk has the same eyes, nose, and mouth, as when he is sober.—But these likenesses are not pleasant. “Death,” as Goethe said, “is a bad portrait-painter :” so also is Drink, and the Daguerrotype. In practice, indeed, the fac-simile principle must be constantly modified by another one, which we have not yet distinctly stated, though it lies involved in the wide domain of what we have termed the style, character, and expression of a language, and the associations connected with them. This principle is, that *a translator is bound to transfer every measure of his original into that measure of his own language, which, in its style, character, associations, and effects, corresponds to his model.* It is upon this principle that the iambic trimeter of Greek tragedy is universally, in England, translated, not into an English trimeter, in number of feet and order of pauses the literal counterpart of the original, but into that ten-syllabled iambic verse, whose character and habit and expression, as formed by the familiar use of our native poetry, corresponds to the iambic trimeter as familiarly used by the Greeks. In other words, in translating the dialogic part of the Greek drama, we do not give the mechanical, but the æsthetical fac-simile of the Greek measure ; and this for the best of all possible reasons, that more would be lost in the spirit of disturbing the familiar metrical associations of our modern readers, than is gained in the letter, by adhering with mechanical exactness to the ancient model. That this is the true reason why no one thinks of translating the Greek trimeters into English ones of the same structure, is quite plain ; for nothing can be more natural to the English tongue than any iambic movement ; and Greek trimeters may be trolled off from the British tongue, as glibly as any hexameters, so soon as the ear is fairly won over to the trick. Thus the two first lines of the Prometheus might be done into Greek-English, thus—

At length arrive we, at this uttermost bourne of earth—
Bleak Scythia's wide-spread, lone untrodden solitude !

and so *ad infinitum*, and *more Germanorum* ; for our trans-Rhenane brethren deal in iambics as well as in hexameters ; Goethe having set them a notable example in the second part of *Faust*, though truly their translators ask for no high stamp of this kind, but systematically twist and turn and torture themselves with mimic minuteness after every iambic, trochaic or dactylic variation of which the various sweep of the Greek lyric is capable. Whether they are right in this procedure, so far as their own language is concerned, let themselves judge ; we know that high names, William Humboldt among others, have sanctioned the practice ; but we are extremely doubtful whether, on the principles of æsthetical science, it be defensible ; we doubt much whether

any thing is gained by this syllabic scrupulosity which can compensate for the grace, ease, and nature, which is undoubtedly sacrificed; and we think, generally, that in this, as in some other minute points of scholarship, our Teutonic brethren, or *masters* should we not rather say, in scholarship, are not without a certain superstition. Accuracy is a good thing; but there are certain living hues and tints in the floating element of poetic emotion, that will not be measured by inches; and a better likeness will sometimes be made without looking anxiously at every hair in a man's beard. As for ourselves, we may rest firmly assured that our British good sense, for which we are famous, will preserve us from any metrical aberrations of this kind. English trimeters, however well suited to our language, so far as mere structure is concerned, beside their novelty, are objectionable on another ground, which, perhaps, does not apply to hexameters. Their scope is too great for the original from which they are copied; that is to say, the difference of the language is such that an English trimeter will contain more sense and less sound than the Greek, within the same limits. This will be obvious to any person who compares the second line in the Prometheus—

Σκύθην ἐς οἶμον, ἄβατον εἰς ἐρημίαν,

with our version above given, where we have been obliged to interpolate a few epithets in order to fill up the room. Now, though the line for line system is altogether out of the question in translating from the ancient languages into the modern, still there are reasons why the translator should choose a measure, where he can, of the same compass as his original: a measure with which he can conveniently give line for line when convenient, and which does not throw in his way any temptation illegitimately to contract or expand.

One other remark on the hexameter, and we have done. The remark just made as to the compass of the translating instrument, contains the true reason why our heroic couplet, used by Pope, is so difficult to handle in the rendering of Homer or Virgil. It is not long enough for two hexameters, and it is too long for one; this, along with its tendency to make the pause too frequently coincide with the rhyme, and thus break the natural flow of the verse, seems to point it out as an unsuitable, at least so far as structure is concerned, as an extremely inconvenient English substitute for the hexameter. If, on account of epic associations, our ten-syllabled verse is to be used in rendering Homer, there can be no question that, in this particular matter, Cowper was nearer the mark than Pope, and that, in this case, blank verse is preferable to rhyme. But it admits, we think, of the clearest proof on the strictest æsthetical principles—principles which it might go hard even with our hardy German friends to disprove—that the proper English correlative of the Greek hexameter of

Homer, (Virgil may be different,) is Chapman's old iambic verse of fourteen syllables; or better still—because, like dactylic verse, it commences with the accent—the trochaic measure of fifteen syllables, so felicitously used by Mr. Tennyson in his luxuriant poem, "Locksley Hall." These measures, especially the latter, possess every quality that an intelligent admirer of Homer could wish for the purpose of producing a translation that shall, not merely in the letter, but in the spirit, and in the whole style and tone, be as much as possible a *fac-simile* of the original.^a The only doubt that can be stated is, whether this measure, iambic or trochaic, should be used with or without rhyme. The English ear unquestionably would prefer rhyme; but for the sake both of accuracy in the version, and variety in the pause, we should like to see the experiment made without rhyme. John Bull's prejudices in favour of this tinkling appendage of verse are no doubt strong; but they are extremely unreasonable, and receive no sanction whatever from the practice of some of the greatest masters of our tongue. Rhyme is only the buckle on the shoe; if the leather is otherwise sound, and pinch not, and the article of a superior make, the wearer will soon be reconciled to the loss.

J. S. BLACKIE.

2. CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON HOMER, *Od.* v. 366, &c.; XENOPHON'S *Hellen*, i. 7, § 2; AND ARISTOPH. *Acharn.* 328, Bekk., 347, Elmsl. and Dind.

IN the Fifth Book of the *Odyssey*, v. 366–371, we have a lively description of the breaking up of the raft, which Ulysses had constructed upon Calypso's island.

ὤρσε δ' ἐπὶ μέγα κῦμα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,
 δεινὸν τ' ἀργαλέον τε, κατηρεφές· ἤλασε δ' αὐτόν.
 ὥς δ' ἄνεμος ξαῖε ἦϊων θημῶνα τινάξῃ
 καρφαλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄρ τε διεσκέδασ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλη·
 ὥς τῆς δούρατα μακρὰ διεσκέδασ'· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
 ἄμφ' ἐνὶ δούρατι βαῖνε, κέληθ' ὥς ἵππον ἐλαύνων.

The word ἦϊων occurs only in this passage; for it is manifestly a different word from ἦια, ἦα, or ἦα, which occurs elsewhere in all these

^a Some people object to the *length* of this verse; but Tillbrook made the same objection to the hexameters; to which Mr. Southey made the very sen-

sible reply, that "the breath is regulated in reading by the length of the sentence, not by that of the verse."

forms in the sense of "provisions" or "food." The old commentators interpret it as *ἄχυρα*, and modern lexicons translate it by "chaff:" but I believe that this interpretation is derived only from the context, and adopted because it suits the sense of the passage. Now, I conceive, from the addition of the epithet *μακρὰ τῷ δούρατι*, ὡς τῇ δούρατι *μακρὰ διεσκέδασε*, "so he scattered the long beams of the raft," that the simile will appear much more graphic, if we understand by *ῥῖα* not merely minute particles, like chaff, but something long, and resembling the beams in shape, and yet light enough to be blown away by a violent gust of wind. Upon this internal evidence, I would translate the word by "straw," "stubble," or "reeds." But there is another word in another passage, likewise a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, but one that has attracted greater notice, which determines me to adopt the last meaning. In the fifth Book of the *Iliad*, (v. 36.) Athene withdraws Ares from the battle, and seats him *ἐπ' ἡϊόεντι Σκαμάνδρῳ*. This epithet has sorely puzzled the commentators. Buttmann, in his *Lexilogus*, has shewn, what indeed scarcely wanted shewing, that the vulgar derivation from *ἡϊών*, "sea shore," is good for nothing; and chiefly from the internal evidence of the passage itself, he suggests the meaning "grassy." I submit that the adjective *ἡϊόεις* is regularly formed from the substantive *ῥῖον*; that *ῥῖον* is "a reed," and *ῥῖοεις*, "reedy;" that *ῥῖων θημῶνα* is "a heap of reeds," and *ἐπ' ἡϊόεντι Σκαμάνδρῳ*, "on the bank of the reedy Scamander." This interpretation suits perfectly the passage in which Quintus Smyrnaeus has used the word, better even than Buttmann's:

B. v. v. 299,—*χῆνεσιν ἢ γεράνοισιν οἰκότες, οἷς ἐπορούση
αἰετὸς ῥῖον πεδῖον καταβοσκομένοισιν,*

"a reedy or rushy plain."

In Xenophon's *Hellenics*, I. c. vii. § 2, where Xenophon begins his account of the prosecution of the six admirals, we are told, according to the common text, *Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῇς Δεκελείας ἐπιμελούμενος*, Ἐρασινίδῃ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν, κατηγορεῖ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα, ὄντα τοῦ δήμου. The clause *τῇς Δεκελείας ἐπιμελούμενος* has caused great trouble to commentators; and it is so inexplicable, that there is good reason to suspect that it is corrupt. We want a better collation of MSS. than we have, in order to lay a foundation for a sound text. But if *Δεκελείας* be the reading best supported by MSS., then I conjecture that the true reading is *δεκατείας*, and that the office of Archædemus is to be explained by reference to what we are told in c. i. § 22: *ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀφικόμενοι τῇς Χαλκηδονίας ἐς Χρυσόπολιν, εἰείχυσαν αὐτήν, καὶ δεκατετήριον κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ · καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἐξαλέγοντο*

τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ναυεὶ τριάκοντα, καὶ στρατηγὸν δύο. The Athenians stationed a force at Chrysopolis, and exacted a toll of one-tenth of the value of the cargo from all merchant ships which passed out of the Pontus. Of this δεκατεία, or exaction of tithe, I conceive Archedemus to have had the charge; and if this were his office, we see at once that it was in the discharge of his ordinary duties that he accused Erasinides of embezzling monies from the Hellespont, which were the property of the state; and we can understand how he had the power by his own summary jurisdiction to impose a fine upon him (ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλῶν) to a certain amount.

I observe, however, that Schneider reports as the reading of two MSS., and as a marginal reading in Stephen's edition, Διωκελείας. This would lead me to conjecture τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελούμενος. The διωβελία was the distribution of two obols to each of the poorer citizens, to defray their entrance into the theatre, (Boeckh, *Public Economy of Athens*, Vol. I. p. 296, Engl. Transl. ed. 1;) and according to this conjecture, Archedemus would have the management of a most important part of the Theorica, a very fitting office for a demagogue, and one which would give him a good pretext for looking sharp after any speculation.¹

With regard to the first of these two conjectures, I observe that it is mentioned in a note in Bishop Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, Vol. IV. p. 128, that Professor Dobree conjectured τῆς δεκάτης, or τῆς λείας, or τῆς δεκάτης τῆς λείας, (*Adv.* I. p. 125.) I have not Dobree's *Adversaria* to refer to. If he had conjectured only τῆς δεκάτης, I should have thought that his notion was the same as my own; but the addition of τῆς λείας makes me conclude that he had a different view.

In the *Acharnians*, when Dicæpolis, by the threat of destroying the charcoal basket, has compelled the Acharnian charcoal-burners to throw down the stones with which they had armed themselves, and to suspend their assault upon him, he exclaims, according to the common reading,—

ἐμέλλετ' ἄρα πάντες ἀνασεῖν βοῆς,

(v. 328, Bekk. v. 347, Elmsley and Dindorf.)

This line has given great trouble to the commentators. Βοήν used to be cited, upon the faith of Invernizius, as the reading of the Ra-

¹ I find from Dindorf's edition, that among the various readings noted by Victorius on the margin of a copy of the Aldine edition, and taken from some MS. is Διωκελίας in this passage. This

confirms me in my opinion, that Διωβελίας is the true reading. Victorius's marginal note is probably the origin of Stephen's.

venna MS.; and Dindorf reads *βοήν*, and says, “*Ἀνασείειν βοήν dictum ut ιστάναι βοήν* ;” and a correspondent in the last number of the *Classical Museum*, (p. 204.) treats *βοήν* as an unquestioned reading. I cannot myself get a meaning out of *ἀνασείειν βοήν* ; but it appears by Bekker's collation that the Ravenna MS. has *βοῆς*, as every other authority has ; and *βοήν* is a mere conjecture, thrown out originally by Reiske, and adopted by Invernizius. Now, the very difficulty presented by the genitive case, since all the authorities agree in it, is an argument that it is the true reading. If *βοήν* were the original word, an accusative case after a transitive verb would never have been changed into a genitive which makes no sense. I suspect, therefore, that the unsound point lies in the other word *ἀνασείειν*.

Elmsley has perceived clearly the sense which the context requires, but which the words *ἀνασείειν βοῆς* do not give ; and as his remarks have suggested to me what I think is a probable correction, I will transcribe them. He says, “*Grammatica structura hujus versus nondum mihi satis comperta est: sententia vero, quæ sefellit interpretes, hujusmodi videtur: ἐμέλλετ' ἄρα παύσεσθαι τῆς βοῆς. Noster Ran. 268, Ἐμελλον ἄρα παύσειν ποθ' ὑμᾶς τοῦ κόαζ. Pro ἀνασείειν βοῆς eodem sensu dicere poterat poeta, ἀνήσειν τῆς βοῆς, ut in Pac. 318, Ἐξολεῖτέ μ', ὦνδρες, εἰ μὴ τῆς βοῆς ἀνήσετε. Cæterum ἀνασείειν agnoscit Suidas in ipsa voce.*” And in his *Auctarium Annotationum*, he adds, “*Verbum μέλλω eodem sensu usurpatur a nostro, Vesp. 460; Ἄρ' ἐμέλλομέν ποθ' ὑμᾶς ἀποσοβήσειν τῷ χρόνῳ. Nub. 1301, Φεύγεις; ἐπελλόν σ' ἄρα κινήσειν ἐγώ. Ad hunc locum optime monet Brunkius: Sic loqui solent qui multo labore tandem id effecerunt quod contenderunt. Dicerent nostrates, I thought I should make you hold your tongue.*” Now I suspect that the true reading is—

ἐμέλλετ' ἄρα πάντες ἀνησεῖν βοῆς,

and that Aristophanes has made a desiderative verb *ἀνησεῖω* from *ἀνήσω*, the future of *ἀνίημι*, like *πολεμησηεῖω* from *πολεμήσω* and *πολεμέω*, and *δρασειεῖω*, and several others. If this is so, the sense is, “*I thought then that you would all be disposed to leave off shouting.*” The desiderative verb is used with a slight irony. As to the syntax of the passage, it will be observed, that in the similar expressions which Elmsley has cited, the verb *μέλλω* is followed by a future infinitive. *Ἀνησεῖν* is present ; but I think that a desiderative verb formed from the future may hold the place of the future tense. The rhythm of my proposed line is unusual, presenting an anapæst of which the first syllable is intercepted by the hephthemimeral cæsura ; but the same rhythm appears in *Acharn.* vv. 698 and 863. The latter line is—

ἡ φορτί' ἔτερ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐκεῖα' ἄξεις ἰών ;

This conjecture, like the others, I do not propose as certain, but commend to the judgment of scholars.

HENRY MALDEN.

8. ON ὥς, ἵνα, ὅφρα, ὅπως, WITH THE PAST INDICATIVE.

NOTWITHSTANDING the labours of Dr. Monk in elucidating the *fact* of this construction, and of Professor Malden, (I think it was this learned scholar who read a paper at the Philological Society,) in explaining the *principle*, I venture to offer one view more of this phenomenon, which, without being so deep and philosophical, will, I trust, be found to have something in it to support its simplicity.

Dr. Monk, in his note on Hippolytus, 643, refers to a passage in the same play at v. 934. It was on referring to that passage that I found what I believe to be the true key to the construction. The lines 934, 935, are these:—

ὥς ἡ φρονούσα τὰδικ' ἐξηλέγχετο
πρὸν τῆς δικαίας, κοῦκ ἂν ἡπατώμεθα.

I can hardly conceive it being for a moment doubted that the *ἂν* belongs to both verbs in this passage—and is *omitted* in *all* the other examples of this construction, which is nothing more than an *elliptical* form of a *conditional* proposition. Now, I will first endeavour briefly to prove this; then I will illustrate from Latin as well as Greek the absence of the conditional form or word from the apodosis; and lastly, remark shortly upon the sense of ὥς, ἵνα, &c. in this point of view.

1st, With regard to the ellipse, try and put any of the examples given by Dr. Monk *into Latin*, and you will see at once that you must express it by a *full conditional* sentence. "*In which case*" can only be Latinized by the protasis of a conditional proposition. For curiosity's sake, I turned to that admirable little work for schools, (and colleges too,) of the Rev. Charles Wordsworth, the *Rudimenta Syntaxis*, p. 29, sect. 175, obs. 2, to see how the passage from *Æd. Tyr.* 1391—ὥς ἔδειξα μήποτε—was translated; and sure enough I find the full conditional phrase, "*quod si fecisses, nunquam docuisses.*"

2dly, I need hardly take up any time or space to prove, that in Latin and Greek conditional propositions, the form in Latin and the word *ἂν* in Greek is frequently absent from the apodosis.

"Me truncus illapsus cerebro
Sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
Dextrâ levâset i:"

and the epigram—

ἤλιον ἀνθρώποις αὐγῆς θεὸν • εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν
ὑβρίζεν φαίνων, οὐδὲ τὸ φῶς ἐπόθουν—

suffice for my purpose. But, by the way, I may observe that, common as is the substitution in Latin of the indicative for the conditional mood in the apodosis, I never met with more than *one* instance of it in the protasis. We find in Ovid, *Metam.* xii. 611,

At si fœmineo fuerat tibi Marte cadendum,
Thermodontiacâ malles cecidisse bipenni.

Nevertheless, that the word “*si*” is omitted, is well known.

Tu quoque magnam
Partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare haberes.

3dly, If this interpretation of the construction in question is true, what sense is to be given to ὡς, ἵνα, ὅπως, and how are they to be explained? Why, I conceive they must be taken in their most *primary* and natural sense: ὡς is really ἐν οἷς, “in which case;” ἵνα again is a particle of place or circumstance, “where,” or “under which circumstances;” ὅπως, like ὡς, is ἐν ὅποις, “under which circumstances;” and ὅφρα is merely an epic form of the same force as ἵνα, both probably being originally neuter plural accusatives.

C. J. ABRAHAM.

ETON COLLEGE, June 11. 1846.

4. ON SOPHOCLES, *Trachin.* 339.

In the *Trach.* of Sophocles, l. 339, the reading is τί δ' ἐστί, τοῦ με τήνδ' ἐφίστασαι βάσιν; Porson, in a note on v. 1373 of the *Phœnissæ* of Euripides, advises to read and point τί δ' ἐστί; τοῦ καὶ τήνδ' ἐφίστασαι βάσιν. It would appear that all the editors and commentators consider ἐφίστασαι, as the 2. sing. pres. mid. But the middle voice signifies, *to cause one's self to stand*, hence, *to stand*; and with the preposition, *to stand at, near or by*; and, therefore, it cannot take the accus. after it. The following reply of the ἄγγελος to Dejanaira, forbids us to apply τήνδε βάσιν to him, σταθεῖς ἄκουσον, stand still and listen. I have little doubt that ἐφίστασαι was intended by the poet as the infin. of the 1. aor. act. for ἐπιστήσαι. Homer has, *Il.* xii. 56, τοὺς ἕστασαν (ἵστασαν) νῆες Ἀχαιῶν πυκνοὺς καὶ μεγάλους, which the sons of the Greeks fixed close together and large. Cf. *Odys.* iii. 182, xvii. 306. And Eurip. *Herac.* 940,—βρέτας Διὸς τροπαῖον καλλιόνικον ἵστασαν. I would, therefore, prefer the common reading, τί δ' ἐστί τοῦ με τήνδ' ἐφίστασαι βάσιν, to Porson's; and translate, What is it?

for what purpose, or why (*καλεύεις*) do you request me to fix my step (or foot) here? or, to stop here? To which the messenger replies, *σταθεῖς ἄκουσον*. As the 1. aor. is evidently formed from the reduplicated present of the first conjugation by *ἵσταίνω*, it should always be *ἵστασαν* in the places quoted, not *ἔστασαν*, which is the pluperfect.

GEORGE DUNBAR.

XXV.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

1. THE PROMETHEUS CHAINED OF ÆSCHYLUS, translated into English Verse by the Reverend G. C. Swayne, M.A. Oxford, 1846. 8vo.
2. DES ÆSCHYLUS GEFESSELTER PROMETHEUS; Griechisch und Deutsch, mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und dem Gelösten Prometheus; von G. F. Schoemann. Greifswald, 1844. 8vo.

English translations are characteristically bad; why, it is not hard to say. The Englishman, like the Frenchman, is a man of a very strongly marked, decided, and peculiar national character; active, energetic, and enterprising, he is more capable of making impressions on others than of receiving them from abroad: full of vigour and lusty manhood, he is at the same time full of gnarled prejudices, and narrow one-sidedness; he wants flexibility, pliancy, and adaptability to foreign ideas, as in his character, so also in his language and literature. In such an element, translations cannot possibly prosper; and in so far as they exist, will be found to possess more or less of the qualities peculiar to what the Italians call a *rifacimento*.

To a philosophic mind, indeed, or an accurate mind of any kind, nothing can be more tantalizing than the general style of translation, especially of rhythmical translation, in the English language. We have one good specimen, indeed, of what a translation ought to be—the Bible; but in this instance a strong religious feeling—one of the virtues of our national character—has been strong enough to do that, which in the field of profane literature, the combined action of our devotion to classical studies, and our sound poetical taste, have not been able to achieve. In the field of English translation, hitherto, fashion and freak, and a blind subjection to great names, have reigned most tyrannically, to the exclusion, or at least undue subordination, of nature, and truth, and common sense, and the laws of good taste.

To this general character the translation of the "*Prometheus Chained*," from the pen of an Oxonian, which has just appeared, forms

no exception; and to speak truth, our principal object in noticing it at all is to protest once again, as we have already done, against the confused, motley, and what we may be allowed to term *conglomerate* style of translation in which English scholars indulge. The characteristic of this style is magniloquent expansion, vapid diffusion, and pompous decoration; a character, the furthest possible removed from that style of severe strength, massive stability, and chastened elegance, which we so justly celebrate as classical. In this view the style of translation which we blame might perhaps, adopting an architectural term, aptly be named the *decorated*; but we have preferred the phrase *conglomerate*, as expressing more fitly the strangely-huddled medley of original and interpolated matter of which this sort of perverse Mosaic is composed. In any given specimen of English translation after the received model, no reader can tell how much belongs to the author, and how much to the translator; sometimes, as seems most natural, the embedded stones and pebbles of which the body of the rock is composed, belong to the original writer, while the translator has only added the cement; but, not seldom, he throws in his own boulders also into the mass, and seems to admire himself not a little for the dexterity with which he has done it. Except, indeed, as a nimble metrical exercise to the translator, we do not know of what worth many an English translation is; but this advantage again is neutralized by the silly vanity which it tends to nourish—the vanity of *improving* the original,—and by the habits of looseness of conception and confused perception which it engenders.

We are aware that writers of high authority in these matters have systematically justified this decorated style of translation, and have endeavoured to shift the blame from the false habits of the English taste in this matter, and throw it on the meagreness and poverty of the English language. So Mr. Symmons, in the preface to his translation of the *Agamemnon* (1824) says, “The Greek poetry pleased and was imposing in its simplicity and nakedness; it has a charm perfectly impossible to be conveyed to those who have not read it in the original, and are not thoroughly imbued with it: whereas an attempt at the same simplicity in an uncongenial and less powerful language in a less poetical age and country, would produce only a displeasing effect, pretty nearly what would be produced by the exhibition of a modern *beau* stript of his clothes by the side of the naked Antinous, Adonis, or Apollo.”¹ It appears, therefore, according to this theory,

¹ The best practical commentary on these remarks may be found in Mr. Symmons' own version, which, in many places, exhibits almost a perfect model of combined faithfulness and vigour;

while in others he allows himself to run riot in the hereditary looseness and magniloquent diffusion of ordinary English translators.

that we must dress the naked ancients before they can appear in our modern society; plastering them all over with fig-leaves and purple patches, that they may not offend our polite eyes. And this dressing must of course be different according to the vestimentary customs of the nation where the classical stranger is introduced; in Scotland Jove must wear a kilt and plaid, in England pantaloons and a great-coat, in Italy a brigand's cloak. If this fancy be correct, a translation from the antique into the English language is impossible; for the clothing of naked beauty thus required cannot be made without falling more or less into plain caricature. And the fact is, that many of our most current English translations present to the intelligent eye the aspect of a flounced and furbelowed caricature of simplicity, unless, perhaps, the term *metamorphosis* may appear more appropriate; for the dress of the mind clings to the thought more closely than any vesture to the body; and the terse Tacitus translated into the language of the wanton luxuriant Apuleius, is Tacitus no longer, but a nondescript and incoherent something that bespeaks its own monstrosity in every movement. So the concise and compact, and fine-chiselled ancients, translated into the language of verbose and voluminous moderns, are no ancients at all; and as they cannot be moderns, remain suspended in a sort of literary limbo fit only for themselves, where the indistinct waviness of their outline is but feebly compensated by the flaunting flow of their drapery, and the assiduous tinklings of rhyme that are made to accompany their march.

But is all this necessary? Most assuredly it is not. Men have written a concise and vigorous style in English also; and if *Æschylus* spoke so to the Athenians, with few words and much weight, some impression of his masculine manner may no doubt be conveyed to the English ear through the medium of our masculine and manly tongue. It is quite true, doubtless, that the rich compound words of the Greek cannot always be imitated felicitously in English; but our language is infinitely richer in this capacity than the narrow school of Pope may conceive:—true also it is, that the inferior vocal contents of English in some words may demand here and there the support of an innocent epithet to fill the ear; but any licenses occasionally demanded by these peculiarities of our tongue, fall infinitely short of that almost systematic range of expansion and diffusion in which our English translators revel. As a specimen of this lawless license, take the following from Mr. Swayne:—

PROMETHEUS.

"I grant him rough,
And stubborn enough,
Knowing no right
But selfish might;

*But his metal of might shall be shivered and broken ;
 And his voice of thunder shall wax soft-spoken ;
 And the flower of his pride shall be rudely strown ;
 And he shall droop from his high command
 With the lightnings stricken from out his hand,
 Till vengeance spares to seek her own."*

In this passage the last six lines purport to be a "translation into English verse" of the following thirteen words of Æschylus :

"ἀλλ' ἔμπας

Μαλακογνώμων

"Ἔσται ποθ' ὅταν ταύτη ραισθῇ

Τὴν δ' ἀτέραμνον στορέσας ὕργην."—v. 187—90.

Given thus by the trustworthy fidelity of the German,—

und dennoch wird

Sanftmüthig er einst

Noch sein, wenn auch er so gebrochen wird.

Dann erweicht er wohl sein hartes Gemüth.

SCHOEMANN.

The translator who handles a great and severe author like Æschylus with the easy freedom of Mr. Swayne in the above passage, must either have a portentous conceit of the value of his own rhymes, or must have mistaken altogether the task he undertook when he proposed to himself a translation, and not a paraphrase of the great Titan drama.

Were there any necessity for it, we could multiply passage after passage, especially in the finer lyrical strains, which the present translator has, to our taste, utterly damaged and disfigured by this wanton puerility of overlaid rhyme. Were even a Shakespeare or a Dryden to play off such pranks upon us when we are expecting a *bona fide* translation, we should owe them small thanks ; but meaner bards, or mere versifiers, should consider that the venerable Doric colonnades of antiquity have been preserved to us for some higher purpose than to be flourished over with the arbitrary arabesques of every penciller that can draw a curved line. But Mr. Swayne is very far from being an expert master of the merely mechanical part of rhyming. It is, indeed, generally a most obstinate perverseness in our English translators of the classics, that, notwithstanding the happy examples of the unrhymed lyric set before them by Collins, Shelley, and Southey, they will persist in affixing the jingling aklets of rhyme to the grave and steady tread of an Æschylean chorus ; thereby not only dragging in a modernism where it is altogether out of place, but systematically setting up an additional temptation to unnecessary diffusion and expansion, and all sorts of lawless or even ridiculous deviation from the ancient text. Even the best rhymers must have felt this at times ; one rhyme begets another in the translator's ears featly enough, without

any scrupulous reference to the old parchment ; and so creeps in that motley host of sounding conceits, in all disguises, of which our English translations are so full. But Mr. Swayne, as we have said, does not play with rhyme on all occasions as easily as an Indian juggler does with balls ; and it is the easiest of all things for a moderately practised ear to point out in his choruses "where the dog lies buried;" that is to say, where a word has been tagged to the end of a verse for the sake of the rhyme, and the rhyme *only* ; where a whole line has been interpolated into a stanza, not for its own beauty or propriety, but to prop up another line which, by the laws of metrical consonance, stands in need of such a stay. Of this a few examples :—

CHORUS.

"I see, Prometheus ; would my eyes were blind !
 A mist is creeping o'er them like a cloud
 Surcharged with rain, through whose uncertain shroud
 The scene grows tremulous and ill-defined.
 Nevertheless, polluting bonds I see,
 Thine adamantine penalty ;
 I see thy form, outstretched, aghast,
 Under the bleaching blast,
 A helpless thing,
 Enslaved to that inexorable ring.
 In sooth, Olympus' helm a hand obeys
 That cannot swerve or pity, Zeus is hard,
 With iron maxims o'er its course keeps guard,
 And laughs to scorn the powers of elder days."

In this passage, the Chorus, after a fashion characteristic of the infancy of the dramatic art, commences by describing its own sorrow, and the effect of its own tears in beholding the unexampled woes of Prometheus. This sort of self-description, wherever it occurs in the Greek tragedy, must be looked upon as a vice of the author, which the translator, having no vocation to alter, must be content faithfully to represent. Mr. Swayne, however, instead of attempting to mollify the evil—as some translators would do—puts on magnifying glasses on the occasion ; and as if the deviation from the laws of good taste was not sufficiently great in itself, thinks to make it more effective by painting it out with an *alterum tantum* of interpolated amplification.

In the first four lines, Æschylus says only,

"λέύσω Πομπηεὺ φοβερά δ'έμοῖσιν οσσοῖς
 Ὀμίχλα προσήξε πλήρη
 δακρύων."—v. 144–6.

In the translation of which simple passage by Mr. Swayne, who does not see that the last two lines of amplification were brought in principally that *shroud* might rhyme, as it is wont to do, with *cloud*, and

ill-defined with blind? In the following six lines, we have a most weak and ineffective expansion of the two-and-a-half lines of the original:—

“σὸν δέμας εἰσιδούσα
πέτραις προσαναινόμενον,
ταῖσδ' ἀδαμαντοδέτοισι λύμαις.”—v. 146–8.

while in the following four lines, the important word *νέος*, expressive of the *recent* existence of Jove's empire, twice emphatically repeated by Æschylus, is altogether omitted by the translator; and at the same time, the force of the word *πελώριος* is by no means given.

“νέοι γὰρ οἰακονόμοι κρατούσ' Ὀλύμπου
νεοχμοῖς δὲ δὴ νόμοις Ζεὺς ἀθέτως κρατύνει,
τὰ πρὶν δὲ πελώρια νῦν ἄϊστοι.”—v. 149–151.

Let us take another example:—

PROMETHEUS.

“But my mind hath known of old
All the tidings he hath told,
For foes from foes to reap no good,
Is the law of likelihood.
The hour of doom, the hour of doom,
Let it come, sith come it will;
Let the lightning through the gloom,
With its streaming hair of light,
Flash divided on the night;
And pestilential vapours fill,
And rot the marrow of the earth:
Let the blast
Of tempest vast,
Wrench the world from Nature's base,
Wrecked in never-ending space;
Heap in surging mound the sea
With a new chaotic birth;
Wrench the stars from out their course,
And whirl my frame with eddying force
High to heaven, then down as deep
To the black infernal keep;—
Yet the breath
Of that huge death
Never shall extinguish me.”

In this passage, which is one of most masculine energy and sublimity in the original,—the lines,

“The hour of doom, the hour of doom,
Let it come, sith come it will,”

and

“Wrecked in never-ending space,”

and

“ With a new chaotic birth,”

and

“ Wrench the stars from out their course,”

are pure interpolations, containing a final unnecessary word that is either the harbinger or the supplement of some necessary word that, unless so supported, must stand unrhymed. As for the rest of the version, a simple juxta-position of the original will show how arbitrary and inefficient it is in almost every point:—

“ πρὸς ταῦτ’ ἐπ’ ἐμοὶ ῥιπέσθω μὲν
 πυρὸς ἁμφήκης βόστρυχος αἰθὴρ δ’
 Ἐρεθίζέσθω βροντῇ σφακέλω τ’
 ἀγρίων ἀνέμων, χθόνα δ’ ἐκ πυθμένων
 αὐταῖς ῥίξαις πνεῦμα κραδαίνοι,
 κύμα δὲ πόντου τραχεῖ ῥοθίῳ
 ξυγχώσειεν, τῶν τ’ οὐρανίων
 ἀστρων διόδους, ἧς τε κελαϊνὸν
 Τάρταρον ἄρδην ῥίψειε δέμας
 τοῦμόν ἀνάγκης στερεῖραῖς δίναις
 πάντως ἐμέ γ’ οὐ θανατώσει.”—γ. 1043–1053.

In Mr. Swayne's translation, three lines are spread out in verbose pomp for the simple “πυρὸς ἁμφήκης βόστρυχος” of Æschylus; and yet the real idea of the word ἁμφήκης is not given after all. How, again, the English—

“ Pestilential vapours fill,
 And rot the marrow of the earth”—

which sounds so bravely, could be witched out of the corresponding Greek passage—

“ αἱ θῆρ δ’
 ἐρεθίζέσθω βροντῇ σφακέλω τ’
 ἀγρέων ἀνέμων”—

let the translator explain: we cannot. Again, the “high to heaven” of the English is far too violent a contrast for the simple ἄρδην of Æschylus, which merely expresses the being carried away and swung aloft in the violent sweep of a hurricane; while the conclusion—

“ Yet the breath
 Of that huge death
 Never shall extinguish me—”

is mere puerile rhodomontade for the decided and determined laconism of the original—

KILL ME HE NEVER CAN!

These two examples may suffice to shew with what blind confidence of unchastened presumption Mr. Swayne rushes into the holy of holies of the Æschylean drama, where a Shelley and a Coleridge would

tread with awe. But he goes even farther than this; he allows his limping rhyme on occasions to run away not only with his taste, but with his sense; and for the sake of a shallow jingle, sets Hesychius at defiance with as much indifference as Aristotle. Witness the following

CHORUS.

"Fear not, for friendly are the wings
That startle the deep un murmuring sleep
Of this ice-bound hill with their flutterings.
See us, daughters of Ocean, come
In a race of love from our sea home,
Half in spite of our father's will;
For a wondrous ring of iron clangor,
Our mazy caverns it did fill,
And from our eyes did chase the languor:
So with clouds outspread for my chariot bed,
All with unsandalled feet I sped."

We omit the minor offences of this passage, which are not few for the compass, and call attention only to one point. The "languor" which chimes so conveniently with "clangor," is a translation of "Τῇν θεμερῶπιν αἰδῶ!" which Captain Medwyn, in his spirited, though too often diffuse translation, renders correctly enough for the main idea, "our maiden blushes." We cannot think so uncharitably of Mr. Swayne's Greek as to imagine for a moment that he does not know the true meaning of the original in this place; but rhyme, as it has fared with better men, stood for the nonce in the threshold, and reason went out at the back door.

With regard to M. Schoemann's German translation, we have not examined it so minutely as Mr. Swayne's; nor indeed could we criticize it worthily in this place, without entering at greater length into the general philosophy of translation than our present limits allow. Let it be enough to say that, like all German translations, it is strong in all those points where English translations are weak; being constructed, even to superstitious minuteness, on the principle of facsimile transcription. This principle, whatever be its inadequacy to solve the highest problems of the translator's art, possesses at least the one fundamental virtue on which all satisfactory translation must proceed—accuracy, honesty, and truthfulness. We cannot, however, mention M. Schoemann's performance in this place, without expressing the very high satisfaction with which we have perused his 90 pages of introductory remarks, in the course of which he has comprised within a short space every thing that has recently been penned by his learned countrymen on the very interesting and important theological and moral questions which the *Prometheus* suggests; and has, moreover, wound up the whole matter with a theory of his own, to us

more complete and satisfying than any thing that we have read on the subject. This matter, however, is too important and too complex to be discussed in passing; and having already accumulated a small library of Promethean tracts, we shall take an early opportunity, (in our next Number if possible,) of passing the whole subject of the Promethean Trilogy deliberately in review before the readers of the *Museum*.

XXVI.

WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

- Æschylus. The Prometheus Chained of Æschylus. Translated into English Verse by Rev. G. S. Swayne, M.A. Oxford.
 Arnold's, T. K., Latin Prose Composition. Part I. New Edition. London. 8vo., cloth.
- Bailie, J. K., Fasciculus Inscriptionum Græcarum potissimum quas apud sedes celeberrimas Asianas chartis mandatas, et nunc denuo instauratas, notisque tum criticis tum exegeticis instructas, edidit J. K. Bailie, S. T. P. Tom. 2. Dublin. 4to.
- Bloomfield, S. T., Epitome Evangelica; being a Selection from the Greek Testament. London. 18mo., cloth.
- Brockett, J. T., Glossary of North Country Words; with their Etymology and Affinity to other Languages. London. 8vo., cloth.
- Cæsar, by Christison. Editio nova, curante Gulielmo Duncan. 12mo. bound.
- Cicero de Senectute, from Text of Ernesti. London. 18mo.
- Cicero de Amicitia, from Text of Ernesti. London. 18mo.
- Cicero's Select Orations, by Rev. M. M'Kay. New Edition. Dublin. 8vo., cloth.
- Crombie's Gymnasium; abridged. Fourth Edition. London. 12mo., cloth.
- Demosthenes, ex recensione Gulielmi Dindorfii. 4 vols. Oxford. 8vo., boards.
- Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by Dr. W. Smith. Part 16. London, Taylor & Walton.
- Fawn, The, of Sertorius, in 2 vols. London. 8vo.
- Halliwell's Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words. Parts 10. and 11. London.
- Homer's Iliad, from the Text of Dr. Kennedy; by A. R. Faussett. Dublin. 12mo., boards.
- Homer's Iliad. First 3 Books; by Anthon. Edited by Major. London. 12mo., bound.
- Herodotus; translated from the Text of Gaisford, by P. E. Laurent. 3d Edition. 2 vols. Oxford. 8vo.
- Justini, Philosophi et Martyris, cum Tryphone Judæo Dialogus. Edited by Rev. W. Trollope. Cambridge. 8vo., bound.

THE

CLASSICAL MUSEUM.

Ter
Val
F.

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from

XXVII.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF LATIN LYRICAL METRES.

HORACE—ODES, L. 3.

- F So may the Cyprian Queen,
Helen's brethren, constellations bright,
Aristotelis C And the winds' father guide
13s. 6d.
Athenes, Mo course, the rest refraining save Iapyx !
Lithograph 2 ship, that for our trust,
moncel. P. rgil, debtor art ! to Attic shores
Becker, W. A. am render safe, I pray ;
Leipzig. 8v ve alive my own life's better part !
Creuzer, F., De rong oak and triple brass
zur Geschich
Creuzer, F., Art did ease about, who, frail to fierce,
Entstehung u. omitted bark to billow,
Crusius, G. C., Viner ; nor feared the heady south
8vo. 4s.
Curtius, G., Sprac adly fight with the north,
matik. Vol. I. d Hyades, nor the wild south-west,
Hermann, K. F., adria's stormy main,
Gottesdienstlich crat, to rouse it or to lull.
Herrig, L., & Viel t shape of death feared he,
chen. Eine Vic
Horatii Opera, in u ashed the floating monster forms,
berg. 3s. velling seas beheld,
Invernizi, de Pub. fame the Acroceraunian rocks ?
tres. 8vo. Lip did heaven dispart,
Livii rerum Romai uncompanionable deep,
schefski. Vol. II
Lobeck, C. A., Tech y if rashly still
9s. idden gulfs the godless bark.

Defying, daring all,
 Our human race through sin runs blindly on :
 Iapet's daring blood
 Fire with ill guile among the nations brought ;
 Fire from the heavenly home
 Once come, came leanness, and of fevers came
 An army on the earth,
 And, distant until then, death's tardy doom
 Did quicken straight his pace ;
 The vacant air did Dædalus essay
 With wings for man unmeant ;
 Through Acheron Herculean labour broke.
 To mortals nought is hard,
 The very heaven our folly fain would scale,
 Nor let we through our crimes,
 His wrathful thunders Jupiter lay by.

ODES, III. 7.

Him wherefore weep, Asteria, whom bright airs
 With early spring, Favonian, shall restore,
 Rich with Bithynian ware,
 A lover true to troth,
 Thy Gyges ? He to Oricum with the south
 Borne on, the stormy goatstar overhead,
 The cold night wakeful spends,
 Wakeful and weeping tears.
 Though he whom stranger maid importunate
 Deputes to say how Chloe pants, on fire
 For thine own passion, ply
 Ten thousand subtlest arts ;
 How Prætus, lending to a lying wife
 Easy belief, misguided was against
 Bellerophon, o'er-chaste,
 Death to devise, relate ;
 And tell of Peleus, scarce from Tartarus saved
 The Magnessian queen, Hippolyta, denying ;
 And cite with wily tongue,
 The tales that teach to sin.
 In vain ; for deafer than Icarian rocks
 Him court they still thine own. But thou the while,
 Lest thee Enipeus please
 Too well, thy neighbour, look !

Though ne'er another skilled to rein the steed
 Like him, be marked upon the turf of Mars,
 Nor any swift as he
 Do swim the Tiber tide;
 Close thou thine house with early dusk, nor let
 The plaintive pipe unto thy window bring thee;
 Let him that oft shall call
 Thee cruel, find thee chaste!

ODES, III. 13.

O more than crystal bright, Bandusian Spring,
 Worthy sweet wine, with flowers withal the morn
 A kidling thee shall bring,
 Whose front of budding horns
 E'en now encounter lustful or of fight
 Premeditates! unwitting! thy cold streams
 With the red blood shall tinge
 The youngling of the goats.
 Thee the hot noon of Dogstar flaming fierce,
 Knows not to touch: from thee delicious cool,
 Bulls wearied from the share
 Receive, and wandering herds.
 Of the famed fountains thee too one shall make
 Thy poet's verse, that tells thine ilex crowning
 The impendent rocks, from whence
 Thy babbling waters leap.

The above are some attempts at translation, similar to those of Professor Blackie, published in No. V. of the *Classical Museum*, like his, discarding rhyme. Rhyme, it is true, may seem essential to modern lyrics; there may be in such unrhyming translations a loss of power which the originals obtained from other sources, and which they, as English lyrics, could only seek from this. Yet it may be said that, *cæteris paribus*, they will give to the mere English reader, a far more adequate notion of the originals, as they present themselves to the modern scholar, than could versions on any other principle. Dryden's Paraphrase of the "Tyrrhena regum progenies," undoubtedly has much of the general metrical effect of the Latin ode; but undoubtedly also, there is much of the detail which not even Dryden's skill could in such a translation display.

I shall subjoin a few translations of a different kind; *metrical experiments* I should indeed rather call them; for their ob-

ject is not to give poem for poem, but verses for verses ; they seek to illustrate the metres of the ancients, not to reproduce their poetry. And they will be found, I believe, consistent on the whole, with the principles enuntiated by Mr Newman, in No. X. of this Journal. They assume, namely, that in the verses of the ancients, the accent of speech was lost in the accent of song ; that the preservation of the latter, and disregard of the former, is essential to any appreciation of the ancient metres. No one would think of reading, as we should, did we find it in prose,

Θέλω λέγειν ᾽Ατρείδας.

We fall in spite of ourselves, in spite of habitual accentuation, Greek or English, into

Θέλω λέγειν ᾽Ατρείδας.

And it is here supposed that the right usage is this, and that we ought to abide by it throughout, and in every kind of verse.

It must be granted it is not so very easy to do so. Without musical intonation to cover the departure from common accentual usage, the bare and naked reading by scansion certainly is difficult to keep to, and difficult to exact. True it is, that in many cases, as in the simple Anacreontic verse, we can hardly fail to make the needful change ; and elsewhere also, many words very easily shift their accent according to their metrical place. Compare, for instance, ᾽Ατρείδας, of the line just quoted, with the

᾽Ατρείδα δὲ μάλιστα δύω, κοσμήτορε λαῶν,

of Homer's heroics. True it is that our own usage in verse does a little to make the practice familiar. Miss Barrett uses láment to rhyme to raiment, perhaps over boldly ; but in reading old ballads, and indeed new ballads also, one has to make up one's mind to far more difficult transformations, and I believe no one has complained of Byron's,

"Where the blue wave rolls nightly on deep *Galilee*,"

or of the "moonlight" by which Scott bids us visit *Melrose*. Words with a double accent, such as is perhaps *Galilee*, and spondaic words like *moonlight* and *Melrose*, are peculiarly open to this licence : many of them indeed, in common speech, vary a good deal with the accidents of education, or the run of the

particular sentence,—e. g. *Carlisle, yesterday, thereby*, and many compounds with *un-* and *in-*.

Still, it must be confessed that the thing is occasionally hard. Let any one try Horace's Sapphics. This metre is a remarkable case. So thoroughly has the misreading of it been stereotyped on the ear of common English scholars, that at last it has got itself naturalized in our own poetry, and been installed with all the honours. Southey's Sapphics (*Curse of Kehama*, x.) exactly represent the usual reading of

Píndarum quisquis stúdet æmulári.

Even so,

Rích is the freight, O vèssel, that thou bearest.

And again, the Parodist's

Sórdid, unfeéling, réprobáte, dégradéd.

This, the standard Sapphic of the readers of Horace, the model of our elegant Latin verse composers, is neither more nor less than a trochaic line beginning with a dactyl: trochaic, I mean, according to the law of the verse, as established by arsis and thesis; not of course purely trochaic in quantity. It is a form which our own dramatic Iambic line, in its graceful versatility, not unfrequently assumes:

"Guard it, I pray thee, with a lurking adder,"—(*Rich.* ii. iii. 2.)

may be read, perhaps ought to be read, with the exactly same effect. And this depravation of a lyric stanza most familiar to us has taken place in spite of Sappho's archetypal Odes, using the short syllable in the very spot where we affix the very strongest accent of the verse; in spite of Horace's own display of a growing partiality for the structure that rejects such reading.

Tuque dum procedis, Io triumphe!
Non semel dicemus, Io triumphe!

No one, I believe, maintains that the accent was ever otherwise than as in these verses, on the 1st, 3d, and 5th syllables. With the help of Mr. Newman's music, much may be done. We are so used to doing whatever we please with words set to music, that colloquial accent becomes a trifle; we only wonder why the ancients made such a point of preserving colloquial

quantity. As a subordinate, but perhaps readier means, I venture to suggest the use of such English verses as I shall presently subjoin—reproductions, namely, after a fashion, in our own English tongue, of the genuine ancient rhythms. We find it hard to say,

“Jám satis terrís nivis atque diræ
Grandinís misit pater.”

Let us turn it into—

Now enough o'er earth o' the snow and horrid
Hail the sire has poured.

Very likely lines of this kind, exiles in a strange tongue, whose pronunciation differs greatly from that they were used to—divorced, moreover, from the music they were wedded to—may sound sadly devoid of melody. Yet a lucky line here or there may give us a revelation of the run of the metre; and turning from our ill-sounding copies, we may now be perhaps enabled to recognise in the originals the tune which those copies had only here or there imperfectly caught.

There is no harder subject for this experiment than the particular metre of which we have been speaking. The following quasi-nonsense verses do their utmost to preserve in their strongest character Horace's favourite central molossi.

See! the faint green tinge from the western sky has
Faded; not one star but is gaining brightness;
Over dusk hills slowly, to western seas the
Moon is retiring.

Now, in this deep stillness from tower and steeple
Hark! the long loud knell! to the hills it past, and
List! the same sad sound from across the wide bay
Faintly re-echoed!

——— So he
Journeyed and came to
Horeb, God's high hill, and on Horeb passed by
First a great strong wind, and a mighty tempest
Next, and then fierce flame, and at last as flame, and
Fury departed,
Came a still small voice ——

The next specimen, a versification of part of "Martius Cælebs," (Hor. *Od.* III. 8,) drops them.

What have I, unwed, with the first of March to
Do, for what the flowers and the censer full of
Frankincense you ask, and the newly gathered
Turf with the charcoal,
Vainly skilled in Greek and in Roman story!
Feast and spotless goat were a vow to Bacchus
Made for that day's sake, when a tree had all but
Sent me to Orcus.

Quaff, Mæcenas, quaff to my preservation's
Honour glass on glass! be the sleepless candles
Burnt to daylight's dawn! to the winds with all of
Clamour and anger.

I will add a couple of stanzas from Sappho herself:—*αἴψα
δ' ἐξέκλοντο, τὸ δ' ἄ μέλαρα.*

Quick the way was ended; and thou, my goddess,
Smiling on my face the immortal smile, didst
Ask me what it was that I ailed and why it
Was I had called thee;
What the darling wish my impassioned heart with-
in me fain would have; with the charm of whom thy
Soul in bond of love is it captive; who, my
Sappho, hath hurt thee?

But the task is a very hard one. In part, I believe the difficulty arises from our not knowing the strength with which the metrical accent was given; and the degree in which the character of a verse is altered by a difference of this kind is greater than would be supposed. Some notion of what is meant may be given perhaps by comparing these two specimens:—

- (a) Yet, oh God, I said, oh grave, I said, oh mother's heart and bosom
With whom first and last are equal, saint and corpse and little child.
- (b) Comrades, leave me here a little, 'tis as yet the early morn;
Leave me here, and when you want me, sound upon the bugle horn.
- Or the verses from the *Lady of Shalott* quoted lower down.

I may introduce here a few examples of a fragmentary kind. I believe it will be found that very nearly all the *H-* forms of verse, (and indeed nearly every combination forms into metres,) are included amongst these specimens to be given by and bye.

FROM EPODE I.

In light Liburnian galley wilt thou go, my friend,
 Amidst the castles of the ships,
 The whole of Cæsar's peril to encounter, thou,
 Prepared, Mæcenas, by thy own.
 What then shall we whom life, if thou therein remain,
 Delighteth, otherwise a grief?
 Indulge, as thou hast bid us, here at home an ease
 Unloved unless indulged with thee?
 Or bear the toil, and bear it in such spirit as
 By many hearts it should be borne?
 We will! and be it o'er the Alpine passes, or
 Inhospitable Caucasus,
 Or distant havens, far in utmost Occident,
 With fortitude will follow thee.
 Dost ask, thy labour how can I relieve with mine,
 A peaceful and a sickly man?
 Thy danger sharing, less my heart will feel of fear,
 In absence aye tormenting most:
 As doth the bird that sitteth o'er a fledgeless brood,
 The gliding snake's approaches fear
 Most when she leaves them, not that, were she there, she could
 More succour by her presence give.

* * *

FROM EPODE XI.

No more, my Pectius, as of erst, my pleasure is
 Unto melodious verse the wounds of mighty love to tell:
 Behold a third December, since my soul at last
 Ceased of Inachia to rave, the woodland of its glory strips.
 Ah me, thro' all the town (I blush to think of it)
 How was I turned to a tale. And banquets I with shame recal
 Where languid air and silent tongue the lover aye
 Plainly betrayed, and the sigh with labour from the chest upheaved.

* * *

FROM EPODE XIII.

Storm and low'ring clouds have closed the skies; and with raining
 And snowing Heaven is pouring down. Now do the seas and the
 woods
 Sound to the roaring of Thracian blasts. Come seize we, my comrades,
 Occasion by the forelock here! while we have limbs that are green,
 While yet it may be, away with the old-man's frown i' the forehead!

* * *

FROM EPODE XIV.

Wherefore effeminate idlesse hath over my soul and my senses
 Forgetfulness so deep diffused,
 As had I out of the cups that drown in the slumber of Lethe
 With thirsty throat been drinking deep,
 O frank-hearted Mæcenas, you ask and you kill me by asking !
 A god, a god it is, forbids
 That so long-since-due, that half-done roll of iambics
 To final folding-up to bring.

* * *

FROM ODES, III. 7.

Why, Astéria, weep, whom the Favonian
 Spring-tide breezes 'ill bring safe to thee home again
 Rich with ware of the Pontus
 Thy true lover immutable
 Gyges? He from the south on unto Oricum
 Tempest-hurried the while, under a stormy star,
 Cold nights wakeful endureth,
 Cold nights weepeth to think of thee.

* * *

In which the ordinary reading,

Quid fles, Astérie, quem tibi cándidi
 Prímo restítuent vére Favónii,
 would be reproduced in English by
 Why weep, Asteria, whom with the early spring
 Westerly breezes will bring to thee home again.

FROM ODES, I. 8.

Lydia, say by all the
 Gods, I pray thee, why with thy love thou to his ruin leadest
 Sybaris? why the sunny
 Campus hates he now, that of dust erst and of heat was patient?
 Why in a soldier's armour
 Rides he ne'er his fellows among, nor with a fanged bit e'er a
 Courser of Gaul controuleth?
 Why the yellow Tiber to touch feareth he? why the oil, as
 Though it were gore of serpents
 Shrinks he from with heed, nor with arms sheweth his limbs dis-
 coloured,
 He that of old for discus
 Oft, and oft for dart well sped to the mark, yea and !
 famous.

* * *

ODES, I. 11.

Seek not thou to enquire, (who can reveal?) when, my Leuconœe,
 For us either an end Heaven has assigned; nor Babylonian
 Numbers seek to essay! Far better is't, what shall arrive, to bear!
 Whether yet to recur or as a last Jupiter ordereth
 This, now raging amain over the rocks in the Tyrrhenian sea,
 Stern wild winter; enough, clear me the wine, and from a narrow life
 Long hopes cut thou away. Talk we the while, lo the penurious hour
 Flies past. Sure of to-day, credit in nought unto to-morrow give.

FROM ODES, I. 24.

What or measure or shame can of the sorrow be
 For so dear a decease? Teach a pathetic strain,
 O Melpomene, teach! thou unto whom the Sire
 Gave sweet voice with the cithara.

* * *

Attempts like the present, have usually gone on the theory, that while ancient metres were dependent on quantity, ours depend simply on accent. It would be more correct to say that all metre depends on both the one and the other. But with the ancients the accent of words in metre was, on the theory I subscribe to, independent of their colloquial accent: while with us the two are kept simply identical. The accent of words with us is fixed, with them was in metre arbitrary. So on the other hand, with them, the quantity was fixed and carefully observed; with us it is variable, and greatly neglected. Still there can be no question but that discrimination of quantity enters largely into the modern art of versifying. Compare the three following specimens of the six-syllable iambic:—

"The Lady of Shalott."
 "Pass onward to Shalott."
 "Beside remote Shalott."

Or take, as they stand, these lines:—

The lights begin to twinkle from the rocks;
 The long day wanes; the slow moon climbs; the deep
 Moans round with many voices.

Those who acknowledge, therefore, both accent and quantity, in both ancient and modern verse, would lay down as the first rule for modernizing an ancient metre—

That the Metrical Accent must remain the same.

εἰα δὴ, εἰπὸς πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπέστω.

Fare thee well, and if for ever, then for ever fare thee well.

And their second rule would be in like manner—

That the Quantity should be preserved.

Spondees, for example, must be represented by two syllables, long in quantity. In the Trochaic measure, *Quid fles, Asterie*, — *Quid fles* would be reproduced, not by *Lady*, but by *Spring-tide*; nor *Ibis*, again in “*Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium*,” by *Shalott*, but by the verb *transport*. So again, to *tegmine* and *patulæ*, correspond, not *consciousness* and *to transport*, but *hastily* and *to report*. On this subject of the quantity of words in English, I may refer to Mr. Newman’s paper; after reading which, I suppose, no one will continue to call *irritate* a dactyl, or *always* a trochee. Our common pronunciation, it is true, does its utmost, for instance, in the word *always*, to shorten unaccented syllables; but this is not enough to make accentuation and quantity identical, *long* a synonymous term with *accented*, and *short* with *unaccented*. Yet even if we follow our somewhat varying pronunciation, and divest ourselves wholly of our delusive orthography, there will still remain some difficulty in bringing the rules of classical Prosody to bear upon our language. We cannot, I suppose, in strictness divide syllables merely into short and long. Some longs are longer, and some shorts shorter, than others. If *way* be long, *ways* must be longer, and *sways* longer yet. If *sit* be short, is it as short as *it*? There are not two times, one double the other, but rather an infinite number. Is the line of demarcation, drawn by classical rules, broader than any other line? Are we to accept it for English? May not a long by the side of a *very* long be supposed to be *pro hac vice*, a short?

And further, in verses to be read and not sung, it really seems that greater licence is natural. The ictus probably is stronger; it may be allowed then a greater liberty of lengthening a short syllable, and the unaccented places, perhaps, in like manner, give occasion for shortening a long one. In the present versifications, I have, therefore, not followed strictly of the rules before mentioned. The reader may find in some passages may be found which in any trans-

but the greatest degree of observance, which I have aimed at, would be fairly represented by the following random long and shorts; in which three syllables, in *húrry*, *Helvéllyn*, and *Blencáthara*, must plead ictus in defence of their assumption of length.

Down to the Derwent hurry the Greta, the Glenderaterra
 Derwent out o' the hills windeth away to the sea :
 Thou, Helvellyn, a part, thou too, Blencathara, gavest,
 High in a cloud, Scawfell, pourest a flood to the floods :
 Ye who see their springs, see too their ultimate ending,
 See your thousand rills mingle and haste to the main :
 Your ear, while to the tune o' the tinkling streamlet attending,
 Harks to the stream that afar fights wi' the ocean at last.

I.—HOR. OD. I. 4.

Sharp old Winter at last gives place to the Spring, the balmy Zephyr ;
 Down on the stocks the ships be drawn to water ;
 Nor i' the shed now tarry the cattle, or at the fire the ploughman ;
 Nor lie the hoar frosts white upon the meadow.
 Now to the dance Cytherea returneth, the moon above her shining ;
 And hand in hand the Nymphs and seemly Graces
 Earth to the play of the foot make tremulous ; and the fiery Vulcan
 Sets all ablaze the forges of the Cyclops.
 Now were a day for adorning a brow with a wreath of happy myrtle,
 Or flowers that Earth unbound again produceth ;
 Now i' the shade of the grove were a day for an offering unto Faunus ;
 Claims he a lambkin, or a kidling chooses.
 Pale-faced Death with a foot irrespective assaileth hut of peasants,
 And court of princes. Oh, my wealthy Sextius,
 Our brief total of life forbiddeth a distant expectation ;
 Anon the night is here, anon the fable
 Shades and the dreary abode Plutonian : unto which departed,
 No more at wine the die the chair shall give thee,
 Nor sweet Lycidas ever be seen, with the love of whom adying
 Now are the youths, the maids will by and bye be.

II.—IB. I. 28.

Thou, that of Earth and of Sea and of sand defying a number
 Measurer wert, now ly'st, Archytas,
 Under a pittance slender of sand by the shore of Matinus
 Scarce concealed. Nor ought it avails thee
 Though to aerial homes thou farest forth, and in thought didst
 Traverse Heaven's whole round, thereafter to perish.

So died Pelops' sire, who sat with the Gods i' the banquet,
 So Tithonns, accepted in Heaven ;
 Minos too to the counsel of Jove made partner ; in Orcus
 Low lies Panthöus' son, to the shadows
 Sent yet again, albeit with shield that he claimed i' the temple
 Vouching a Trojan life, at the first time
 Nought save sinew and skin to the dark death-god he had yielded,
 In thy judgment not an unworthy
 Prophet of Nature and Truth. But all one darkness awaiteth,
 One path once to be trod to oblivion.
 Some do the Furies offer a sport to the God of the battle ;
 Death be the ravenous seas to the sailor :
 Hearses of young and of old commingle and jostle, and no name
 Stern Proserpina slips i' the counting.
 Me too northward sweeping, the mates of the setting Orion,
 Wild winds whelmed in Illyrian waters.
 Mariner ! oh, grudge not of the sand that aboundeth around thee
 Unto the bones here bleaching unburied
 One small boon to accord. So shall this easterly menace
 Threat'ning Hesperia's wave, be expended
 On the Venusian hills, all scathless thou, and a blessing
 Unto thee come of the Author of blessing,
 Jove, nor Neptune less, high king of the holy Tarentum.
 Heed'st not a guilt, which after thy death shall
 Cling with a curse to thy sons, to incur ? Ah yet, peradventure,
 Penalty due, and a haughty requital
 Thee thyself may await ; my prayers bring down retribution,
 Thee no atonement render accepted :
 Though thine hurry be urgent, it asks but a pause of a moment
 Thrice with the dust to besprinkle and leave me.¹

III.—Od. II. 18.

Neither gold, nor ivory-work
 Adorns for me the ceiling of my dwelling ;
 Capitals Hymethian crown
 For me no columns quarried in remotest
 Afric land, nor do I hold
 An upstart heir an Oriental fortune ;

¹ The translation goes on the hypothesis, that the ode was written in the person of some shipwrecked man, whose body lay unburied near the *Littus Mati-*

num, and who addresses, first, his fellow-sufferer *Archytas*, then appeals to the passing sailors to give him bur-

Nor my patronage to court
 Do freeborn maidens weave Laconian purple.
 Faith of heart, of happy wit
 A vein I have ; poor as I be, the rich man
 Seeks my side ; for nothing more
 The gods I tease, nor of my mighty patron
 Beg a boon beyond the wealth
 I have, my own and only Sabine villa.
 Day is thrust along by day,
 And wax to wane new moons to moons succeeding ;
 Thou for marble to be carved
 Thine order giv'st at door of death, and heedless
 Of the tomb uprearest piles,
 And with the waves, that beat the beach of Baiæ,
 Fightest for a strip of sand,
 A beggar yet, though thine be all the mainland.
 Nay, and worse, adjoining lots
 One after one thou suckest in, and over
 Bounds of those thou ought'st to help
 Insatiate leapest ; forth their household gods do
 Man and wife upbearing go
 Unto their breasts and little squalid infants.
 Yet at last no other home
 Than greedy Orcus' fated consummation,
 E'en the wealthy lord of all
 Awaits. What wouldst thou ? Impartial Earth
 Opes her breast to beggars, as
 To princes' sons. Nor did the infernal warder
 For his bribing ferry back
 The politic Prometheus. He, the haughty
 Tantalus and Tantalids
 Coërces aye, and he with quick releasing
 When the poor man's work is o'er,
 Alike or call he or refrain he, answers.

IV.—OD. III. 23.

If with the new moon thou to the sky above
 Spread forth the hands, O villager Pheidyle,
 And with the frankincense, the new year's
 Corn, and a young pig appease the Lares,
 No sickly wind shall breathing from Africa
 Infect the vineyard, nor i' the corn be seen
 Mildew, nor Autumn-days of fruitage
 Come with a plague to the tender younglings.

He, whom (a vowed thing) oak-tree and ilices,
 Feed where the snows lie thick upon Algidus,
 Or whom Albano's pasture rears for
 Offering, unto the priestly axes
 His neck shall render. Thee it availeth not
 With overweening slaughter to supplicate
 Those humble Gods, for whose adornment
 Rosemary mixed with the myrtle serveth.
 Hand laid on altar simply and holily
 No costly gifts can make more effectual ;
 'Twill soothe the adverse powers as well with
 Consecrate meal and the leaping salt-grain.

V.—Od. iv. 3.

Whither, Bacchus, thy votary
 Lead'st thou ? what be the woods, what be the grotts to which
 Borne in frenzy I come ? and what
 Caves shall hear me, the while musing a mighty theme,
 Cæsar's infinite glory I
 Fain would mix with the stars, fain with the deities ?
 A song lofty and new ! a song
 No tongue else hath essayed ! So on the hills doth a
 Sleepless Bacchanal stand at the
 Sight of Hebrus amazed, sight of the snowy-white
 Thrace, and where the barbarians
 Range o'er Rhodope hill : as in my wilderness
 Bank and forest and solitude
 I with wonder behold. Lord of the Naiades
 Thou, and lord of Bacchantes ; who
 From its roots with the hand rend up a lofty ash !
 No light thing, or in littleness,
 No thing human I speak ! Sweet the adventure is,
 O Lenzæan, to follow thee,
 Thee with sprays of the vine wreathing thy holy brows.

VI.—Od. iv. 7.

Fleeted and fled have the snows, to the field do the grasses return, as
 Unto the tree do the leaves ;
 Earth thro' a change doth pass, her rivers smaller in volume
 Under the banks flow along ;
 Their unclad limbs in the dance dare now do the Nymphs and the Graces
 Freely to bare to the breeze.
 Hope not a life undying, aviseth the year, and the ~~hour~~ still
 Snapping the joys of to-day :

Frost with the Zephyr relaxeth, the Spring do the feet of the Summer
 Trample, itself to decay
 Soon as the Autumn's bounty the fruit out-poureth, and lo, dull
 Winter is with us again.
 Yet to the season the Moons shall speedily make reparation,
 We shall, as soon as we pass
 Where passed pious Æneas and potent Tullus and Ancus,
 Dust and a shadow become.
 Who dare say, if the Gods e'en now to the sun of to-day will
 Add us the light of the morn ?
 Safe from the covetous heir thou makest all that is offered
 Unto the genial soul :
 Once gone hence, and if once shall Minos o'er thee in state have
 Spoken the word of his will,
 Ne'er shall rank, Torquatus, or eloquent pleading, or e'en thy
 Piety bring thee again.
 Pure tho' he be, from the shades of the grave Diana hath never
 Set her Hippolytus free ;
 Nor from Oblivion's chain Peirithous ever can Theseus,
 Dear as he love him, release.

These Experiments I do not regard to be of any value as
 translations ; but they may serve, perhaps, as I said, to lead
 our ears to appreciate in some degree the metrical beauty of
 the originals ; or at any rate may dispossess them of wrong im-
 pressions. With the same view I add the following from

SOPHOCLES, *Œ. TYR.* 1186.

Ah, Ah, generations of
 Mortals, how do I look on your
 Life as equal to nothing !
 Who, who, hath at any time
 Gained more measure of happiness,
 Than to say he has won it, and
 Once so saying to lose it ?
 Thine example before me, and
 That dread Power that wi' thee has been,
 O thou wretchedest Œdipus,
 None as happy account I :
 Who,—once,—by a stroke of a
 Strange success, to the summit of
 Wealth and Fortune ascendedst,
 Oh, Jove, overcoming the
 Crook-clawed virgin who uttered the

Riddling songs, and of death to my
 Land didst rise a deliv'rer :
 Whenceforth title of sovereign
 State and honour accompanies
 Thee, the lord and the ruler in
 This great city of Thebæ.
 But now to hear of—is any sunk as he ?
 In griefs any, and woes ? with trouble all
 Surrounded in reverse of life ?
 Ah, Ah, great and glorious Œdipus,
 Whom a haven wide
 Once and once again
 Did as son and sire
 'T the marriage bed receive,
 How was it, how ? * * *

The first part of this translation from Sophocles may illustrate Catullus' Epithalamium of Julia and Manlius. The common Hendeca-syllabics may be exemplified thus :—

CATULLUS, v.

Live, my Lesbia, live we, ah, and love we !
 All wise talk of the moralizing old-folk
 Count we scarce of the value of a farthing !
 Suns may sink and arise again to-morrow ;
 We when once is the little day departed
 Sleep one sleep of a night without a dawning.
 Come, give kisses a thousand, and a hundred.
 * * * * *

A. H. CLOUGH.

XXVIII.

EXAMINATION OF EICHHORN'S OPINION, THAT IS-
 RAELITES, DURING THEIR ABODE IN GOSHEN, EX-
 TENDED THEMSELVES INTO ARABIA AS NOMADIC
 SHEPHERDS.

In the critical discussion of the authorship of the four last
 Books of the *Pentateuch*, Eichhorn¹ endeavours to maintain

¹ *Einleitung in das Alte Testament.*

that many Israelites, previous to the Exodus, had extended themselves beyond the limits, not only of Goshen, but of Egypt, and dwelt as nomadic shepherds in the deserts of Arabia; and this he fancies that he proves by reference to the first Book of Chronicles, chap. vii. 21. His particular object in propounding this opinion, is partly to account for the knowledge of the Hebrew language, and the previous history of his countrymen, which Moses must have possessed, as the writer of the four last Books of the *Pentateuch*. For he supposes that Moses could not have possessed the requisite knowledge of the Hebrew language and history, unless he had acquired it by a long intercourse with his countrymen; and as, from the peculiar events and circumstances of his life, he was, as Eichhorn supposes, precluded from such an intercourse in Egypt, till he undertook to lead the Israelites to the possession of Canaan, he must, consequently, have acquired that knowledge of the language and history among such of his fellow-countrymen as dwelt in Arabia during the period of his exile.

There are three points for examination:—First, whether Moses could not, while in Egypt, have acquired a knowledge of the language and history. Second, whether his fellow-countrymen had extended themselves into Arabia, from intercourse with whom he acquired the requisite knowledge of the language and history. And, Third, whether Eichhorn is correct in his interpretation of the passage in the Book of Chronicles, on which he grounds the opinion that, in a very early period, Israelites lived as nomadic shepherds in the deserts of Arabia.

On the first of the subjects for examination, we shall find, that although the information which the Scriptures present to us is not direct and precise, yet is it of such a nature as to admit of more than highly probable inferences, and these not at all accordant with Eichhorn's opinion. Among the first facts recorded respecting Moses, we find that, after his birth, he was adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, but nursed by his own mother: "And the woman took the child and nursed it; and the child grew, and she brought him unto Pharaoh's daughter, and he became her son," Ex. ii. 9, 10. Whether Moses remained so long under the care of his mother as to have acquired the power of speaking his native language, we have no other means of deciding but by the mode of expression used in the passage

cited above. There is one word in the original of the passage above cited, which in my opinion renders it certain that Moses had attained such an age, that he was quite capable of speaking in his native language before he was taken by Pharaoh's daughter to become her son. The word "*grew*," as it is in our English version, represents not the force and full meaning of the original expression. The Hebrew word is גָּדַל, which signifies, "to become great," "to grow great;" or, according to our usual English expression in such cases as the above, "to grow up." So that, from this expression, it appears that Moses was not a mere baby, but *a grown up boy*, before he was taken from his parent's abode to dwell with Pharaoh's daughter. The expression used in the Sept. translation is in favour of this interpretation, ἀδελφένος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς; Luther translates, "da das kind gross ward." By referring to other passages in which a similar expression occurs, we shall find that this is the proper meaning of the word.—In Genesis, describing Esau and Jacob, it is said, וַיִּגְדְּלוּ הַנְּעָרִים, "and *the youths grew up*; and Esau was a cunning hunter, a man of the field, and Jacob, a plain man dwelling in tents," xxv. 27. In the Sept. ἡλικίῃσιν δὲ οὖν ἐγένετο. Luther, "und da nun die knaben gross wurden." The expression used when narrating the circumstance of Moses smiting the Egyptian, is the same, Ex. ii. 11. It appears, therefore, that Moses, before he went to dwell with Pharaoh's daughter, had attained such an age, that he must have possessed, to a certain extent, a practical knowledge of the Hebrew language. After his full adoption by the daughter of Pharaoh, and his being brought to reside with her, it is not at all likely that his parents were totally neglected and abandoned by him, or that he never entertained the wish of visiting them, and that he had no intercourse with his brother and sister. The probability is that he frequently visited them, and thus maintained and enlarged his knowledge of the language; and as he grew in years and attained the maturity of manhood, he had frequent intercourse not only with his own relations, but with many of his countrymen, from whom at the same time he acquired a knowledge of the former history of his people. That he visited his brethren, his countrymen, is expressly stated, Ex. ii. 11, 13. Moreover, we are to remember a circumstance which afforded Moses great facilities of intercourse with his kindred and countrymen,—that the Hebrews did not dwell completely

separated from, but among the Egyptians, though in villages and habitations of their own. This is evident from their borrowing, previous to their departure, from their Egyptian neighbours, "jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment;" and also from the circumstance of their houses being marked with blood, to distinguish them from the houses of the Egyptians, that the destroyer might pass them over; also from the expression of Pharaoh, when, ordering Moses to depart, he said, "*Rise up, get you forth from among my people,* both ye and the children of Israel," Ex. xii. 31. Moses was well educated; he was accomplished in all the wisdom and learning of the Egyptians, who then possessed as much if not more learning than any other contemporary nation. His whole subsequent life and conduct evince that he was gifted with no ordinary powers of intellect, of mental energy and activity. Endowed, then, with intellectual talents of the highest order, and with the most eminent accomplishments of learning, can we suppose that he would live to the age of forty years without making any effort to enlarge and perfect his acquaintance with the language of his people, or to acquire a knowledge of the history of his forefathers? It is highly probable that there existed then among the Hebrews some written accounts of their former history, and that these were perused by Moses; and, combined with the traditional knowledge which the whole Hebrew people must have possessed, constituted a source from which Moses might easily have acquired a knowledge of the history of his people, before his departure from Egypt to dwell as an exile in the vallies of Horeb. During his residence here, and the forty years which he passed as an exile, he had presented to him the most felicitous opportunities of enlarging his knowledge of Hebrew by long intercourse with a people of kindred origin, whose language was an offshoot of his native tongue, and which at that early period probably differed but little from the Hebrew, and who, even in that remote age, possessed, it is likely, many poetical compositions which may have contributed in no small degree to the cultivation of the literary talents which Moses evinces in his writings. So that, although Moses possessed a competent knowledge of his native language before he first departed from Egypt into exile, yet he subsequently not only enlarged his acquaintance with the Hebrew language, but increased his general knowledge; and these, com-

bined with his natural genius and his accomplished education, rendered him, under Providence, the fittest person to record the history of his people, and to leave that history, not only as a perpetual memorial of the wonderful dealings of God—the noblest and the most precious *κτῆμα ἐς ἄσι*, but also as the fountain of which all subsequent Hebrew writers should drink, as the storehouse of their language, as the model which they should imitate.²

The second point for our examination is, whether the Israelites had extended themselves into Arabia. On enquiry into the nature and extent of the region of Goshen assigned to the Israelites as their place of abode, we shall find that there was no necessity for any of the Israelites to wander into the deserts for subsistence; and if no necessity impelled them, it is not likely that they would voluntarily abandon the rich lands of Goshen, and adopt a mode of life inducing frequent hardships and privation, and affording so scanty and precarious subsistence as that supplied by the nomadic pasturage of the desert.³ Not to enter on any particular discussion of the question where Goshen was situated, or to enlarge on the various opinions of different writers on the subject, I shall refer to Dr. Robinson's observations on the Land of Goshen, in his *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. i. p. 76, from which it appears that it is more than a probability, it is almost a certainty, that the territory of Goshen lay along the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, on the east of the Delta, and was the part of Egypt nearest to Palestine. In the Book of Genesis, Goshen is denominated "the best of the land;" and the province on the east of the Delta was in ancient times, and still continues to be, the richest part of Egypt, and which, for extent and fertility, was amply sufficient for the Israelites, without any necessity for their wandering far into the deserts of Arabia to obtain a scanty subsistence. So

² On this subject Eichhorn well observes, "aus welcher alle Schriftsteller geschöpft haben: ein Muster das jeder copirte: . . . kurz ein Buch das für die Hebräer das war, was seit der Reformation Luther's Bibelübersetzung für die Protestantischen Deutschen ist, was für die Griechen ihr Homer und für die Araber vor Mahommed die Arabischen

Dichter und nach ihm der Koran gewesen."—*Einleitung*, Vol. III. p. 189.

³ "The tribes that now roam over the same regions, although numbering scarcely two thousand, are exposed to famine and privation of every kind; and at the best obtain only a meagre and precarious subsistence."—Dr. Robinson's *Researches*, &c. Vol. II. p. 613.

that we have no grounds for supposing, as Eichhorn does, that Israelites had wandered into Arabia; and least of all for imagining that they there constituted such regular and numerous nomadic bodies as that Moses, by intercourse with them during his exile, acquired the use of his native language, and knowledge of the former history of his people.

I shall now examine Eichhorn's interpretation of the passage in Chronicles, on which he relies as a plain demonstration that Israelites extended themselves nomadically into the desert, and continued to exist there as numerous bodies till the period of the Exodus. First, however, I shall give a translation of his own statement of the matter. "It was during the residence of Moses in Arabia, that his intercourse with his fellow-countrymen again became closely intimate. For there, according to the First Book of Chronicles, members of his nation, especially Ephraimites, actually wandered as far as the borders of Palestine with their herds, and were once, by the inhabitants of Gath, whose herds they attempted to plunder in the true Beduin style, repelled with loss."—*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, V. III. S. 432, p. 217. In another place he says, "Who could have ascertained the number of the Israelites at an earlier period, (than at Sinai); for the union of the whole nation was necessary for the purpose; and it was not congregated earlier than at Sinai; for hitherto only the chiefs of tribes, and so many of the single tribes with their herds as Goshen was capable of containing, dwelt in Egypt; the rest roamed nomadically with their herds through Arabia."—V. III. S. 435, a. p. 257. And again, in another place, he writes, "Before the time of Moses, all the Israelites did not, as is falsely supposed, dwell in Egypt: how could the little territory of Goshen have been sufficiently spacious for the herds of six hundred thousand men whom Moses conducted, when a considerable tract is necessary for the moderate herd of a single nomadic tribe? We have indeed express accounts that the Hebrews with their herds roamed at that time as nomads far into Arabia; that, therefore, as naturally follows, only the stock of the nation in heads of families, and family chiefs, can have dwelt in Egypt. To these shepherds Moses fled, when he thought he could no longer remain with safety in Egypt. As far as the borders of Idumea there was free space for the shepherds, and so far, Moses in his

migration with the whole body of the people through the desert found no opposition."—V. v. S. 642, p. 170, &c. The assertion of Eichhorn in this last passage, that "*to these shepherds Moses fled,*" is a mere assumption of the writer, having not the slightest foundation. Moses took refuge with Jethro, a Midianite, not an Israelite. There is no mention, in the whole narrative of Moses' first departure from Egypt and settling in the vallies of Horeb, of the existence there of any Israelitish shepherds.

That the Israelites were, from the small extent of the territory of Goshen, necessitated to roam far into Arabia, is a mere assumption resting on the supposed inadequacy of Goshen to maintain a numerous people. Such a supposition is satisfactorily refuted by the account of the land of Goshen given by Dr. Robinson in his *Biblical Researches in Palestine*: and I shall plainly demonstrate the incorrectness of Eichhorn's assertion, "that we have indeed express accounts that the Hebrews with their herds roamed at that time as nomads far into Arabia."⁴ As also the incorrectness of the following: "For there, according to the First Book of Chronicles, members of his nation, especially Ephraimites, actually wandered as far as the borders of Palestine with their herds, and were once by the inhabitants of Gath, whose herds they attempted to plunder in the true Beduin style, repelled with loss."⁵

In these assertions, the learned critic is totally mistaken, and grounds them upon a total misapprehension and misinterpretation of the passage in the Hebrew original to which he so confidently refers. It surprises me that Eichhorn, who devoted many years to a critical examination of the Old Testament, and who, as a necessary preliminary, applied himself with great diligence to the indispensable accomplishment of a critical knowledge of the Hebrew language, should have committed so palpable an error, and that error originating from his mistaking the meaning and application of a word which so very frequently occurs in the Scriptures. The passage of the First Book of

⁴ "Wir haben ja ausdrückliche Nachrichten, dass damals die Hebräer mit ihren Heerden tief in Arabien nomadisch herumgeirrt sind."—Vol. v. p. 170.

⁵ "Denn dort irrten nach dem ersten Buch der Chronik wirklich Glieder seiner Nation, namentlich Ephraimiten,

bis an die Gränzen von Palästina mit ihren Heerden, und wurden einmal von den Einwohnern von Gad, deren Heerden sie auf gut beduinisch plündern wollten, mit Verlust zurückgeschlagen."
—Vol. III. p. 217.

Chronicles on which Eichhorn grounds his opinion, is in Chap. VII. v. 21.

הדרגם אנשי-גת הגלדים בארץ כי ירדו לקחת את-סקניהם. which, literally translated, is, "And men of Gath born in the land slew them, when *they went down* to take away their cattle." The import of this passage, and the ascertainment of the persons who were the plunderers, depend on one expression, which clearly and indisputably decides, that it was Gathites who *went down* to plunder the cattle of the Ephraimites. The Hebrew word ירדו, "they went down," clearly proves that the Ephraimites did not go to the territory of Gath to plunder. Going from Palestine to Egypt is always expressed as a descent; and from Egypt to Palestine as an ascent. "Abram *went down* into Egypt," ירד Gen. XII. 10. "And Abram went up out of Egypt," יעל Gen. XIII. 1. The passages in which these two words occur are almost innumerable; the one ירד constantly used to express *going down* to Egypt; the other, עלה constantly used to express *going up* out of Egypt to Palestine. In Gen. XLV. 9, we find both expressions used. Haste ye *and go up* to my father, ויעלו אל-אבי, and say unto him, Thus saith thy son Joseph, God hath made me lord of all Egypt, *come down unto me*, ירדו אלי. In Chap. XLVI. 4, "I will go down with thee, ארד עִיךְ into Egypt, and I will also surely *bring thee up*, אעלה." The same exact precision of application is maintained by the Sept. in the translation of those passages which speak of going to or out of Egypt. καὶ κατέβη Ἀβραμ εἰς Αἴγυπτον. ἀνέβη δὲ Ἀβραμ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. So that if the Ephraimites had gone to the territory of Gath to plunder, the word used would not have been ירדו but עלו. Also, in speaking of going from any part of the *desert* to Palestine, the word used is עלה; as in Num. XIII. 17, 21, 22, 30, 31. When Moses was sending the spies from the desert, he said to them, עלו זה בנגב, *go up* by this desert,—Num. XIII. 17; and again, v. 21, ויעלו... מסדברן, "and they *went up* from the wilderness of Sin;" and in v. 30, Caleb says, עלה נעלה "let us go up at once," ἀναβάντες ἀναβησόμεθα; and in v. 31, והאנשים אשר עלו עמי "and the men that *went up* with him." So that even had the Ephraimites been dwelling in the desert, as Eichhorn supposes, and had they gone to plunder Gathites, the word used must have been עלו.

In addition to the preceding arguments against Eichhorn's interpretation and opinion, that the Ephraimites advanced as far as the territory of Gath to plunder, there is another

to be taken into consideration, which, even independent of any of the preceding observations resulting from the philology of the passage, is quite sufficient to overturn Eichhorn's opinion. We are to remember that the passage in Chronicles refers to a period when Ephraim himself was alive, when these his sons were slain. "And Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him," (v. 22.) At this early period, therefore, of their residence in Egypt, when the whole body of the Israelites consisted of no more, perhaps, than the patriarchs and their children and some grand-children, there was no necessity for any of them to wander into the deserts for pasture; nor is it at all likely that any of them would voluntarily leave the rich pastures of Goshen, and drive their herds to pick the scanty and precarious herbage of the desert. And, moreover, is it at all likely that a few Ephraimites would venture, even granting the highly improbable, nay, absurd supposition, that the sons of Ephraim lived as nomads in the desert between Egypt and Palestine, that they would venture on the hazardous enterprise of advancing far into Palestine, seventy miles at least from the southern border, and attempt to plunder the men of Gath? From the whole we must conclude that it was Gathites who *went down* ירדו to Goshen, to plunder the Ephraimites, and slew Ephraim's sons. And thus the very passage which Eichhorn adduces to prove expressly the nomadic life of the Israelites, and that they advanced far into Palestine to exercise their Beduinic passion for plunder, clearly proves directly the contrary. This philological error of Eichhorn is the more surprising, as in his Introduction to the critical study of the Old Testament, he mentions this matter, not once only, but several times, in different parts of his learned and voluminous work;⁶ and yet perceived not that a philological mistake has been the origin of all his ungrounded opinions on this point: and how many incorrect opinions respecting Scripture originate from the same source!

From the first settlement of the Israelites in Egypt till their departure and advance into the desert, there is not a single expression in the whole narrative that in the slightest degree intimates the separation of any individuals from the general body of the people, or the existence of any nomadic company of

⁶ *Einleitung*, Vol. III. pp. 217, 257, 268, note f. v. 5, p. 170.

Israelites in the desert, although the narrative is throughout special and particular and copious. If such bodies of Israelites existed in the desert, as Eichhorn fancies, we should surely have some notice of it in the very particular journal recorded by Moses of all the movements, encampments, arrangements, occurrences, regulations, and incidents, which the legislator so minutely describes from the time of their first departure from Egypt. He particularly, too, describes the visit of Jethro his father-in-law, and he gives him a minute account of "all that the Lord had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians," &c. (*Ex.* XVIII. 8.) The whole chapter is devoted to Jethro's visit, and his counsel to Moses. And can we justly suppose that Moses would have passed over in silence, an event so important and so joyful as that of the union at Sinai⁷ of a vast number of the people who had been dwelling in the desert, with the body of the nation after their deliverance from Egyptian [thralldom; and would not rather have celebrated it, and have minutely narrated to these nomadic Israelites all the glorious acts of the Lord in the deliverance of his people, as he had done to Jethro his father-in-law? This is what he would have done; it would have been an indispensable duty, and he would certainly have recorded it. And from the expressions used by Moses when narrating the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, it seems highly improbable that any of them dwelt in the desert as nomads. The expressions are comprehensive of the whole people, כל־עַרְתִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל "*all the congregation of Israel*," *Ex.* XII. 3; and again, כָּל צְבָאוֹת יְהוָה "*all the hosts of the Lord* went out of the land of Egypt," (v. 41); and again, וְכָל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל מִדְבַּר סִין "*and all the congregation of the children of Israel* came to the wilderness of Sin." Between this and Sinai, there were three stations or encampments, (*Num.* XXXIII. 11, &c.) If nomadic Israelites had, at any of these stations, or at the encampment at Sinai, or at any subsequent period, joined the Israelites from Egypt, would not so important an event have been recorded by Moses?⁸

⁷ Here, according to Eichhorn's notion, it was that the nomadic Israelites joined the Israelites from Egypt.—Vol. III. p. 257.

⁸ The Israelites first came to Sinai

in the third month after they left Egypt. *Ex.* XIX. It was on their second coming to Sinai, in the second year, that the people were numbered. *Num.* I. 1, 2.

Moses was very anxious that Hobab should accompany the Israelites until they came to Canaan, because Hobab, having been accustomed to travel through the wilderness, possessed a knowledge of the best mode of journeying through it, and of encamping. Moses, therefore, was earnest to obtain the consent of Hobab to accompany the Israelites, and made ample promises of recompense.⁹ But can we for a moment justly suppose that Moses would have expressed such an anxious desire on this occasion to have Hobab with him, if there had been among his own people a numerous body, who were native dwellers in the desert, who had passed their whole life as nomadic shepherds, and many of whom must consequently have had exactly the same opportunities of acquiring the same knowledge and experience as Hobab; and, indeed, from their condition, probably greater opportunities; for Hobab was the son of a settled chief in the vallies of Horeb, and by no necessity was he compelled to wander through the desert for subsistence: but supposing that Israelites were as nomads there, they must have been necessitated, by their condition and wants, to wander far and wide for their subsistence; their whole lives must have been nomadic, and thus were they, by compulsion as it were, constrained to gain by hard experience an intimate knowledge of the best mode of traversing the desert, of the facilities for the journey, and the most convenient situations for encampments.

Thus, on a full examination of the matter, it appears that there are no grounds whatever for supposing that any of the Israelites lived as nomadic shepherds in the deserts of Arabia; and that Eichhorn's opinion rests on a mere assumption of the inadequacy of Goshen to maintain the Israelites, and on a misunderstanding of the passage in the first Book of Chronicles.

WILLIAM EWING.

VICARAGE, DONEGAL, *August 15, 1846.*

⁹ *Num.* x. 29-31.

XXIX.

THE ZOOLOGY OF HOMER AND HESIOD.

By G. P. F. GROSHANS.¹

(Concluded from Part XIII.)

Μέλισσα, κόθουρος,—Apis Mellifica.

Homer gives a very beautiful description of a swarm of bees in the *Iliad*, B. II. l. 87.

ἦν τε ἔθνεα εἴσι μελισσᾶν ἀδινάων,
 πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς, αἰεὶ νέον ἔρχομενάων,
 βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρνοῖσιν,
 αἱ μὲν τ' ἔνθα ὄλις πεποτήγεται, αἱ δὲ τε ἔνθα·

"They rush, as rush the nations of the closely thronging bees
 Forth from a hollow rock, ever freshly streaming on,
 And clustered as 't were grapes they fly among the vernal flowers,
 Some this way and some that way, in myriads flit around."

They take up their abode in the heart of trees. See Hesiod, *Op. et Di.* l. 230.

οὔρεσι δὲ δρυῶς
 ἄκρῃ μὲν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσης.

"The oak upon the hills,
 The summit bears the acorns and the centre bears the bees."

As early as this period, however, they were reared σμήνες κατηρεφέες, "in covered bee-hives." Hesiod distinguishes the drones, which he calls κόθουροι, "dock-tailed," remarkably well. The passage which occurs in the *Theogony*, l. 594, is worthy of quotation.

ὥς δ' ὅπῳ ἐν σμήνεσσι κατηρεφέεσσι μέλισσαι
 κηφῆνας βόσκουσι, κακῶν ξυνήονας ἔργων,
 αἱ μὲν τε πρόπαν ἥμαρ ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα
 ἡμάτια σπεύδουσι, τιθεῖσιν τε κηρία λευκά·

¹ Communicated and translated from | *Physiol.*, by Wm. Bell Macdonald, B.A.,
 the *Leiden Journal of Nat. Hist. and* | of Rammerscales.

οἱ δ' ἔντοσθε μένοντες ἐπηρεφέας κατὰ σίμβλους,
ἀλλότριον κάματος σφετέρην ἐς γαστέρ' ἀμύνται.

"As when in bee-hives closely roofed the bees
Nourish the drones, the partners of base deeds,
Themselves the live-long day till set of sun
Are busy, day by day, and the white comb cement,
While those within skulking in covered skeps
Gather into their maws another's toil."

Μῆλα, οἶες, κτῖλος, ἄρνες λιβύης,—Ovis Aries, L.

Sheep are for the most part called μῆλα, but goats are occasionally so styled also, as it signifies flocks of any kind, though more particularly sheep; κτῖλος, from κτίζω, as some say, "to found, produce, bring into being," signifies a ram.² I rather think the κτῖλος is a castrated animal, vervex, a wether sheep, which the Latins call the leader of the flock, as well from the etymology of the word as from the following passage in Aristotle, *Nat. Hist.* B. VI. c. 21.—τῶν βοῶν τοὺς τομίας ἐθίζουσι καὶ καθιστᾶσι τῶν βοῶν ἡγεμόνας ὥσπερ τῶν προβάτων.—"They accustom and set castrated animals to lead the cattle as well as the flocks."

With regard to the Libyan sheep,

—Λιβύην, ἵνα τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσιν,
τρίς γὰρ τίεται μῆλα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν.

Odys. B. IV. l. 85.

"In Libya where lambs suddenly grow horned,
For thrice in the full year the flocks produce."

Schneider, in his notes to Aristotle, cites this explanation from an anonymous unedited author,—ἑα ἐν Λιβύῃ θερσιωτάτῃ οὔσῃ καὶ νομάς ἐχούσῃ (a word is here lost) ταχέως κερατώδῃ τὰ πρόβατα γίνεταί, καὶ συνεχῶς τίεται, καὶ γάλα οὐ λείπει διὰ παντός ἐν αὐτῇ.—"That in Libya, which is a very hot country and rich in pastures, the flocks soon become horned and continuously bear young, and the milk there never leaves them."

² Some say it is derived from κίω, to go, as being leader of the flock; κτίλος is also an adj. tame, gentle, from κτίλω, to tame.—T.

Μύα,—*Musca domestica*, mortuorum, vomitoria et
Stomoxys calcitrans.

ἦρ' τε μυιάων ἀδανάων ἔθνεα πολλὰ,
αἷτε κατὰ σταθμὸν πομινήϊον ἡλάσκουσιν,
ᾧρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τε γλάγος ἔγρεα δαΐει.

Il. B. II. l. 469.

"Like to the many nations of densely thronging flies
Which in the vernal season skim around the pastoral fold,
When the milk bedews the vessels."

In another passage the mother wards off the fly from the sleeping infant; and again,

λαρόν τε οἱ αἶμ' ἀνθρώπων,
"Sweet to them is the blood of man."

They infest corpses and wounds, in which they breed maggots. (See *Il. B. XIX. l. 24.*) From this it is evident that *μύα* is a general name, comprehending many species, for example, the *Musca domestica*, mortuorum, vomitoria, and *Stomoxys calcitrans*. This last species many at the present day erroneously confound with the *Muscæ*.

Νυκτερίς,—Species plures e genere *Vespertilionis*.

A general name of the bats, mentioned in the last book of the *Odyssey*, l. 6.

ὥς δ' ὅτε νυκτερίδες μυχῶϊ ἄντρου θεσπεσίῳ,
τρίζουσαι ποτέονται, ἐπεὶ κέ τις ἀποπέσῃσιν
δρμαθοῦ ἐκ πέτρης, ἀνὰ τ' ἀλλήλησιν ἔχονται.

"As when bats within the recess of some awful cave
Fly screaming, if one chance to fall from the cluster on the rock,
For they cling by one another."

Οἶστρος,—*Oestrus bovis*, L.

βόες ὥς ἀγελαῖαι,
τὰς μὲν τ' αἰόλος οἶστρος ἐφορμηθεὶς ἐδόνησεν,
ᾧρη ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε τ' ἥματα μακρὰ πέλονται.

Odys. B. XXII. l. 299.

"As heifers of the herd
Which the rapid oestrus attacking drives around
In the vernal season, when the days are growing long."

It was called by the Latins *Asilus*, as we learn from Virgil, *Georg.* III. l. 146; but in the time of Seneca, that name had become obsolete, *Epist.* 58.

The Greek *οἶστρος*, appears to be the *œstrus bovis*, as, from Virgil applying to it the words "*acerba sonans*," it cannot be the *sabanus*, which attacks animals noiselessly. As the *œstrus* is said here to attack heifers, and it is a peculiarity of that genus, that each species should select a single species of the mammalia on which to become parasites,—it must of necessity be the *œstrus bovis* to which Homer refers; the epithet *αἰόλος*, "rapid, flying backwards and forwards, always renewing the attack though often driven off," is particularly applicable to the *œstrus*.

Ὀνος, οὐρέυς, ἡμίονος, ἡμίονοι ἀγρότεροι,—*Equus Asinus*, L.;
Equus Mulus, L.

The pertinacity of the ass is thus recorded by Homer, *Il.* B. XI. l. 558.

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ὄνος παρ' ἄρουραν ὡν ἐβλήσατο παῖδας
νωθής, ᾗ δὴ πολλὰ περὶ ῥόπαλ' ἀμφὶς ἑάγρη,
κείρει τ' εἰσελθὼν βαθὺ λήϊον· οἳ δέ τε παῖδες
τύπτουσιν ῥοπάλοιαι· βίη δέ τε νηπίη αὐτῶν·
σπουδῇ τ' ἐξήλασσαν, ἐπεὶ τ' ἐκορέσσατο φορβῆς.

"As when a sluggish ass has got the better of the boys,
Passing by a harvest field, and many a stick is broken
Upon him, yet he gets within and crops the lofty corn,
While they with cudgels smite him, yet their strength cannot avail,
And hardly is he driven forth when satisfied with food."

Mules often occur in each poet. Priam, when going for the body of Hector, is drawn in a car by mules. Their fitness for draught purposes is also noted, which the epithet *ταλαεργοί*, "enduring of labour," so constantly applied to them, confirms. They are styled *οὐρηες* from *οὔρος*, Ionic for *ὄρος*, a mountain, because generally used in the mountains, 'ἡμίονοι ἀγρότεροι' occurs only once in Homer, *Il.* II. l. 852,

Ἐξ Ἐνετῶν, ὅθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτερῶν.

"From Eneti, from whence the breed of wild mules comes."

Which Koeppen thinks is the *Dsiggetai*.



We often read in the ancients, of mules breeding and being wild; Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Pliny, mention them oftener than once. (See Arist. *Hist. Anim.* B. vi. ch. 24. and 36.) The description of these wild mules agrees completely with the *Daigettai*, (*Equus Hemionus*, Pall.) an animal intermediate between the horse and ass, and in shape much resembling the mule: it is found at the present day in the middle of Asia, but not in Asia Minor; Cuvier is also of opinion that this is the wild mule of the ancients.

Πελεΐα,—*Columba livia*.

Thisbe and Messe abounded in pigeons, they were caught along with thrushes; the epithet *τρήρων*, "the trembler," is sometimes used for the animal.

Diana fled from the blows of Juno,

ὥστε πέ λεια,
ἥ ῥὰ τ' ὅπ' ἱρηκος κοιλὴν εἰσέπτ' αὐτὸ πέτρη.
χηραμὸν ὃδ' ἄρα τῇ γε ἀλώμεναι αἴσμων ἦεν.

Il. B. xxi. l. 493.

"Like a dove

Which to escape the falcon flies towards a hollow rock
Her cavern, for not as yet her fate is to be taken."

Aristotle says of pigeons—ἀπαίρουσι δὲ καὶ αἱ φάτται καὶ αἱ πελεΐαδες καὶ οὐ χειμάζουσι καὶ αἱ τρυγόνες αἱ δὲ περιστερᾶι καταμένουσι.—But the *Phattæ* and the *Peleiades* migrate and do not stay over winter, while the *Trygones* and the *Peristeræ* remain.

The *Peleia* is therefore a distinct species, and in another passage is said to be of cærulean colour. It is therefore obvious that the poet had in view the *Columba livia* Briss, which builds its nest generally among rocks.

πόρδαλις,³—*Felis pardus*, L.

ἦν τε πόρδαλις εἶσι βαθείης ἐκ βυλόχου
ἀνδρὸς θηρητῆρος ἐναντίον, οὐδέ τι θυμῷ
ταρβέει, οὐδὲ φοβεῖται, ἐπεὶ κεν ὕλαγμόν ἀκουσῃ.
εἴπερ γὰρ φθάμενός μιν ἦ οὐτάσῃ, ἥ βάλησιν,

³ *πέρδαλις* seems only an older form for *πάρδαλις*.—T.

ἀλλά τε καὶ παρὶ δουρὶ παπαρμένη οὐκ ἀπολήγει
ἀλκῆς, πρὶν γ' ἢ συμβλήμεναι, ἢ δαμῆναι.

Il. B. §xxi. l. 573.

"As rushes forth a pordalis from a deep woody range
Right on against a hunter, no terror in its breast,
Nor takes its flight, altho' it hear the baying of the hounds,
For tho' the first he pierce it near, or strike it from afar,
Nay e'en tho' by his spear transfixed, it shrinketh not at all
From fight before it meet the foe, or sink subdued down."

Their fur is called ποικίλη, "vary-coloured;" and Menelaus and Paris had clothing made of its skin. The ancient grammarians distinguish the πόρδαλις as the female, and the πάρδαλις as the male of the same animal; but this analogy does not seem well founded. The Latins called the *pordalis* of the Greeks *panthera*. The πάνθηρ, however, is to be distinguished from the πόρδαλις, as we read in "Xenophon on hunting," both of παρδάλεις and πάνθηρες. Oppian distinguishes two species of the Pordalis,—
Opp. Cyn. B. III. l. 63,—

πορδάλιες δ' ὅλοαι, δίδυμον γένος · αἱ μὲν ἕασι,
μείζους εἰσδέεον, καὶ πάσσονες εὐρέα νῦντα,
αἱ δὲ, τ' ὀλιζότεραι μὲν, ἀτὰρ μένος οὔτα χειρίου,
εἶδεα δ' ἀμφοτέρησιν ὁμοία δαυδάλλονται,
νόσφι μόνης οὐρῆς, ἥ δ' ἔμπαλιν εἰσοράταται,
μείοσι μὲν μείζων τελέθει, μεγάληται δὲ μείων.
Εὐπαγεῖς μηροὶ, δολιχὸν δέμας, ὄμμα φαεινόν,
γλαυπαῶναι κόραι, βλεφάροις ὑπο μαρμαίρουσαι
γλαυπαῶσιν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἔνδοθι φοινίσσονται,
αἰθομέναις ἔλαιαι, πυριλαμπέες · αὐτὰρ ἔνερθεν.
ὠχροὶ τ' ἰστόκαι τε παρὶ στομάτεσσιν ὀδόντες.
ῥινὸς δαυδάλεος, χροίῃ τ' ἐπὶ παμφανούσῃ
ἡερούεις, πυκνῇσι μελανομένῃσιν ὕπωπαῖς.
ὧκῦτάτῳ τε θέειν, καὶ τ' ἄλλα μιν ἰθὺς ὀρούειν,
φαίης, ὑπὸ τ' ἴδιον διηρίην φορέεσθαι.
Ἐμπτῆς καὶ τόδε φύλον ἐπακλείουσιν ἄοιδοί,
πρόσθ' ἔμμεναι βάσχοιο φερεσταφύλοιο πηθήνας.

"A double race are the fierce pordaleis,
Some larger, and their broad backs more robust,
Some smaller, but their strength is none the less;
The forms of both are similarly marked,
Save in the tail alone, where different they appear;

Large in the small 'tis found, but in the big 'tis less;
 Thighs stout and body long, with sparkling eye,
 The pupils azure 'neath the quivering lids,
 Azure at once and purpling from within,
 As blazing, fire-lit; and beneath them are
 Sallow and venomous teeth set round the mouth;
 Varied the fur, its surface glistening bright,
 Dusky with frequent blackened specks thereon;
 Most swift they run and boldly straight rush on,
 To see them you would say on air they're borne;
 In all, this is the race the bards have famed
 That Bacchus nursed, the vine-bearer, of old."

On this passage Belin de Bahn makes the following remarks:
 "We also recognise a double race of panthers, the great and the small. The latter, which at the present day is called the ounce, differs from the panther, not only, as Oppian observes, in its size and length of tail, but also in the colour of its fur and form of the spots. The first genus of panthers has a fulvous fur variegated with round ocellated spots, black and large, having the form of rings or roses, the middle of which is marked with the same colour.

The *Pordalis* is thus described by Aristotle:—ἔσα γὰρ ἔχον πρόσωπον μικρόν, στόμα μέγα, ὀφθαλμούς μικροὺς, ἐκλείκους, ἐγκοίλους, αὐτοὺς δὲ περιπολαιότερους,⁴ μέτωπον προμηρέστερον, πρὸς τὰ ὦτα περιφερέστερον ἢ ἐπιπεδωότερον, πρᾶχην μακρὸν ἄγαν καὶ λεπτόν, στήθος ἀπλευρόν, καὶ μακρὸν νῦτον· ἰσχία σαρκώδη καὶ μηροὺς· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὰς λαγόνας καὶ γαστέρα ὁμαλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ δὲ χρῆμα ποικίλον καὶ ὅλον ἑναρθρόν τε καὶ ἀσύμμετρον,—*Physiognom.* Ch. v.—"It has a small face, large mouth, small eyes, white and hollow, but at the same time rather flat; forehead long, ears more round than plain, neck very long and thin, chest narrow, back long, buttocks and thighs fleshy, the flanks and belly rather level. The colour is variegated; the whole is without visible joints, and wanting in symmetry."

This seems to be the *Felis Pardus*, L., the panther which still abounded in Asia Minor in the time of Cicero, as appears from his correspondence with Marcus Caelius,—*Epist. ad Fam.* B. II. E. 11, and B. VIII. E. 9.

⁴ Belin would rather read *καὶ λαμπροτέρους*, "rather brilliant;" or supply *τῶν τοῦ Λιόντος*, "flatter than those of the lion."

Πολύπους.—*Sepia octopus*, L.

ὥς δ' ὅτε πολύποδος, θαλάμῃς ἐξελακόμενοι
πρὸς κοτυληθονόφειν πικναὶ λάτγες ἔχονται.

Odys. B. v. l. 432.

"As to the suckers of the Polypus,
Drawn from its hole, the frequent pebbles cling."

It is enumerated along with the Phocæ in another passage. Schneider renders it in his *Lexicon*, the *Sepia octopus*, L., in which opinion I also agree.

Πρόξ, προκάς.—*Cervus capreolus*, L.

This animal is twice mentioned in Homer, first along with the *Rupicapri* and hares, among animals of chase; second, bears, lions, and panthers are said to be gorged with procades. The old grammarians have explained them as ἑλάφους νεβρούς, "deer, fawns," but they are in error; for it is evident from Aristotle, that the prox is the capreolus, and is always mentioned by him along with the cervus, from which we see that they are animals differing in species; and in speaking of animals which want the gall vesicles, he enumerates the prox with the cervi,—a clear proof that they belong to that genus.

Σκῶψ.—*Strix scopus*.

This bird is mentioned in the description of the grotto of Calypso, *Odys.* B. v. l. 56. The bird is easily identified by a passage in Athenæus, quoted from Alexander Myndius, B. ix. p. 391: ὁ δὲ σκῶψ μικρότερός τ' ἐστὶ γλαυκός καὶ ἐπὶ μολυβδοφανεί τῷ χρώματι ὑπὸ λυκα στίγματα ἔχει, δύο τε ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφρύων παρ' ἐκάτερον κρόταφον ἀναφέρει πτερά.—"The scops is rather a small bird, azure verging towards lead-colour, with whitish spots, and erects two tufts of feathers from the eye-brows to each temple. This is the *Strix Scops*, L.—le petit duc.

Σπρουθός.—*Fringilla domestica*.

The portent of the sparrow and its young eaten by the dragon, as narrated by Ulysses, *Il.* B. ii. l. 311, is —



The Scholiast and grammarians discover a prodigy in the number of the brood, although Aristotle learnedly contends that sparrows do produce eight, which is a greater number than we usually observe their brood to consist of; but the number is necessary for the portent, as that number of years was to elapse ere Troy could be taken.

Σφήξ.—*Vespa vulgaris*.

οἱ δ', ὥστε σφήκες μέσου αἰόλοι ἢ μέλισσαι
οἰκία ποιήσωνται ὁδοῖ ἐπὶ παιπαλοέσῃ,
οὐδ' ἀπολείπουσιν κώλον δόμον, ἀλλὰ μένοντες
ἄνδρας θηρητῆρας, ἀμύνονται περὶ τέκνων.

Il. B. xii. l. 167.

"But they, as wasps mid-speckled, or as bees
That build their dwellings by a pebbly road,
Leave not their hollow home, but waiting there
Those that would take them, battle for their young."

And again, *Il. B. xvi. l. 259*,—

αὐτίκα δὲ σφήκασιν ἐοικότες ἐξεχέοντο
εἰνοδίῳ, οὗς παῖδες ἐριδμαίνουσιν ἔθοντες,
αἰεὶ καρτομέοντες, ὁδοῖ ἐπὶ οἰκᾷ ἔχοντας
νηπίαχοι· ξυνὸν δὲ κακὸν πολέεσσι τιθεῖσιν.
τοὺς δ' εἴπερ παρά τίς τε κίων ἄνθρωπος ὁδίτης
κινήσῃ ἄεκων, οἱ δ' ἄλακμον ἦτορ ἔχοντες
πρόσω πᾶς πέτεται καὶ ἀμύνει οἷσι τέκεσσι.

"Straight forth like way-side wasps they rush
Which boys as ever wont provoking irritate,
For foolish by the way their homes they have;
A common nuisance they for many plant—
For if the traveller chance on passing by
Unwitting them to stir, a fearless heart they hold,
Forth each one flies and battles for its brood."

These passages of the poet require no comment to prove that Homer was a very close observer of nature.

Τέταξ.—*Cicada plebeia*.

ἦμος δὲ χλοερῷ κυανόπτερος ἡχέτα τέταξ,
ὅςῃ ἐφεζόμενος, θέρος ἀνθρώποισιν ἀεΐδεν

ἄρχεται, εἴτε πόσις καὶ βρώσις θῆλυς ἔερση,
καὶ τε πανημέριός τε καὶ ἥϊός χέει αὐδὴν,
ἴθει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ ὅποτε χροά Σείριος ἄζει·
τῆμος δὲ κέτχροισι πέρι γλῶχας τελέθουσι,
τούς τε θέρει σπείρουσι, ὅτ' ὕμφακας αἰόλλονται.

Scut. Herc. l. 393.

"But when the tuneful tettix dark of wing
Perched on green bough begins
To sing of summer unto men—
Its food and drink the tender dew—
And all day long from dawn pours forth its note,
In fiercest heat, when Sirius dries the frame,
When round the millet spring the bristly ears
Which they in summer sow, when grapes are colouring."

Homer compares the old Trojans sitting on the turret, to cicadas, *Il. B. III. l. 151*,—

οἷτα καθ' ὕλην
δενδρέῳ ἐφεζόμενοι ὅπα λειυέουσιν ἱεῖσιν·

"Which through a grove
Perched on a bough send forth their low sweet tone."

Cicadas are often mentioned by the ancients,—

μακαρίζομέν σε τέτιξ—
"We hold thee blest, O Tettix!"—

as sings Anacreon.

Koeppen is of opinion that this is the Cicada orni, L.; but it appears to me rather the Cicada plebeia, which is much larger and more easily observed than the other.

Τῆθος,—*Ascidia phusca*.

ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλ' ἐλαφρὸς ἀνὴρ, ὥς βεῖα κυβιστᾶ·
εἰ δὴ που καὶ κόντιν ἐν ἰχθυόεντι γένοιτο
πολλοὺς ἂν κορέσειεν ἀνὴρ ὅδε, τήθεα διφῶν,
νῆός ἀποθρώσκων, εἰ καὶ δυσπέμφελος εἴη·

Il. B. XVI. l. 745.

"Ye gods, how very swift this man, how easily he dives!
And sooth if he were but employed upon the fishy sea,
He many a one might satisfy; for Tethea searching there,
Plunging headlong from his bark tho' stormy were the main."

The grammarians explain tethea by ostrea, but their ignorance of natural history is very great. From the description of Aristotle, it is evident that the *tethea* or *tethua* are *Ascidia*. The *Ascidia* belong to the Acephalous Mollusca, and many species are edible. We may here perhaps understand the tethos to be the *Ascidia Phusca*, which the modern Greeks call Phusca, common in the sea at Smyrna and in the Bosporus, and which, when removed from its shell, is eaten with lemon juice. It clings to stones, and is sometimes washed ashore.

Φερέοικος,—*Helix pomatia*.

ἀλλ' ὅπότε' ἄν φερέοικος ἀπὸ χθονὸς ἄν φυτὰ βαίνει,
Πληϊάδας φεύγων, τότε δὴ σκάφος οὐκέτι οἰνέων.

HES. *Op. et Di.* l. 571.

"But when up the plants the house-bearer may climb from off the ground,
The Pleiad heats to shun, no longer then continue the trenching of the vines."

As the poet in the preceding verses speaks of vines, we shall be pretty near the truth if we interpret the φερέοικος, "house-bearer," to be the *Helix Pomatia*.

Φήνη,—*Avis feminina ad genus Aquilæ pertinens ;*
Falco imperialis fem.

Savigny first asserted that this bird was the *Gypaëtos barbatus*, and Cuvier has followed that opinion. I would maintain, however, that the αἰγυπῶς is the *Gypaëtus barb.*; and I shall attempt to prove that the φήνη is a female eagle, which agrees with Aristotle, who says, αἰετὸν μείζονα τῆς φήνης, "that the eagle is larger than the Phene;" and it is well known that the *Gypaëtus barb.* is larger than any of the eagles. My opinion is also confirmed by a fable of Antoninus Liberalis, where, after Periphas has been metamorphosed into an eagle, he adds,—τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, δεηθεῖσαν καὶ αὐτὴν ὄρνιθα ποιῆσαι σύννομον τῷ περίφαντι, ἐποίησε φήνην—τῇ γυναίκε δὲ τοῦ περίφαντος ἦν ἐποίησε φήνην διδοῖ πρὸς ἅπασαν πρᾶξιν ἀνθρώποις αἰεῖαν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι,—Ch. VI. "And his wife also requesting him to make her a bird, a companion to Periphas, Jove made her a Phene—and to the wife of Periphas, whom he had made a Phene, he granted to appear as a bird of augury to mankind in all their affairs."

The *Gypaëtus barb.* can hardly be classed among birds of augury, and as it is rare, it cannot well appear to mankind in all their affairs.

Φώκη,—*Phoca monachus*, Gm.

ἀμφὶ δὲ μιν φῶκαι νέποδες καλῆς Ἀλοσύδνης
ἀθροῖαι εὐδουσιν, πολὺς ἄλως ἐξανασαῖ
παρὸν ἀποπνείουσαι ἄλως πολυβενθέος ὀδμήν.

Od. B. iv. l. 404.

"And round him *Phocæ*, fin-footed ones of *Halosydna* fair
In numbers sleep, emerging from the silvery main,
Exhaling the rank odour of the many gulphed brine."

Νέποδες is by some translated "foot-less;" by others, "swimming or fin-footed," from νέω, νήχω, "to swim," in which sense it seems taken by Nicander and Oppian, who apply the word to all water-animals; others translate it "offspring," as if from νεός, like "nepotes" of the Latins. In another passage of Homer, *Phocæ* are called black. It seems to be the *Phoca Monachus*, Gm.

Χελιδών,—*Hirundo urbica et rustica*.

In the beginning of spring, the swallow, daughter of Pandion, is said by Hesiod to return. There are two species,—*Hirundo rustica* and *urbica*.

Χέλως,—*Testudo græca*.

In Homer's *Hymn to Mercury*, at line 24, we read—

ἔνθα χέλυν εὐρὺν ἐκτίσαστο μυρίον ὄλβον ·
ἧ ῥά οἱ ἀντεβόλησεν ἐπ' αὐλείῃσι θύρῃσιν,
βοσκομένη προπάροιθε δόμων ἐριθηλέα ποίην,
σαῦλα ποσσὶν βαίνουσα · Διὸς δ' ἑριουνίος διὸς
ἀθρήσας ἐγέλασσε καὶ αὐτίκα μῦθον ἔειπεν ·
σύμβολον ἤδη μοι μέγ' ὀνήσιμον, οὐκ ὀνοτάζω
χαῖρε, φυὴν ἐρέεσσα, χοροίτυπε, δαιτὸς ἐταίρη,
ἀσπασίη προφανεῖσα ! πόθεν τόδε καλὸν ἄθυρμα,
αἰόλον ὄστρακον, ἑσσι, χέλως ὄρεα ζώουσα.

"The chelys finding there, a boundless prize he gained,
Which met him on the very threshold of his court,
Feeding upon the herbage rich that grew before his door,

Slowly advancing with its feet ; but Jove's inventive son
 Laughed loudly on beholding it, and straight this word did speak :
 Right useful symbol thou to me, and one I don't despise ;
 Hail thou of nature charming, dance-timer, feast-companion,
 Glad to my view appearing ; whence cometh this fair toy,
 This spotted shell, art thou a mountain-dwelling chelys ?"

The animal here described is the *Testudo Græca*, L.

Χήν,—*Anser cinereus*.

The anseres are occasionally mentioned along with the swans among the birds which the eagle puts to flight. They are seen in large flocks on the banks of the Cayster. The bird is the *Anser cinereus*.

Ψῆρ,—*Sturnus varius*, Meyer.

This bird is mentioned among the prey of the falcon. Aristotle thus describes it : ὁ δὲ ψάρος ἐστὶ παχάλος ὃ μέγεθος δ' ἐστὶν ἡλίκον κόττυφος,—*Hist. Anim.* B. IX. ch. 26.—"But the Psarus is spotted and about the size of a Cottyphus," (merula black-bird)." It seems therefore the *Sturnus varius*, Meyer.

LIST OF SYSTEMATIC NAMES.

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|---|--|
| 'Αηδών,— <i>Sylvia philomela</i> . | Γέρανος,— <i>Ardea grus</i> . |
| Αἰγυπίος,— <i>Gypaëtus barbatus</i> . | Γύψ,— <i>Vultur fulvus</i> or <i>cinereus</i> ,
Gmel. |
| Αἰετόν,— <i>Falco imperialis</i> . | Δελφίν,— <i>Delphinus delphis</i> . |
| Αἰετὸς μορφνός, περκνός,— <i>Falco</i>
<i>nævius</i> , L. | Δρακῶν,— <i>Generale Serpantium</i>
nomen. |
| Αἰθυίη,— <i>Sula alba</i> ? | 'Εγχελύς, <i>Muræna anguilla</i> . |
| Αἶξ,— <i>Capra hircus</i> , L. | 'Ελαφος,— <i>Cervus elaphos</i> , L. |
| Αἶξ ἀγριός,— <i>Capra ægagros</i> ;
<i>Capra ibex</i> , L. ; <i>Capra rupi-</i>
<i>capra</i> , L. | 'Ελέφας,— <i>Elephas indicus</i> . |
| 'Ακρίς,— <i>Gryllus migratorius</i> , L. | 'Ερωδιός,— <i>Ardea cinerea</i> , L. |
| 'Αράχνη,— <i>Epeira diadema</i> , L. | Εὐλαί,— <i>Larvæ insectorum</i> , quæ
in <i>vulneribus</i> et <i>cadaveribus</i>
degunt ; <i>Larvæ muscæ mor-</i>
<i>tuorum</i> . |
| 'Αρκτος,— <i>Ursus arctos</i> , L. | 'Ημίονος ἀγρότερος,— <i>Equus he-</i>
<i>mionus</i> , Pall. |
| 'Αρπη,— <i>Falco fusco-ater</i> , ægypti-
tius, Gmel. | |
| Βούς,— <i>Bos taurus</i> , L. | |

Θώς,—*Canis aureus*, L.

Ἰδρίς,—*Formica nigra*.

Ἰκτίς,—*Mustela erminea*.

Ἰξάλος,—*Capra ibex*, Pall.

Ἴππος,—*Equus caballus*, L.

Ἴρηξ,—*Falco subbuteo*.

Ἴρηξ φασσόφωνος,—*Falco peregrinus*.

Ἴρηξ κίρκος,—*Falco nisus*, L.

Κάπρος, σὺν κυπρίος, σὺν,—*Sus scrofa*.

Κεμάς,—See Ἐλαφος.

Κίχλη,—*Turdus iliacus*, musicus and pilaris.

Κόκκυξ,—*Cuculus canorus*, L.

Κολοίος,—*Corvus monedula*, L.

Κορώνη,—*Corvus corone*.

Κορώνη ἐνάλιος,—*Larus cachinnans*, Pall.

Κτίλος,—See Ὅϊς.

Κύκνος,—*Cycnus musicus* Bechst.

Κύμινδις, χάλκις,—*Strix uralensis*.

Κυνομνία,—*Hippobosca equina*, L.

Κυνοραιστής,—*Acarus ricinus*, L.

Κυνών,—*Canis familiaris*.

Λαγώς, πτώξ,—*Lepus timidus*.

Λάρος,—*Larus leucophthalmus*, Licht.; *melanocephalus*, atricilla, Linn.

Λεών Λίς,—*Felis leo*, L.

Λύκος,—*Canis lupus*.

Μελίσση,—*Apis mellifica*.

Μήλα,—See Ὅϊς.

Μυῖα,—*Musca domestica*, mortuorum, vomitoria, and Stomoxys calcitrans.

Νεβρόν,—See Ἐλαφος.

Νυκτερίς,—Species plures e genere Vespertilionis.

Ὅϊς,—*Ovis aries*, L.

Ὀστρος,—*Oestrus bovis*, L.

Ὀνος,—*Equus asinus*, L.

Ὀυρέύς,—*Equus mulus*, L.

Ὀφίς,—Nomen generale Serpentium.

Πελεία,—*Columba livia*.

Πόρδαλις,—*Felis pardus*, L.

Πουλύπους,—*Sepia octopus*, L.

Πρόξ,—*Cervus capreolus*, L.

Σκώληξ,—*Lumbricus terrestris*.

Σκώψ,—*Strix scops*.

Στρουθός,—*Fringilla domestica*.

Σφήξ,—*Vespa vulgaris*.

Τέττιξ,—*Cicada plebeia*.

Τήθος,—*Ascidia phusca*.

Υδρος,—

Φερέοικος,—*Helix pomatia*.

Φήνη,—*Avis feminina* ad genus *Aquilæ pertinens*; *Falco imperialis fem.*

Φώκη,—*Moca monachus*, Gm.

Χελιδών,—*Hirundo urbica et rustica*.

Χελυς,—*Testudo græca*.

Χήν,—*Anser cinereus*.

Ψήρ,—*Sturnus varius*, Meyer.

XXX.

ON THE COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGES OF SOME METHODS
OF TEACHING LATIN AND GREEK.

It may at first sight appear to be a work of supererogation to write upon this well-worn theme ; and many even of those who are interested in the subject will perhaps feel inclined to pass over the pages which are occupied with its discussion, on the assumption that nothing new is likely to be brought forward relative to it, or, at least, that if novelty be gained, it will be at the expense of practical utility. And I confess that I should not feel much surprise should this be the fate of the following remarks, as I am too well aware that waste both of time and of patience is the only result obtained from the perusal of the majority of the essays that have been published of late years on the subject, to be very sanguine in my hopes that many teachers will again venture on so unpromising an enterprise. Still, as I entertain a strong conviction that the plans of study commonly pursued are in several respects extremely erroneous and defective, and as my notions on this subject are the result of a somewhat extensive experience, and have undergone satisfactorily, as it appears to me, the test of practical application,— I would fain hope that some hints, at least, of a useful kind may be derived by the teacher of the classics, from the following exposition of them.

I take it for granted at the outset, that the main object of all education, (I use the term in its restricted sense of *scholastic* education,) is to develope, strengthen, and direct the intellectual faculties ; that, due regard being had to this cardinal point, those methods of instruction are to be preferred which enable the pupil to acquire a given amount of knowledge with the greatest ease and certainty ; and lastly, that in exact proportion as the first object is attained will the second be secured ; or, in other words, that the intellectual and reasoning systems of instruction are also those which communicate, at the smallest expense of time and toil, the largest amount of valuable know-

ledge. Few who really deserve the name of teachers will, I think, be inclined to dispute the truth of any one of these propositions; and certainly those few are not likely to be found among the readers of the Classical Museum.

Now, of all the intellectual faculties, memory is, by the general consent of metaphysicians, esteemed the *lowest*, being that which least distinguishes man from the irrational animals, many of which possess it in a high degree; and it is a well known fact, that while, on the one hand, not a few persons who have been remarkable for extraordinary powers of memory, have been almost as remarkable for the absence of the higher faculties, so on the other hand, some of the most eminent men in many departments of learning and science have possessed only a limited range of memory. Yet this inferior faculty—the highest degree of which is almost valueless, except as it ministers to the nobler powers of the mind, supplying them with the materials whereon to work—seems to have been the exclusive care of the earlier systems of instruction, and is even now made the chief instrument in the acquisition of knowledge, and thus receives a degree of culture that would be more profitably bestowed upon other faculties. And were this cultivation of memory conducted on any philosophical plan, the objections that may be brought against it, would, to a great extent, be removed; for it is undeniable that the surest method of imprinting an idea upon the mind, or, in common phraseology, of committing it to memory,—is to shew its connexion with other ideas, so that they may all be associated together in the mind in such a way as that the presence in our thoughts of one shall necessitate that of the others: but this pointing out of the connexion of one idea with other ideas, is what we mean when we talk of *explaining* it, and exercises those truly intellectual faculties, observation, comparison, and reasoning. The endeavour to teach language by requiring children to learn *by rote* classified lists of inflections, commonly called Declensions and Conjugations, is one, the futility of which is obvious *a priori* to any one who has the slightest acquaintance with the laws of mind, and cannot fail to force itself upon the observation of a thinking teacher when the attempt is practically made; so that nothing but the power of habit, and the dislike of change which is implanted in our nature, could have caused it to be persevered in during so long a period up to the present time. A child should

not be required to learn what he does not understand ; until he understands it, it cannot be associated in his mind, except mechanically, with any thing else, and consequently has no hold upon his memory, but is almost immediately forgotten. Now, I will venture to say that scarcely one boy in a hundred who learn, on the ordinary system, what is called the *accidence*, has any but very imperfect and confused notions about the import of the various forms which he laboriously strives by incessant repetition to imprint upon his memory ;—they are to him so many unmeaning sounds, his only concern with which is to recite them in a given order on certain occasions, and forget them afterwards as speedily as possible. Hence it is one of the most usual occurrences to find boys who have in this way been through the Latin grammar, and profess to know the “*Accidence*,” making the strangest blunders when they come to read a Latin author, or to write a Latin exercise, simply for want of knowing the signification of some of the commonest of those inflections, in pretending to learn which they have probably spent two or three years ; and even when the requisite knowledge is really possessed, it is rarely so incorporated with their minds as to be ready for instant use. Boys thus taught, when desired to mention the ablative case, for instance, of a given noun, frequently, nay generally, begin at the nominative and proceed in order through all the cases till they arrive at the last. In fact, the rote system is purely mechanical, and never can enable the scholar¹ to use his knowledge readily or intelligently.

The first thing, then, to be done to improve the method of Classical instruction, is to cease presenting to the beginner the inflections of words in the abstract and general way adopted in grammars : these synopses are useful and indeed indispensable, but they should be reserved for a later period of the study, when they will serve to collect and classify the knowledge which in other ways has been gradually and unconnectedly acquired. Each inflection should be presented separately, its various modifications and its exact meaning pointed out ; and then a number of illustrative examples, sufficient to impress all this upon the memory, should at once be given, so that theory and practice may go together step by step, and afford

¹ It may be proper to say, that | word is used in the sense of “pupil,”
throughout the following remarks this | or “learner,” its original meaning.

each other that mutual support of which they are deprived by the received method of teaching Latin and Greek, which causes the pupil to spend two or three years in studying bare abstractions before allowing him to make a practical use of any part of his knowledge; which, for example, requires him to have learned all the inflections before it permits him to read or to write a single line; and thus, as might have been expected, on arriving at the end of the mighty task, finds that the scholar has it all to begin again, his mind having proved to be somewhat like the sieve of the Danaids.²

The error here referred to seems to have arisen from the practice, till recently all but universal, of teaching the elements of a language through the medium of reading works written in the language, to the exclusion of the more simple and efficacious plan of writing systematically arranged exercises upon the rules of the language. For, as in probably the very first page of even the simplest author, examples of nearly every variety of inflection will be found, it is evident, that before we can begin with any hope of success to read an author, we must, in some way or other, have become acquainted with the *whole* of the "accidence," which was formerly to be done only by means of the grammar. This fact is sufficient to demonstrate the superiority of the plan of commencing the study of a language by writing exercises; for now the inflections may be taken one by one, and arranged in the most simple and convenient order; the student's attention can be directed to each just as long as its importance or difficulty may render advisable; and abundant practice on it will fix it indelibly upon the memory, so that it can scarcely ever be confounded with other inflections, an evil that is almost sure to happen when great numbers of facts, all equally new and unknown, are brought before the mind at the same time.

The great difficulty in teaching children is to fix their atten-

² If teachers would but pay a little attention to the laws of that wonderful existence upon which they have to work—the human mind, their plans would undergo vast changes and improvements;—recognizing, for instance, the fact, that memory consists in the power of associating ideas, they would

see that the mere reading over of a rule is not sufficient to cause it to be intelligently remembered, but that the frequent practical employment of the rule, by associating it in the mind with numerous other ideas, is the most effectual means to secure the wished-for end.

tion,—to prevent that continual wandering which is eminently characteristic of the young untrained mind, and which corresponds to that restlessness of body and love of motion for which children are famed. Now, it will be conceded that nothing can be better adapted to this end than to require the scholar himself to furnish examples of the rules that are placed before him; for however much this process may be simplified, it may safely be assumed that no one could perform it correctly without understanding the nature of the process and the rules laid down relative to it. And if, in addition to practice of this kind *visû voce*, the scholar be required to *write* illustrative examples, another very powerful means is employed for fixing his attention upon the rule; and thus causing it to be remembered.

A great defect in many books which profess to give exercises on the rules of grammar, is, that the examples contained in them consist of single words or of unconnected phrases, a plan which renders the study extremely uninteresting, and presents it in an abstract and unpractical point of view; besides, it is scarcely possible to give correct information about words unless they are taken in connexion with other words in the manner in which they invariably occur in books or conversation. To avoid these objections, the examples should, at the outset, consist of complete sentences, composed of words illustrative of the rules under consideration: these sentences being in English, the pupil would have to translate into Latin or Greek, and in doing so, apply to words with which he would be furnished, one or more rules explaining how certain cases, persons, tenses, &c. are formed.

And as no sentence, even the most simple, can exist without a nominative and a verb, the very first rule must relate to them. This may at first appear extremely unsystematic, and likely to be productive of great confusion in the pupil's mind; but any such fear will, I think, be removed by a closer examination of the subject. It seems in fact to arise solely from the circumstance, that in grammars the inflections of nouns are kept apart from those of verbs, and take precedence of them. It although this plan is unavoidable in a grammar, which in the arrangement of the forms of words, it does not in studying the language, it is necessary that all nouns should be learnt before proceeding to the verbs. There is no such logical connexion between the

grammar as exists between the propositions of geometry, precluding the comprehension of the one until the other is known: each set of inflections is wholly independent, and they may therefore be studied in conjunction; and ought indeed so to be, if we wish their mutual relations to be understood.

In like manner, nothing can be more unreasonable than the complete separation that is usually made between substantives and adjectives. Not only are the latter mere attendants upon the former, so that their true use and the signification of their various forms can be understood only when they are combined with them, but their inflections also differ in hardly any respect from those of substantives. To present, then, each class of words by itself, and repeat all the forms without pointing out their identity, is a wanton and utterly useless addition to the pupil's labour, and must, moreover, in the majority of cases, prevent the points of resemblance between the two classes of words being observed.

In this way, then, I would take the scholar through every part of the accidence, giving him a separate rule for every inflection, but bringing together all the similar uses of the same inflection; and where the use of any form required the knowledge of a rule of syntax, giving that also along with the rule relative to the inflection. For, in truth, on the plan that has been explained, the unnatural disjunction of the syntax from the accidence cannot be maintained. All the essential rules of syntax must be stated at an early period of the study, and even the chief of those which are peculiar to Latin or Greek, as compared with English, must be communicated to the pupil. But this is, to my mind, another and very strong argument in favour of the method; for how is it possible to learn the real meaning of inflections—that is, their equivalents in our own language—unless they are employed in sentences? and this cannot be done correctly without knowing the rules of syntax relative to them. Besides, the whole course of study now becomes *natural*; the only artificial point being, that some particular forms are selected for consideration, and that a certain order of selection is adopted; but this is rendered necessary by the nature of the case, as our faculties can apply to only a few facts at a time; and as far as the forms selected are concerned, they are presented in the way in which they would actually be employed in well-regulated conversation.

But while the scholar is thus learning the grammar by means of writing exercises on certain definite rules, and is, at the same time, acquiring a large and valuable stock of vocables, the converse process of translating from Latin or Greek into English ought not to be neglected; and the exercises will at first furnish sufficient materials for this purpose. After they have been corrected by the teacher, they should at stated times be read aloud by the pupil, and re-translated into English; and he may be required to analyse the words, and to state the rules exemplified, in the exercises. But when he has gained a knowledge of the principal forms of words, he should begin to read some simple author, such as Cæsar or Xenophon, and be taught how to apply his knowledge to their writings.

At this time, the advantages of our plan become very apparent. The difficulties usually experienced, on commencing the reading of authors, by those who have merely picked up a few unconnected words in their progress through the grammar, are so great as to be very discouraging. The labour of looking in the dictionary for nearly every word that occurs, is most wearisome, and occupies far more time than can be spared; and the scholar not being able to form before-hand a general notion of the meaning of the sentences, has no clue to guide him in selecting from the host of significations frequently assigned to words, that which the context requires. The method of instruction here advocated, gradually makes him acquainted with most of the words in common use; and by unfolding to him, in the way to be presently explained, the principles of derivation and composition, enables him to a very considerable extent to dispense with the aid of dictionaries, even in reference to words which he may never have seen before.

The immense advantages which result from pursuing the study of the languages which are called the Indo-Germanic on a system of analysis are now generally admitted: that is, in fact, the only plan on which any real and lasting progress can be made; and it undoubtedly accomplishes in a comparatively short time, and with little trouble, what, if we were to rely upon mere memory, would require many years of continuous labour. The scholar should, at the very beginning of his studies, be taught the leading laws which regulate the derivation and composition of words; the meaning of the most usual pre-

fixes and suffixes, and of a number of the principal roots of the language. To this end, root words with their *primary*, *i. e.* physical, meanings³ should, as far as practicable, be employed in the elementary exercises: all derived and compound words that occur should be exhibited in such a way as to shew the root apart from the additions to it; and the pupil should seldom be allowed to miss an opportunity of resolving a compound word into its elements. No one who has not tried such a plan can have any idea of the rapid progress which it renders possible, or of the mastery which it soon gives of the language, making the scholar almost independent of dictionaries, and relieving his memory of a burden which it must be strong indeed to bear; whole classes of words become associated in his mind, and the precise signification of each is retained with scarcely an effort on his part.

Now, this analytical plan cannot be satisfactorily pursued unless it be done *thoroughly*. Any attempt here at half measures is sure to involve us in inconsistency and confusion; the analysis must be applied to every word and form of word that is capable of being so treated, and the elements of which are known, otherwise we shall derive only partial advantages from it.

All these conditions are fulfilled by what has been called the "crude form system," and by that only. This, therefore, is the plan which must be adopted by those who admit the superiority of the analytical mode of study, and wish to share in its advantages themselves, or to communicate them to their pupils. It is to be regretted that hitherto this system has made so little progress even in our own country, where it is more extensively employed than in any other; and the fact is probably, to some extent at least, attributable to the want of any distinct effort to call the attention of teachers to it; nothing but detached and partial statements on the subject having been laid before the pub-

³ The fact that the various meanings of a word were not *arbitrarily* imposed upon it, but are all modifications of, or derivations from, the simple primary meaning, in accordance with analogy or some other principle whereby ideas become associated in our minds, ought

to be distinctly stated and frequently referred to; the teacher on all occasions pointing out the connexion between the several significations, and, if possible, supplying any intermediate meanings that may be wanting in the series.

lic.⁴ It is my intention, therefore, to enter somewhat in detail into the arguments for and against the crude form system ; and I hope to prove that the *theoretical* objections brought against it are unfounded, and that the *practical* difficulties in the way of its universal introduction into schools, may by no very great efforts be overcome.

And here it may be proper to state that my first acquaintance with the crude form system was made after I had studied Latin for many years on the ordinary plan ; so that all my *prejudices* were opposed to the innovation. I had, however, always paid great attention to verbal analysis, of which it soon appeared that the system of crude forms was merely an extension, and as such deserved a careful consideration ; the result of which was that I joyfully embraced the new method, which upwards of seven years' almost daily experience has continually raised higher and higher in my estimation, as a means of imparting a knowledge of language to the young.

As it is possible that some of my readers may need to be told what "crude form" is, and what are the leading characteristics of the system so denominated, the following brief explanations may serve for the present.

A crude form is a word to which the suffixes denoting case, person, tense, mood, &c., have not yet been attached, so that only the essential and distinguishing part of the word stands before us ; and in the crude form system, words are invariably presented in this state when spoken of independently of other words, or made the subjects of rules.⁵ Thus we say that the Latin word signifying "king" is *rēg*, "army," *exercitu*, "carry," *porta*, not *rex*, *exercitus*, *porto* ; that the Greek word for "foot" is *ποδ*, for "do," *παρ* ; not *πούς*, *πάσσω* ; which latter forms are those ordinarily used in similar cases.

⁴ The system is now beginning to be adopted in schools in various parts of the country, and has recently been introduced into one of the largest public schools in London : it has been the only method employed for many years at the Junior School of University College, some of the most distinguished professors connected with that institution having been the earliest advocates of the system in this country.

⁵ If it is considered that in such instances words are treated in an abstract and general manner, it will appear to be the natural plan to employ the most general and simple form they can assume, instead of selecting some particular complex form which not only conveys the meaning of the word, but in addition to this, denotes relation with other words.

The principal theoretical objection to the crude form system is, that it is *artificial*, or rather, *imaginative*, inasmuch as it assumes the existence of words which are nowhere to be met with in the writings of Greek or Latin authors; and that consequently, as it is based upon an incorrect assumption, its practical deductions must necessarily—if at least those who propound it reason logically—be erroneous also. Before I proceed to shew the fallacy involved in this objection, I may be permitted to remark that it comes with a very ill grace from those who uphold the common system of classical instruction, much of which is founded upon the gratuitous and useless assumption of forms which neither do nor could exist; which puts before the pupil and requires him to commit to memory whole pages of inflections, the products of mere *imagination*; which, for the purpose of shewing how these inflections and those which actually occur are connected with one another, invents the most round-about and preposterous modes of derivation; and which thus is chargeable, in a far higher degree than the crude form system, with the very fault, the imputation of which is regarded as a sufficient condemnation of the latter. And this, too, without the excuse that might be made for the new system, even though it should be found to be justly liable to the charge, namely, that it conduces to remove obstacles from the pupil's way and to facilitate his progress; for all these imaginative parts of the common system have a precisely opposite tendency: they lead the scholar from the direct path; obscure the most important facts; multiply his difficulties and increase his labours.⁶

I deny, however, that the objection in question is well founded. I assert, on the contrary, that the crude form system, instead of being imaginary and arbitrary, is the result of extensive observation, of careful deduction, and of legitimate generalization. I deny, also, that crude forms are not found in the classical authors: that they never occur there without some addition or alteration, is true; the explanation of the reason for which fact will shew that the objection based upon it is utterly worthless.

A crude form, as has been already stated, is an *isolated* word, for it is destitute of the suffixes which would shew its rela-

⁶ Ample proof of these assertions will be given in the course of this article.

tion to other words. But when words are combined in sentences, there must be something to indicate the relations in which they stand to one another, and that something is the addition to the crude forms of the various suffixes that belong to them. The reason, then, why mere crude forms are not found in the classical writings is obvious; but it does not follow that because they cannot make *sentences*, therefore they have no existence except in the imaginations of grammarians; as well might it be said that because flour alone cannot make bread, but must, for that purpose, have various subsidiary substances added to it, there is no such thing as flour; which a person who had never seen any thing but bread might, perhaps, be inclined to believe.

But, it may be urged, admitting that some such verbal substrata as crude forms exist, does not the process by which they are found partake largely of the imagination? are not crude forms *invented*? contrived, cunningly perchance, so as to explain the phenomena of language satisfactorily enough, but having no necessary connexion with the forms to which they serve as clues? I answer, *no*: crude forms are ascertained by an attentive observation of facts, and by the application of methods analogous to those which are pursued in reference to the phenomena of the material universe. It is indeed full time that the perverse modes of philosophizing prevalent in ancient times, which consisted mainly in forming an *a priori* theory, and in subsequently attempting to verify it by partial and biassed observations, should be banished from philology, as it long since has been from the natural sciences; and this good work, the supporters of the crude form system are doing their utmost to accomplish. The following illustration of the method of determining crude forms will serve to explain the preceding remarks. It is taken from the Greek language, which is better adapted to shew the advantages of the crude form system than the Latin, as the greater complexity of its inflections and the more extensive range of its euphonic changes make palpable what the simplicity of the Latin language affords comparatively little opportunity to appreciate.

The verbs *τάσσω* and *φολάσσω* are exactly alike in the characteristic of the present tense,—that which the grammarians unfortunately selected as the starting point, as the basis whereon to build up their elaborate system (if it deserves the name)

of derivation; and this tense, therefore, would lead us to infer that the crude forms of the two verbs have similar endings also.⁷ And if we are not content to draw a conclusion from so limited a comparison, but proceed to compare other tenses, we shall still find great resemblance: thus we have τάξ-ω and φυλάξ-ω, τέ-ταχ-α and πε-φύλαχ-α, ἐ-τάχ-θην and ἐ-φυλάχ-θην, τέ-ταγ-μαι and πε-φύλαγ-μαι. After this, it would probably be thought by most persons quite justifiable to conclude that the crude forms are similar. And even if we collect a few of the derived or cognate words, this inference will appear to be still further supported. Thus we have τακ-τέο-ν and φυλακ-τέο-ν, τάξι-ς and φύλαξι-ς. A more extensive search, however, discovers such words, on the one hand, as τάγ-α, τάγ-ο, τάγ-ευ, ἐ-τάγ-η; and on the other, as φύλακ-α, φύλακ-ος.⁸ Now, as the difference between the latter words cannot be accounted for on any known principle, it follows that it is a *radical* difference, or in other words, that the verbal crude forms are respectively *ταγ* and *φυλακ*; assuming which, every one of the various forms under which they appear can be satisfactorily and easily deduced on universally admitted principles; into which it is not needful for me here to enter.

Nor is it always possible decisively to ascertain what the crude form is, without reference to other cognate languages.⁹ Thus, on examining the words *equi-s*, *equi-m*, *equi*, *equo*, *equorum*, *equo-s*, *equi-s*, it might be difficult to say whether the crude form is *equi*, *equo*, or *equi*. But on comparing with them a set of corresponding Greek words, such as ἵππο-ς, ἵππο-ν, ἵππου, ἵππῳ, ἵππο-ι, ἵππους, ἵππων, ἵππο-ις, there would be sufficient

⁷ It should be remembered that relatively to its inflections, the important and distinguishing part of a crude form is its *termination*, and generally its final letter only.

⁸ In some cases there is evidence of *double* crude forms, the existence of which serves to explain many dialectic varieties of inflection. Thus some verbs which have ζ in the present are derived either from a crude form ending in γ, or from one ending in δ; e. g. ἀρπάξ-ω, ἀρμύξ-ω: connected with the former are ἀρπαγ-α, ἀρπάγ-ματ, ἀρπαγ-ο from the crude form ἀρπαγ, and

ἀρπάζ-ματ, ἀρπαζ-ο, from ἀρπαδ; connected with the latter are ἀρμυγ-α from the stem ἀρμυγ, and ἀρμυδ-οι, (ἀρμυ-οι,) ἀρμυο-οι from ἀρμυδ. Now these verbs which have ζ in the present are remarkably troublesome to grammarians, and require many special rules, which, as stated by them, appear to be altogether inexplicable. See Matthiae, § 177. *Obs.* II. § 191.

⁹ The whole system of crude forms, in fact, is a result of the study of the Sanscrit language, which has, during the present century, given rise to the science of Comparative Grammar.

evidence to turn the scale in favour of *equo* ; and the Greek forms enable us to explain the apparent anomalies in those of the Latin word. All doubt on the subject, however, is removed when we observe the forms of those words which undeniably end in *u*, as *exercitu*, and which are extremely different from those of *equo*.

Such is the process for finding crude forms, and it must be apparent, therefore, that it is neither imaginative nor arbitrary, but a perfectly legitimate method of induction.

These illustrations serve also to prove the correctness of the assertion that the crude form system is a thoroughly analytical one;¹⁰ it strips off all accessories, and presents words in their essential simplicity of form and generality of meaning ; it shews what the various suffixes and prefixes are, and how they modify the forms and significations of words, and thus conduces to precision and distinctness of ideas ; and by reducing the apparently innumerable varieties of inflections to a comparatively small number of primitive forms, and making manifest the laws which give rise to their varieties, it greatly diminishes the labour and abridges the time requisite for gaining a knowledge of language. And it need hardly be pointed out that the advantages of this system are not confined to the inflections of words, but extend to the whole body of derivatives, and that thus the student is enabled, by analysis and classification, to grasp that vast subject—the vocabulary of a language—which in any other way can be mastered by nothing less than the labour of a life. Some such method as this is, in fact, necessarily adopted by all men when they begin really to study and to think for themselves ; the question is, whether it is not better that the boy should, from the first, be taught on the best plan, so that he may not only advance as rapidly as possible in his studies while he is at school, but may be initiated into the proper mode of pursuing those studies should he in after years wish to continue and extend them.

It may perhaps be objected, however, that granting the crude form system to be the most philosophical, and in the end the shortest, yet it is *too difficult* for children, and that at the outset we must be content to sacrifice theoretical perfection for the

¹⁰ Analytical in the expository part, | exhibits the elements of words separately, the pupil puts them together. •
synthetical in the practical ; the teacher

sake of ease, so that the young student may not be disheartened at the very threshold, but be allowed to make a little progress, and then when his notions have become somewhat more distinct and mature, we can go back again to first principles and correct any errors he may have fallen into. I will not occupy the reader's time by arguments to shew the dangers of such a plan: the inveteracy of early impressions and associations; the difficulty of uprooting error when it has once been implanted in the mind; the numberless ramifications that may spring from one idea, and gradually affect every notion and thought; all this is too well known to require development here. But what it is necessary, and will, I think, be easy for me to prove is, that in this case, at least, the *theoretically best* is also the *practically easiest*; and that much of the most tedious and discouraging drudgery, which, on the ordinary system, has to be encountered at the beginning of the study of Latin and Greek, is by means of the crude form system got rid of, the results being obtained not only in a much better form, but with a tythe of the labour.

Yet here I must premise, that those who allege the last mentioned objection seem to proceed on the assumption that the pupil himself is required to discover the crude forms; but this is evidently absurd; for it is to suppose that he already has an extensive knowledge of the subject which he is only beginning to study. He has to do with results, and must be content to take much that he learns upon trust; but this, being true upon whatever system he may be taught, is irrelevant to the comparison of the respective merits of the methods in question.

To begin at the beginning. Every teacher knows the difficulty which boys experience in learning the declensions: the wearisome task may be said to have been rapidly got through if accomplished within six months, even though the greater part of the school hours should, as in many, if not most, grammar schools, have been devoted to it. And what teacher but will admit the unsatisfactory nature of the result obtained by this long-continued effort? how many boys, at the end of the task, have any clear notion of its purport, can avoid falling into the most lamentable confusion, or have a ready command of their knowledge such as it is? On the crude form system a few simple rules suffice to explain the inflections of substantives and adjectives, and to point out their connexion with one another. To prove this, I will here state all the rules necessary for this

purpose in Latin, beginning with the most general, and leaving the more complicated till the last.

I. The rules which apply to masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns:—

1. The genitive singular is made by adding *is* when the crude form ends in a *consonant*; *i* when it ends in *e* or *o*—the *o* being dropped; *e* (originally *i*) when it ends in *a*; and *s* when it ends in *i* or *u*.
2. The genitive plural is made by adding *rum* when the C. F. ends in *e*, *a*, or *o*; and *um* in all other cases.¹¹
3. The dative singular is made by adding *i* when the C. F. ends in a *consonant*, *e* or *u*; *e* when it ends in *a*; and by lengthening the final vowel when it ends in *o* or *i*.
4. The dative plural is made by adding *bus* when the C. F. ends in *i*, *e*, or *u*; *ibus* when it ends in a *consonant*; and *is* when it ends in *a* or *o*—those two vowels being dropped.
5. The ablative singular is made by adding *ē* when the C. F. ends in a *consonant*; and by lengthening the final vowel of all other crude forms.
6. The ablative plural is made in the same manner as the dative plural.

II. The rules which apply to masculine and feminine nouns only:—

1. The accusative singular is made by adding *e-m* when the C. F. ends in a *consonant*; and *m* when it ends in a *vowel*.¹²
2. The accusative plural is made by adding *ē-s* to the C. F. when it ends in a *consonant*; and *s* when it ends in a *vowel*.
3. The nominative singular is made by adding *s* when the C. F. ends in any vowel except *a*, or in the consonants *p*, *b*, *m*; *c*, *g*; *t*, *d*, (or more shortly, and in any *mute*¹³ or *m*); by leaving the crude form unaltered when it ends in *a*, *s*, *r*, or *l*; and by striking off the final letters of those which end in *ōn*, *ēro* or *ēri*.

¹¹ I take no notice in these rules of the exceptions, which the ordinary grammars also are compelled to specify.

¹² The change, in this and all the other cases except the nom. sing., of *o* into *u*, of *s* into *r*, of *ē* (in the termination *ōn*) into *i*, and the frequent omis-

sion of *ē* coming before *r*, must be noted.

¹³ The rules that *cs* and *gs* are always written *x*, and that *t* and *d* are omitted before *s*, must, of course, be explained to the pupil.

4. The nominative plural is made by adding *ēs* when the C. F. ends in a *consonant*; *s* when it ends in *e*, *u*, or *i*, the *i* being changed into *ē*; *e* when it ends in *a*; and *i* when it ends in *o*—the *o* being dropped.

III. The rules which apply to the neuter only.

N. B.—The nom. and acc. both sing. and plu. of all neuter words are alike in form.

1. The nom. sing. is made by adding *m* when the C. F. ends in *o*; by changing final *i* into *ē*; and the vowels *ē* and *ō* in the terminations *ēs* and *ōs* into *ū*; in all other cases the nom. sing. is the same as the crude form.¹⁴
2. The nominative plural is made by adding *ā*, but when the C. F. ends in *o*, the *o* is dropped.¹⁵

Now it is true that the *result* of these rules may be presented tabularly in a space that is perhaps not greater than that occupied by the rules; but the question is, which method will communicate the same amount of knowledge in the least time? And this may be answered by the consideration that the chief use of tabular arrangements of inflections is the facility they afford for comparing the forms with one another, and for thus deducing the general rules of which they are mere examples; which rules are those I have above transcribed. And if boys were taught to make, or indeed were capable of making, this use of tables, then such rules might be dispensed with in books, because it is certain that rules which are discovered by the pupil himself, are far more likely to be remembered than those which others ascertain for him. But this would be to expect too much from the untrained intellects of children, which have some difficulty even in *understanding* the plainest rules, and still greater trouble in applying them. Accordingly, tables of inflections are generally used simply as exercises, and those of a very bad kind, for the memory alone; and the rapidity and accuracy with which the pupil can repeat the printed forms in the exact order of the book, with or without the addition of the

¹⁴ In the case of adjectives, the crude forms of which end in consonants, the neuter nom. sing. is made in the same way as that of the masculine or feminine, namely by the suffix *s*.

¹⁵ The euphonic changes made in all the cases of neuter nouns except the nom. and acc. sing. are the substitution of *r* for *s*, and of *t* for *ē* in the termination *ēs*.

words "of," "to," "o," "by," "with," &c., is frequently made the only and conclusive test of his progress.¹⁶

A great advantage possessed by these rules over mere lists of inflections is their perfect *generality*; nothing is more remarkable than the difficulty which the young experience in generalizing correctly from particulars, or in reasoning analogically; every teacher knows that it by no means follows that because a boy can decline *Musa*, he can go through the same process with any other substantive of the first declension. I, for my part, have met with hundreds of boys who could repeat with laudable facility all the declensions, so long as they were allowed to select as their examples those used in the grammar from which they had learned, but who would hesitate and blunder if asked to form a case of any other word, though told to what declension it belonged, or even if desired to decline the word from beginning to end—the latter being, as we all know, much the easier performance of the two. And this is a necessary consequence of teaching the pupil to regard each case as a single and indivisible word; for as all the cases are learned through some particular word, he may well be excused for supposing that any other word might have its cases differently formed. But on the analytical method, he sees that every case consists of two parts, one, the crude form being peculiar to each word, the other, the suffix or termination being common to all words of the same class, or rather to all similar crude forms: seeing this, and knowing what these terminations are, nothing can be easier than to affix them to any crude form to which they properly belong. He is not required to do what his limited observation and untrained faculties preclude him from doing well: the generalization—the rule—is made for him, and his task is to apply it correctly.

¹⁶ One evil of this plan is, that the scholar is led to imagine that the cases, &c. have always the same meanings; that, for instance, the ablative case is invariably to be translated by one of the words printed opposite to it in the grammar; a notion which occasions innumerable mistakes when he begins to read an author; the ablative dependent on prepositions or verbs, or used absolutely, being treated in the same way

as when it is employed to denote the instrument. Similar remarks apply to the verb: a boy thus taught, makes a point of translating every subjunctive tense by the formula, "may" or "might," "can" or "could," &c., in spite both of English grammar and of common sense; and it takes a long time to eradicate the absurd and incorrect habit thus engendered.

The classification of the nouns in these rules is far more complete and accurate than it is made by the declensions, which put together whole classes of words differing widely from one another in some of their inflections. Thus the words *reg*, *custod*, *navi*, *imperator*, *legion*, *flumen*, *corpos*, all belong to the third declension; yet one at least of the cases of each of these words is made differently from the same case of all the others. The most difficult case is the nominative singular—the very one towards the formation of which the grammars afford the least assistance: they *assume* it as the basis for the derivation of the other cases, and for it, refer the student to the dictionary; so that in this important case his memory is left unaided, and must be burthened with thousands of separate unconnected forms.

And this leads me to say a few words on the absurdity of selecting the nominative singular, rather than any other, as the case from which the rest are to be made. The hopeless confusion in which this involves both teacher and pupil is seen most clearly in the third declension, the dread equally of masters and scholars, and the opprobrium of grammarians. We have such words as *rex* and *pax*; now if the nom. is to be our guide, as the ending of both these words is alike, it might reasonably be inferred that the other cases would differ only in the parts that are different in this case, namely *re* and *pa*: yet the acc. of the one is *reg-em*, and of the other *pac-em*. What endowment less than that of divination could enable any one to foresee this? Again, we have *pes* and *pedes*: who could anticipate that the acc. of the one is *ped-em*, and of the other *pedit-em*? And hundreds of similar examples might be given. Now all these apparent contradictions and anomalies are entirely got rid of by the crude form system, which puts before the student the essential word from which every case, the nominative included, may readily be formed. The other system refers the pupil to the nominative case, which is of scarcely any use as a guide to the derivation of the other cases, but if so employed must continually lead into error. When a boy is told that the nominative is the guiding case, how can he be expected to know, or even to remember when taught, that, for example, the genitives singular of *servus*, *vulnus*, *virtus*, *exercitus*, are *servi*, *vulneris*, *virtutis*, *exercitus*? But having the crude forms, *servo*, *vulnes*, *virtut*, *exercitu*, it becomes impossible for him not to see

that, as the suffixes vary according to the terminations of the crude forms, the cases of these words cannot be all alike; and the rules account for their similarity in the nominative singular or any other case. And let it be remembered that each of these words is the type of a large class of words, to every one of which the foregoing remarks are strictly applicable.

In studying the inflections of verbs, the crude form system is of still greater service, inasmuch as they are far more numerous than those of nouns, and are expressive of many meanings and modifications of meaning, so refined, that unless special attention be directed to them—and this can best be done by separating from the roots and comparing with one another the suffixes by which they are denoted—they are likely to be only very imperfectly apprehended by the young student, whose notions about tense and mood are usually extremely vague and defective. I shall illustrate this part of the subject by referring to the Greek language, the conjugation of the verbs in which has always been regarded as the chief difficulty in the study of the language, and as requiring much time and patience thoroughly to master. And this is undoubtedly true, as the subject was treated in the older grammars, and is so in only a somewhat less degree, according to the methods of the improved grammars of modern times.

And here I do not intend to enter into any etymological questions respecting the original forms and significations of the suffixes; these subjects are doubtless highly interesting and important to the philologist, but are still in many respects unsettled, and are, besides, altogether beyond the scope of these remarks. I shall take the verb as it actually exists in the Attic writers, and shew what seems to be the simplest and shortest mode of deriving all its tense forms from one stem; and shall then compare this method with that which is commonly employed. I would not, however, be supposed to deny the inherent difficulties of the subject, or to pretend that any method can do more than remove some of them and diminish all, by pointing out the leading principles which regulate the inflections, and which are perfectly true of the great majority of verbs, so that the really exceptional cases will become more distinctly marked, and therefore more easily remembered, the work of the memory being here indispensable.

First, then, verbs must be divided into three classes according to the terminations of their crude forms :

1. Those ending in α , ϵ , or o .
2. Those ending in ι , υ , or any mute.
3. Those ending in a liquid.

The first class is again divisible into two.

- α . Those which have personal connecting vowels in the present and past imperfect tenses, and which are commonly called the contract verbs.
- β . Those which, in the above named tenses, have no connecting vowels ; these are the verbs in μ .¹⁷

The second class is also divisible into two :

- γ . Those which have no suffix in the present and past imperfect tenses, but make those tenses immediately from the crude forms.
- δ . Those which, in the above named tenses, lengthen the root vowel, or have a suffix which generally modifies the form of the final consonants.

The third class in like manner is separable into two divisions :—

- ϵ . Those which make the present and past imperfect tenses immediately from the crude form.
- ζ . Those which, in these two tenses, add a suffix to the crude form, or lengthen the vowel which precedes the final consonant.

1. THE PRESENT AND PAST IMPERFECT tenses of the verbs included in the divisions α , γ , ϵ , have no other suffixes than the personal terminations which are added to the crude forms.

THE PRESENT AND PAST IMPERFECT tenses of verbs belonging to divisions δ and ζ are made in the same way from the modified crude form, which is called the *long* form¹⁸ when the vowel preceding a final mute is lengthened, and the *increased* form in all other cases. No general rule can be given relative to these modifications of the stem : all that can be done is to ascertain within what limits they are confined ;

¹⁷ These verbs differ in some other respects from the ordinary verbs ; but into these there is here no occasion to enter ; and it will be understood that

the following rules are *general* only, and take no notice of exceptions.

¹⁸ The long form occurs also in the fut., the 1st aorist, and the perfects.

but it is impossible to lay down rules which will enable us to decide whether any, and which of them, actually occur: it may, for example, be stated that χ final must, in these tenses, if changed at all, become either σ ($\tau\tau$) or ζ ; but we could not tell *à priori* in what manner, for instance, the crude forms $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi$, $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\chi$, $\mu\alpha\chi$, would be modified; that the first would become $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\sigma$, the second $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\alpha\zeta$, and the third remain unchanged. These are things which, so far as we can see, are in their very nature indeterminate, or at least have somewhat wide limits, within the range of which they cannot be reduced to rules. After doing, then, all that can be done to simplify and classify such changes, much must still be left to memory; and to the task of so learning them, every one who wishes to become acquainted with Greek must resign himself.¹⁹

It is something, however, to learn at starting, that except in the two tenses named in this rule, the modifications of form which we have denominated "increased forms," never, or but very rarely, occur; and that in deriving the other tenses we have nothing whatever to do with them, but only with the crude, and sometimes with the *long*, forms.

2. Verbs included in the divisions α , β , γ , δ , have the suffix σ in the FUT. ACT. IMPERF.; the FUT. MID. AND PASS. IMPERF. (called by Matthiae the fut. mid.) and the FUT. MID. AND PASS. PERF. (or Matthiae's third fut. pass.): e. g. C. F. $\mu\gamma$. fut. act. $\mu\acute{\iota}\xi\omega$; fut. M. and P. $\mu\acute{\iota}\xi\omicron\mu\alpha$; fut. perf. M. and P. $\mu\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\xi\omicron\mu\alpha$.²⁰ In these tenses the *long* forms are generally used.
3. Verbs belonging to divisions ϵ and ζ had, it is probable, originally the suffix $\sigma\omicron$ in the futures; but the σ was afterwards lost, and the ϵ coalesced with the vowels of the personal terminations: e. g. C. F. $\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda$. fut. act. $\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\omega$; C. F. $\theta\alpha\nu$. fut. M. and P. $\theta\alpha\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$.
4. THE 1ST AORIST ACT. AND MID. of verbs belonging to α , β , γ , δ , is made from the crude or long forms by the suffix α : e. g. C. F. $\tau\alpha\gamma$. aor. act. $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu$; aor. mid. $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$.

¹⁹ All the assistance that can be given relative to this matter will be found in the 2d edition of "*Constructive Greek Exercises*."—Taylor and Walton.

²⁰ I assume as known the common rules for the vowel changes, the combi-

nations of the consonants and the euphonic changes resulting therefrom: this is a subject which ought to be carefully attended to at the very commencement of the study of Greek, and will greatly simplify it.

5. THE 1ST AOR. ACT. AND MID. of verbs included in the divisions σ and ζ has the suffix α only; the vowel preceding the final consonant being lengthened: e. g. C. F. $\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$. *act. aor.* $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\omega}\nu\text{-}\alpha$. *mid. aor.* $\acute{\eta}\mu\upsilon\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\mu\eta\acute{\omega}\nu$.
6. THE PRES. PERF. ACTIVE has: (1) the suffix $\kappa\alpha$ when the crude form ends in a vowel, liquid or dental; υ is either changed into γ or dropped; the dentals also are dropped: e. g. C. F. $\delta\eta\lambda\omicron$. *perf.* $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\delta\acute{\eta}\lambda\omega\text{-}\kappa\alpha$. C. F. $\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda$. *perf.* $\acute{\eta}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\text{-}\kappa\alpha$. C. F. $\kappa\rho\iota$. *perf.* $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\kappa\rho\iota\text{-}\kappa\alpha$. C. F. $\theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau$. *perf.* $\tau\epsilon\text{-}\theta\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\text{-}\kappa\alpha$.—(2) the suffix $\acute{\alpha}$ when the C. F. ends in an unaspirated labial or guttural, with which final letter the rough breathing combines: e. g. C. F. $\tau\upsilon\pi$. *perf.* $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\tau\upsilon\phi\text{-}\alpha$. C. F. $\tau\alpha\gamma$. *perf.* $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\tau\alpha\chi\text{-}\alpha$.—(3) the suffix α when the C. F. ends in an aspirated mute: e. g. C. F. $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi$. *perf.* $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\text{-}\alpha$.

N. B.—Some verbs not ending in an aspirated consonant have a *perf.* made by the suffix α ; this is called a *second perfect*, and is often intransitive in signification.

7. THE PAST PERF. ACT. follows the formation of the *pres. perf.* as to the suffixes.
8. THE 2D AOR. ACT. AND MID. is made directly from the crude form, and has no tense suffix: e. g. C. F. $\lambda\alpha\beta$. *2d aor. act.* $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\text{-}\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon$. C. F. $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon$. *2d aor. mid.* $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$.

N. B.—No verbs except those included in divisions β , δ , and ζ , can have a 2d aorist *act.* and *mid.*: because, as the prefix and personal terminations are the same in the 2d aor. as in the past imperf., the only means of distinguishing the two tenses is the radical part of the verb, which in β , δ , and ζ , undergoes some change, but in the other divisions remains unaltered. It must not be inferred, however, that *all* the verbs belonging to β , δ , and ζ , *have* second aorists: nor can it be determined *à priori* which have them.

The following rules relate to the tenses of the passive and middle voice.

9. THE FUTURE INDEFINITE²¹ PASSIVE has two suffixes:—(1) $\theta\eta\sigma$, forming what is called the 1st fut. e. g. C. F. $\alpha\gamma$. *1st fut.* $\acute{\alpha}\chi\text{-}\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\text{-}\omicron\mu\alpha$ —(2) $\eta\sigma$, forming the 2d fut. of the grammars: e. g. C. F. $\epsilon\kappa\text{-}\pi\lambda\alpha\gamma$. *2d fut.* $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\text{-}\pi\lambda\alpha\gamma\text{-}\acute{\eta}\sigma\text{-}\omicron\mu\alpha$.

²¹ The obvious similarity which exists between the suffixes of this tense and those of the aorist would lead us to infer something common in the sig-

nifications of the two tenses; and this presumption is fully borne out by the fact; hence the name *indefinite*.

N. B.—The first fut. is by far the most common, all verbs whose crude forms end in vowels, and many others, having it; but no rule can be given to determine when one and when the other exists. The first future is made from the long form, the second from the crude form.

10. THE AORIST PASSIVE has also two suffixes:—(1) $\theta\eta$, forming the 1st aor.: e. g. C. F. $\gamma\rho\alpha\varphi$. 1st aor. $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\varphi\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}\sigma\alpha\nu$.—(2) η , making the 2d aor. e. g. C. F. $\pi\alpha\gamma$. 2d aor. $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\text{-}\eta\text{-}\sigma\alpha\nu$. Vide note on rule 9.
11. THE PRESENT AND PAST PERFECT tenses passive and middle have no tense-suffix, but are made directly from the crude or long forms. The peculiarity of these tenses, and that which renders them difficult, is, that the personal suffixes all begin with consonants and are added to the crude forms *without connecting vowels*, so that when the C. F. ends in a consonant, various euphonic changes become necessary. All these, however, may be easily shewn in a short table, and are derivable from the general principles which regulate the combinations of the consonants.²²

These rules, few in number and simple in their nature, consistent with one another and resting upon facts, not upon baseless hypotheses, comprise all that is essential relative to the formation of the tenses of Greek verbs. It is true that nothing has been said about several important points, such as the augments and reduplication, the euphonic changes, the modal characteristics, &c.; but these are comparatively independent of crude forms, and whatever method may be adopted, the rules relating to them must, to a considerable extent, be identical.

Let us now compare with the foregoing rules those given for the same purpose in a grammar which has long enjoyed a great reputation, not only in this country, but in Germany also, and which proceeds upon the old established plan—that of Matthiae.

In the fifth edition of the translation of this grammar, the rules for the formation of the tenses occupy upwards of thirty-one pages (pp. 270—301); and contain a mass of unfounded assumptions, incorrect deductions, and glaring inconsistencies, such as I could not have believed to exist in a work of so high a character, had I not carefully examined it.

²² For such a table, vide p. 107. "*Constructive Greek Exercises*," 2d edition.

The source of most of these evils is to be found in the opening sentence of this part of the work, p. 270: "The characteristic of the verb is the letter which precedes ω in the present." This is in fact the vital error into which the older grammarians fell, and from which all their mistakes of detail proceeded. Accordingly, in the very next paragraph the author is compelled to modify what he has just laid down, and to resort to what is virtually equivalent to the crude form system; but in a way which can hardly fail to give rise to mistakes of the most serious kind. "The present tense in use, however," he says, "does not appear to be always the foundation of the formation; but frequently the more simple one, from which that in use was subsequently formed for the sake of euphony. Thus the forms ἐβλάβην, ἐβάφην, πράξω, πέπραγα, φράσω, πέπραδα, appear to come from the obsolete present tenses, βλάβω, (*Il. ε'*. 82, 166), βάφω, πράγω, φράδω; instead of which only βλέπω, βλέπω, πράσσω, φράζω, have remained in use." Now, is not the purpose of this passage much better attained by telling the pupil that the verbs are derived from βλαβ, βαφ, πραγ, φραδ; forms which—with suffixes appended of course—actually occur, than by assuming the former existence of words, contrary to the evidence of the whole body of extant Greek Literature? Proof, it is true, is adduced of something like βλάβω; the word in Homer is βλάβεται; but in support of the others no reference is, or can be given.

An arbitrary rule is next laid down, that "such primitive but obsolete verbs must be assumed only when the formation of certain tenses cannot be otherwise explained." As an instance of this, we are informed that it would be wrong from the aorist ἔλαθον to infer a present λάθω. In this I heartily concur; yet I confess it seems inconsistent with the previous assumption of λάβω: we have these tenses: λαμβάν-ω, λήψ-ομαι, ἔλαβ-ον; λανθάν-ω, λήσ-ω, ἔλαθ-ον. The crude form system refers the three first to the stem λαβ (long form, ληβ), the others to the stem λαθ (long form, ληθ); from the first three Matthiae infers the existence of an old present λάβω; but denies that the three others afford grounds for assuming a present λάθω. It would puzzle any one to understand why he makes this distinction.

The 1st future (*i. e.* that formed by the suffix σ) is derived, of course, from the present; and among other things we learn that ζ is omitted before σ ; but are afterwards informed that ζ sometimes becomes ξ , or ξ and σ : no means is or can be given,

for determining when one mode is adopted and when another; but a list is furnished of twenty-one words which make their futures with ξ. All this confusion and uncertainty is removed by the use of crude forms: ζ, in the present, represents 1) γ or χ, in which case the future has ξ; or 2) δ and τ, the futures of which have σ only.²³

Similarly, no help is afforded towards determining when verbs having σσ or ττ in the present have ξ or σ in the future. But when the crude forms of such verbs are given, some ending in ζ, γ, or χ, and others in τ or θ, the difficulty disappears.

The rules respecting liquid verbs contain a good illustration of the complication produced by deriving one tense from another, instead of referring them all to a common stem. In p. 281, speaking of the future, he says, "in this case, the penult, which was long in the present, is always made short: thus η was changed into α; α, ε, ου into α, ε, ο; ευ into υ." Then in p. 283, the 1st aor. act. is derived from the fut.: but, it is stated, in liquid verbs "the short vowel of the penult is again made long."

In p. 284, we learn that the perf. act. is made from the fut.! and this statement renders necessary a great number of particular rules according to all the varieties of futures; so that before a student could form a perf. he must first refer to the fut., and to find the fut., go still farther back to the pres., while no general rules are laid down for the use of the various suffixes. To account for some perfects, "futures in ῥω are presupposed, which, however, were hardly in use," p. 287.

The perf. pass. is derived from the perf. act., but only by means of depriving the latter of its distinguishing suffix. Is it not truly absurd to say, as is here done, that δέδρα-μαι comes from δέδρα-α? how so? what proof is there of derivation? would it not be quite as correct, so far as the form is concerned, to derive δέδραα from δέδραμαι? We might just as well assert that "lamentation" is derived from "lamentable" by striking off "ble" and substituting "tion." These rules are not of the slightest use even as aids to memory; but really impose an additional burden upon it, by referring one simple form to several others, instead of viewing them all as standing in similar relations to a common root. Here, for instance, the author cannot explain the formation of the present perf. pass. without bringing in two

²³ The Attic future is found in verbs, the crude forms of which end in ζ.

other quite unconnected tenses: *σπειράσω, ἔσπειράσα, ἔσπειραμαι*.²⁴ And to make the matter worse, the old trick of *inventing* tenses is again resorted to. "In order to assist [!] the formation of the perf. pass. an analogous perf. act. is often assumed, although it never occurs, *e. g.* in *λέλειμμα* the perf. act. *λέλειφα* is invented, as an intermediate link between *λέλειμμα* and *λείψω*; in *πέπυσμαι, πέφυγμαι* the perf. *πέπυσκα, πέφυχα*; in *πεπόρευμαι, πεπόρευκα*!" This is the strangest kind of *assistance* I have ever heard of, and a remarkable example of perverted ingenuity, which seems to have no other object than to increase the student's labour, and to baffle his efforts. He is not allowed to form even the perf. of a middle or deponent verb without imagining it to have had an utterly impossible tense—an act. perf.! Refer to rule 11, (p. 410.) and see how readily all these forms are made. C. F. *λιπ* (long form *λειπ*) perf. p. *λέ-λειμ-μαι*. C. F. *πυθ*. perf. p. *πέ-πυσ-μαι*. C. F. *φυγ*. perf. p. *πέ-φυγ-μαι*. C. F. *πορευ*. perf. p. *πε-πόρευ-μαι*.

In p. 291, the third fut. pass. (*i. e.* the *perf.* fut. pass. :—when will these unmeaning names give place to others which are descriptive and suggestive?) is derived from the perf. pass. by changing the termination of the second person of the perf. *σαι* into *σμαι*! Granting that this is done only for the sake of convenience (strangely understood), and that the pupil is not led to suppose that such was actually the order and mode of derivation, yet observe what utter neglect of the significance of suffixes, and how mischievous a confounding of things altogether different, though apparently alike, are involved in this ridiculous rule. How can the pupil be expected ever to know on such a plan of instruction, that in the one case, *σ* is the characteristic of the *personal* termination, and really represents the pronoun *οἱ*, and that in the other, *σ* is the *tense* suffix? yet on knowing these two facts must mainly depend his clear perception of some most important distinctions, and without such knowledge, nothing but confusion and error can be looked for.

The rule for the formation of the first aorist passive is of the same kind. That tense is said to be made "by changing the termination of the third person of the perf. *ται* into *θην*, and

²⁴ In the liquid verbs the derivation of the perf. from the fut. has the further inconvenience, that it may lead to many mistakes as to the vowel changes: thus when, in monosyllabic verbs of this kind,

the final consonant is preceded by *σ*, that vowel is changed into *α* in the perf., but remains in the future: *e. g.* *σπικ*, fut. *σπικ-ῶ*, perf. *ἔ-σπα-να*.

therefore the preceding lene into an aspirate, and prefixing the simple augment without repeating the initial consonant." The multitude of words here employed serves to render difficult a very simple process of derivation. Suppose the C. F. were γρᾶφ, by the foregoing rule we should first have to find the perf. pass., which again is derived from the perf. act., but before we can find this we must ascertain what the fut. act. is. Having done this, we get γράψ-ω; then by some strange metamorphosis, γέ-γραφ-α; from this, γέ-γραπ-ται; and finally, the wished for ἐ-γράφ-θην. It will hardly be denied, that this result is more readily obtained by means of Rule 10, (p. 410.)

Some of the dialectic varieties of this tense referred to in the 2d Observation on the Rule, are satisfactorily explained by means of the fact stated in the note (8) on p. 399. of this article.²⁵

But the height of absurdity is not reached until we come to the rules for the formation of what are called the 2d forms; which on the crude form system are the easiest tenses of any to derive, (vide Rules 8, 9, 10), but which, in Matthiae's Grammar, require eight pages for their elucidation.

We first read that "the greater part of these tenses agree only with the primitive form of the verb, which no longer exists," (i. e. not in the present tense), "and is only recognized by means of the tenses which are now to be derived, *so that it can afford no convenient standard for the derivation of these tenses.*" This is a curious specimen of logic: the tenses in question agree with the primitive form of the verb, but cannot be conveniently derived from it, because *no other* existing tenses are so derived! Having come to this irrefragable conclusion, our author proceeds to furnish us with a more "convenient standard" for the derivation of the tenses, as follows:—

"If we change the terminations of the aor. 2. act. pass. mid. ον, γν, ὄμην, into ω, and reject the augment, we obtain forms

²⁵ This second observation (p. 292,) contains another striking example of the errors committed by those who adopt such arbitrary methods of derivation. A class of substantives is mentioned as "derived from the third person perf. pass. of verbs in ζω, which usually end in στες." Of course, the third person is chosen as the root on account of its suffix beginning with σ;

but what then are the roots of such words as τρέ-ς, παρ-ς, πωλ-ς, and whence comes the σ in them! The words composing this very numerous and important class of substantives are regularly made from crude forms by the suffix σς, and having invariably *active* meanings, cannot well, one would suppose, be derived from a *passive* form of the verb.

which quite agree with the 2d form of the future. Although this form of the fut. occurs only in verbs in λ, μ, ν, ρ, it is allowable to presuppose it in aid of the derivation in other verbs also." "The second form of the fut. is made by rejecting σ in the termination έσω, and contracting έω into ω̄." Having thus got our more "convenient standard," we receive convincing proof of its "convenience" in the *simplicity* of the first rule for the formation from it of the second aorist: "the penult when long, is made short, by changing η and ω into α, rejecting ι from the diphthong αι, and ε from ει and ευ, resolving the double consonants, and omitting the latter of them, as well as the latter of two consonants. Thus λήθω, fut. 1. [ληθέσω] λήσω. fut. 2. [ληθέω, λαθῶ] ἔλαθον, ἐλαθόμεν." Here are no less than five auxiliary forms, four of which are purely imaginary, and not one of the five has anything whatever to do with the tense for *explaining* the formation of which they are introduced! And all this trouble is taken and given, merely that some unfounded theories about the "uniformity" and "systematic connection" of the tenses of the Greek verb may be carried out. After this rare instance of "invention," the supporters of the crude form system must admit that they are fairly defeated in the province of *imagination*, which their opponents sometimes speak of as if it were under their exclusive sway.

The insufficiency of this rule is proved by the fact that upwards of three pages are filled with modifications and exceptions, scarcely one of which arises on the crude form system.

We have now gone through Matthiae's rules for the formation of the tenses, and even the foregoing brief abstract of them occupies double the space required for the rules which have been previously given; yet these longer rules altogether omit some classes of verbs, which accordingly are placed among the "defective verbs;"—the grammarian, by this descriptive title, transferring the *defects* of his system to what it was too narrow to include. The list of "defective verbs," with the introductory remarks, extends over nearly eighty pages.

Considering that a sufficient comparison has now been instituted between the two methods, as to their relative advantages in teaching inflections,³⁶ I shall briefly allude to one or two

³⁶ This comparison is an abundant refutation of the objection which has been made, that the crude form system, instead of diminishing the pupil's labour, really increases it, inasmuch as it requires him to learn an additional

more points in which the crude form plan appears to have a decided superiority over the other.

One great use of studying Latin and Greek is the light they cast upon our own language: whatever, then, tends to shew more clearly the connexion which exists between English and the classical tongues, and facilitates the tracing of words to their roots, must be regarded as extremely useful, and as enhancing the value of any system from which it results. That the crude form system is entitled to lay claim to this merit, may soon be shewn.

Even a child could hardly fail to observe the connexion between the crude forms, *re, gent, milit, custod, lēg, rēg, audi*, and the English words, 're-al,' 'gent-ile,' 'milit-ary,' 'custod-y,' 'leg-al,' 'reg-al,' 'audi-ble;' but would probably never think of connecting them, if taught to consider the Latin words to be respectively, *res, gens, miles, custos, lex, rex, audio*. In like manner, it does not require great powers of observation and comparison to detect the origin of the words, 'thaumaturgic,' 'genesis,' 'mathematics,' 'pathos,' 'lethe,' 'æsthetics,' 'practice,' in the crude forms, *θαυματ, γεν, μαθη, παθ, λαθ (ληθ), αἰσθ, πραγ*; but a pupil could not be expected to see the connexion between these words and *θαύμαζω, γίγνομαι, μανθάνω, πάσχω, λανθάνω, αἰσθάνομαι, πράσσω*. It is not to be denied, however, that many English words are derived from the increased forms of Greek verbs, which appear in the present tense; but a knowledge of the crude form does not exclude, but greatly facilitates, a knowledge of the increased form also.

For the student of comparative grammar, no system possesses so many advantages as this of crude forms, inasmuch as it directs his attention, in a more forcible and accurate manner than any other, to the two leading points of comparison between

word, the crude form, as well as all the cases, &c. The fact cannot be denied, but the inference is strangely superficial. If, as has, I trust, been shewn, a knowledge of the crude form renders it infinitely easier to acquire a knowledge of the other forms, serving in fact as a guide to all their varieties, the trouble of learning it must be more than compensated for by facilitating the rest of the task. As well might it be objected

to the study of logarithms, that it is something added to the arithmetician's toil, since he must also know how to multiply and divide, and could perform those processes without logarithms. It is generally admitted, however, that the saving of time and trouble effected by the use of that contrivance fully repays the student for any effort that may be required to become conversant with it.

one language and another, to the words themselves stripped of their suffixes, the essential being thus separated from what may be called the accidental, and to the suffixes also, apart from the words with which they happen to have been incorporated. Each of these divisions of language is of great importance in all ethnographical enquiries founded upon philology, and must be viewed apart:²⁷ but this can never be thoroughly effected so long as the old plan is adhered to. The analogy, for instance, which exists between the classes of neuter substantives which, in Latin, end in *ūs* and *ēs*, and in Greek, in *ς*, escapes notice, if we make the nominative the standard of comparison. *Gēnūs* and *γένος*, it is true, differ from each other in the termination no more than *fāgūs* and *φηγὺς* do; and their forms *might*, therefore, be analogously related; but here, as in many other cases, the similarity would mislead: the crude forms *gēnēs*, *γενης*, prevent us falling into any such error, and shew that there is absolute identity of form in the two classes of words.²⁸ The differences in the mode of inflecting these words in Latin and Greek, being merely particular instances of laws which operate generally in the two languages, the observation of them directs attention to those laws, and thus leads to the discovery of some important philological principles.²⁹

The superiority of the method explained in the foregoing remarks as a means of intellectual culture and training can hardly need to be pointed out, and on this ground alone, it would deserve to be adopted in preference to the established mode.

In the first place, it assumes nothing dogmatically, but rests upon a broad basis of induction; and although the reasons for many of the rules, or rather the evidence upon which they rest, may not be laid before the student at the threshold, where they would only bewilder him, yet they are ready to be produced if necessary, whenever any more than ordinarily intelligent pupil may seek for explanation or proof, and the advanced pupil is specially directed to the consideration of principles.

²⁷ See Dr. Latham's paper on Ethnology and Philology, p. 199, *Classical Museum*, No. xii.

²⁸ The forms of these substantives in Greek account for the double form (*ūs* and *ēs*) of the corresponding class of words in Latin, and which sometimes occurs in the same word: *tempūs* had

evidently another form, *tempēs*; hence *tempēr-ic*, *tempēr-a*.

²⁹ The *Grammaire Comparée* of Raynouard abounds in proofs of the advantages of the crude form system, which are the more striking as the author does not appear to have been acquainted with it.

The value of such a plan in exercising the reasoning faculty can scarcely be overrated; for as logic is the same, to whatever subject it is applied, he who learns to reason logically on one subject will have the power of doing so in reference to all. That the ordinary systems of instruction fail to accomplish this important object, no one who is an attentive observer either of private or of public life can avoid inferring. In no acquirement are our countrymen more deficient than in the power of reasoning correctly; not a single newspaper but will afford some illustrations of weak illogical argumentation;—whether we read the debates in our legislature, or glance over the discussions of less important public bodies—boards of guardians, assemblies of county magistrates, or parish vestries,—everywhere there is displayed the same incapacity for keeping close to the subject, for avoiding or detecting the grossest fallacies, and for arriving at legitimate conclusions from admitted premises.³⁰ What are called “the principles” of numerous and influential parties in the state, are often mere collections of repeatedly exploded fallacies, which, however, whether believed in or not, are confidently repeated from day to day and from year to year, as if they were so many self-evident propositions. A system of education that should, in any degree, tend to remedy this state of things would confer a boon upon the country, the practical effects of which would soon be felt in the removal of many hindrances to progress and improvement.

Without correct premises, however, the most powerful logic can never lead to correct conclusions,—nay, in such a case, the more sound the reasoning, the less chance is there of arriving at the truth. This is no reproach to logic, the only concern of which with the premises, is to deduce from them the legitimate conclusion. The discovery of truth, for not accomplishing which, many writers, and among them Locke, (*Understanding*, Book IV. chap. 17.) have condemned the Aristotelian logic, is to be made by careful observation, complete analysis and accurate discrimination. The great obstacles to the discovery both of physical and of moral truth are the confused and indistinct habits of thought which the common systems of education not

³⁰ A celebrated French author, writing about eighty years ago, says of London, “la ville de l’univers où l’on débite

les plus mauvaises nouvelles, et les plus mauvais raisonnements sur les nouvelles les plus fausses.”

merely suffer to grow up, but positively engender and foster. Of the truth of this assertion instances have already been given, and the whole plan of teaching languages is one that makes the pupil take similarity for identity, and thus paves the way for the admission into his mind of innumerable errors. Besides, it affords him scarcely any opportunity to analyse and compare, the only means—it cannot be too often repeated—of producing that clearness and precision of ideas which can alone lead to truth or secure from error. It has, I trust, been made apparent that the system of education here advocated is, in these respects, diametrically opposed to the ordinary one—that strict analysis and constant comparison, for the purpose of detecting differences and agreements, are the bases on which it rests.

A mind thus trained is eminently fitted for success in higher and more arduous studies than that of language—the pursuit that is, perhaps, the best adapted of any for furnishing the means of preliminary intellectual education; nor is it likely that any one who has been subjected to such a discipline will become a mere word-monger, like those narrow-minded pedants whose exclusive admiration of classical literature, and inability to appreciate any kind of merit unconnected with their own favourite pursuits, have brought so much discredit upon philology. The intellect that has been taught to seek for general principles, to exercise the reasoning faculty, to strive for distinctness in all its thoughts, and to attach a definite meaning to every word it employs, will crave after knowledge of a higher order than that of inflections and syntactical rules, —will endeavour to penetrate beneath the surface, and to live again in thought with the great men of Greece and Rome, whose writings will unfold for it their copious stores of poetry, eloquence, and wisdom, which will again become the chief subjects of consideration, the study of the mere verbal formulæ in which they are expressed being reduced to its proper and subordinate place.

Such are, as I believe, some of the advantages which the new system offers to those who will accept them, and they are of a magnitude that would be an ample reward for any labour it may be necessary to undergo in endeavouring to secure them.

We come now to the consideration of the *practical* difficulties that may be in the way of the adoption of this system, and of its general introduction into schools.

And, first, it may be objected that it is too much to expect that teachers who have studied and taught on a totally different plan should abandon a method which they have followed perhaps for many years, and embrace the new system, the advantages of which, granting them to exist, cannot become available for them without much exertion and the destruction of long established habits and modes of thought and speech: and it may be asked, what is to compensate them for so many troublesome and disagreeable consequences?

To this, the answer is twofold. The educator is morally responsible for his methods of procedure and their influence upon those who are committed to his care. He who looks upon his profession of teacher as a mere source of income, to be obtained at the least possible sacrifice of ease, is unworthy to be a member of that profession which ought to be emphatically *liberal*, and will never take its proper place in the van of society, until its members learn to rise above sordid and petty considerations, and clearly perceiving the nobleness of the work to which they are called, acquire true dignity from the contemplation. Whatever, then, may be the difficulty attending the adoption of improved methods of instruction, it is the duty of every teacher to encounter and overcome it: why is he voluntarily a teacher, if he is not able and willing to do so? By the fact of assuming such a title, he has virtually bound himself to society to be its guide and pioneer in the paths of improvement; and he will shamefully fail in the performance of his engagements, if the prospect of a little trouble, or the dread of interference with his established notions, cause him to turn a deaf ear to the cry for progress.

Reward will not be wanting to those who conscientiously and boldly undertake the task. In their daily and hourly occupation, the continual observation of its beneficial effects will be an unfailing source of the truest gratification; and the feelings of self-approval and respect that invariably attend the due performance of duty, will fill up the measure of their enjoyment.

In the particular case at present under consideration, however, the difficulty is far more apparent than real: the subject matter of instruction is the same whether it is taught on the new or the old system; this is, therefore, a question of *means*, not directly of *ends*—of form, not of substance. I have no hesitation in asserting that any one who is competently acquaint-

ed with Latin or Greek may make himself master of the leading principles of the crude form system *in one day*; for, like all theories founded in nature and fact, it is extremely simple, so much so that when stated, it appears self-evident, and not until we discover its numerous and important consequences, are its true value and magnitude duly appreciated. When a person who has studied on the ordinary plan wishes to become acquainted with the system, he is not required to cast away any *knowledge*, but merely to regard what he has already learnt from another point of view, and to convert the technical terms of the old system into the equivalent terms of the new. I can speak from experience of the ease and rapidity with which this may be done, attributable, as I believe, to the simplicity, naturalness, and good sense which characterize the crude form system.

I have many times seen, also, with how little difficulty a boy, who has made some progress in Latin or Greek according to the usual method, may be initiated into the other, and be thus enabled to apply his previously acquired knowledge as readily, after a short time, as other boys in the class, who have studied on the crude form system from the commencement. All that needs to be done, is to explain clearly what a crude form is, and then give to the pupil the following table for the Latin language:—

NOUNS.

Crude Forms in	<i>a</i>	correspond to the	1st	Declension.
.....	<i>o</i>	.....	2d	.....
.....	<i>i</i>	or <i>any consonant</i>	3d	.....
.....	<i>u</i>	.....	4th	.....
.....	<i>e</i>	.....	5th	.....

VERBS.

Crude Forms in	<i>a</i>	correspond to the	1st	Conjugation.
.....	<i>e</i>	.....	2d	.....
.....	<i>u</i>	or <i>any consonant</i>	3d	.....
.....	<i>i</i>	.....	4th	.....

A similar table may be made for Greek.

If a person can decline a noun when he knows to which declension it belongs, this table will enable him to perform the same process upon the corresponding class of crude forms, also to determine, in the great majority of cases, what is the crude form of any given word. If, for instance, he knows

custodibus belongs to the 3d declension, and *cornibus* to the 4th, the table shews that the crude form of the one must be *custod*, (or *custodi*,²¹) and of the other *cornu*. The sufficiency of this means for connecting the two systems has been repeatedly put to the test with pupils of all ages and capacities, and it has never been found to fail: to teachers, it furnishes the key which will, if properly used, admit them with facility into all the arcana of the crude form system.

But, it may be asked, do the means and appliances for studying this system, and for its introduction into schools, now exist? To this question an answer only partially in the affirmative can be given. A list will be found in the note below of all the works on the crude form system known to me, and of sources of information respecting it.²² It must be admitted

²¹ For this ambiguity, the old, not the new, system is accountable, as it arises from the incorrect classification which puts together two classes of words, differing from each other in so many respects as crude forms which end in *consonants*, and those which end in *i*, (although it is true the two forms are frequently confounded both in nouns and verbs,) neglecting what is, in fact, the fundamental distinction between words relatively to their inflections; namely, whether they have consonantal or vowel terminations.

²² 1. Professor Key's Latin Grammar.

2. Allen's Etymological Analysis of Latin Verbs.

3. Robson's Constructive Latin Exercises.

4. Allen's Constructive Greek Exercises.

5. Hardy's Anabasis of Cyrus,—containing the first six Chapters of the 1st Book, with a Lexicon of all the words.

The following works are partially based upon crude forms.

6. Thiersch's Greek Grammar.

7. Kühn's Greek Grammar.

8. The Bromsgrove Greek Grammar.*

* In this work all the lists of words contain the nom. sing. of nouns and the 1st

Information respecting crude forms will be found in,

9. Articles in Nos. 5, 9, 10, 16, 18, 20, of the Quarterly Journal of Education.

10. "On teaching Greek," in the first publication of the Central Society of Education.

person of verbs, but in the paradigms the crude forms also are generally given. Like most attempts at compromise, this grammar is wanting in simplicity and consistency. The departure from the crude form system is very glaringly shewn in the divisions of the book headed, "Classes of Words," "Roots," in which a close adherence to it would have been extremely useful. It is strange to read in the preface, a sentence which seems to imply that the grammar applies the system more thoroughly than other books, in which it is said to have been only "partially adopted." There is, I believe, a Latin grammar by the same author, but I do not know whether it is written on a similar plan:

In the later editions of Arnold's Exercises on Latin Prose Composition, an awkward approach is made to the use of the crude forms of verbs; the crude form of the *perfect* is really given, but not that of the *imperfect*; and of the *perfect participle*, neither the nom. sing. nor the crude form is printed, but a mutilated representative of the latter: e. g. *pollere*, *popul*, *puls*.

that there is no complete set of books yet published on this plan; and that in Greek, there is a deficiency of the means of instruction. Still there is a sufficient supply of strictly elementary works even for the study of Greek; any one who shall go through the books numbered 4 and 5, will be well acquainted with the principles of the crude form system, and able to make use of books written on the ordinary one.

It will be observed that the chief desiderata are a Latin and a Greek dictionary; the former, there is a probability, will shortly be furnished from the pen of Professor Key;³³ and there can be little doubt that the reason why a Greek crude-form Lexicon has not already been published,³⁴ is the fact that, owing to the slow progress of the system, there has been no inducement to any publisher to undertake such a work, which would not long be wanting were there a demand for it.³⁵ Meantime, both the exercise books here mentioned contain very copious vocabularies of the crude forms of all the words used in them, so that they are quite independent of dictionaries, being in every way complete in themselves; and each of them comprizes most of the principal *roots* of the language to which it serves as an introduction. Moreover, a few simple rules will enable a person taught on the crude form system to use the ordinary dictionaries, and to ascertain the crude forms of words by means of the data they afford. For example, the crude forms of Latin verbs may be found by striking off the final *o* or *or* of the first person singular, which is printed in dictionaries; e. g. *studeo*, C. F. *stude*; *duco*, C. F. *duc*; *sequor*, C. F. *sequ*. The only exception to this is when the verb ends in *a*, that vowel being absorbed in the personal termination. But in such

³³ Vide Preface to his Grammar, page 10.

³⁴ I have heard that Pape's Greek Lexicon, published in Germany, is either on this system, or professes to give the stems of words.

³⁵ Such a Lexicon would at least be free from many errors of derivation that exist in the Greek Lexicons commonly used in this country: for instance, not only Donnegan, but even Liddell and Scott derive ἔξω from the *future* of ἵκω, and by so doing, entirely conceal its connexion with the very large class

of substantives formed from verbs by the suffix *ω*. As to the occurrence of the rough breathing, that may easily be accounted for: the root appears under the two forms *εικ* and *ικ*: but the Greek language, as is well known, does not allow aspirates to be retained at the beginning and the end of the same syllable, and drops the first when the second is kept: hence, the form *ικω*; but when the last aspirate disappears, the first is restored: hence the future, ἔξω (= ἵκω-ειω), and hence also the substantive, ἔξω (= ἵκω-ει-ς).

cases, the crude form may be ascertained from the infinitive, which is usually given among the "principal parts:" e. g. *servo*, the C. F. of which might be thought to be *serv*; but the infinitive *servare* shews that it is *serva*. A similar plan has been found efficacious with reference to all other words both in Greek and Latin.

The last objection I shall notice, is that which arises from the difficulty of introducing new books into schools: either this must be done only partially, and then some care is requisite to prevent confusion being occasioned by the use of different books upon the same subject; or universally, which might give rise to dissatisfaction on the part of those whose old books would be rendered of no further use. But even this difficulty may be overcome. In public schools, where the pupils are numerous and arranged in classes, the obvious plan would be to adopt the new method in classes *commencing* the study of Greek and Latin, which need not interfere at all with the higher classes; and thus, in the course of a few years, the change would be effected throughout the school. At the same time, the leading principles of the new system might with advantage be explained to all the classes without changing their books, which could be adapted to the crude form method in the way already explained. In smaller and private schools, where the instruction is addressed more directly to each pupil, the number of scholars not being sufficiently large to admit of classification, there can be little if any difficulty of this kind to overcome, and the change may be made almost imperceptibly.

However great may be the obstacles to the reformation for which I have been arguing, I have the fullest conviction that the advantages to be derived from it would be an ample compensation for the trouble encountered in overcoming them; and with a brief statement of some of the practical results obtained from the crude form system, I will bring my remarks to a close.

A class of from thirty to forty boys of ages varying from eight to twelve, commences the study of Latin by writing such exercises as are described at the beginning of this paper, and in three months time, devoting twelve hours per week at school to the study,³⁶ its members will have acquired a knowledge of

³⁶ A fourth part of this time is employed in studying the grammar, which serves to systematize the facts learnt one by one from the rules of formation,

all the inflections of substantives and adjectives, and of the imperfect tenses of the active verb in the indicative mood, besides a copious stock of the most useful words, and some insight into the principles of derivation, grammar, and concord. They will also have been led to see the connexion between Latin and their own language, and this imparts a degree of interest to the study that acts as a powerful incentive to diligence. In three months more, the rest of the active and all the passive tenses of the indicative, the infinitives, participles, and gerunds, passive as well as active, and the inflections of the pronouns, will have been learnt in the same way, and great additions made to their knowledge of words and of the principal rules of syntax. At this point, the class begins to read Cæsar, aided at first by an interlinear translation, with the help of which the pupils prepare their lessons at home, and at school translate *vivâ voce* from the Latin text. In this they are, as has been shewn, greatly assisted by the somewhat extensive knowledge they have previously gained of the vocabulary, and by the habit of analyzing compound and derived words, and of thus themselves ascertaining their literal meanings. As yet no exercises have been written on the subjunctive mood, or on the first and second persons; but the latter are not needed in reading Cæsar, and as the subjunctive tenses are very simple in their formation, the pupil requires nothing but two or three short rules in reference to them, which may be given in anticipation of the rules in the exercise book. In three months more, completing the first scholastic year, the class will have gone through the whole of the elementary course, which comprises all the inflections of the Latin language, and besides this, a body of rules including most of the leading points of its syntax wherein it differs from our own; the class will also have read a small portion of Cæsar's Gallic War, and have been taught how to apply to it the principles of grammatical analysis.

Now this is no imaginary sketch, but a faithful outline of what has repeatedly taken place. I do not, of course, mean to assert that this is equally well accomplished by all the members of the class; some no doubt there are who fall short of this degree and amount of attainment, but they are boys who would advance slowly on any system; and even of them it may fairly be asserted, that what little they have learnt, they really know, and have tolerably distinct ideas about its relation to other

knowledge; while the intelligent and industrious portion of the class—which I believe will always be found to bear some ratio to the degree in which the reason is addressed and exercised—possesses an amount of knowledge clearly arranged in their minds, which would, on the old system, rarely be acquired in thrice the time.

Similar results are obtained in Greek classes, which generally begin to read the *Anabasis* about seven or eight months after the commencement of the study.

Those who remember the years of dull uninteresting drudgery which they spent in endeavouring to commit to memory the Latin and Greek inflections by mere force of continual repetition, and the little aid they derived from their previous labours when they were at length permitted to endeavour to make a practical use of their acquirements, will admit that this account presents a satisfactory contrast to their own experience: should they be inclined to think that it is "too good to be true," I can only say, put the matter fairly to the test, and I will undertake to predict that the result will fully realize your just expectations.

The study of the classics has of late years had many impugn-ers in this country, and although there is no fear that it can ever cease to hold a prominent place in a well-arranged system of education,³⁷ yet it behoves all who are engaged in the business of instruction to exert themselves to remove every just ground of objection to so truly valuable a part of the established course of study. The chief of these are; first, the vast amount of time commonly expended upon it, which necessitates the

³⁷ Instead of a further limitation of this study, the true interests of society appear to me to require that it should be greatly extended: nothing would tend more powerfully to ameliorate the education of the labouring classes, than the introduction of this branch of knowledge into schools intended for them; and I believe that when a truly national system of education shall be established, provision to this end will certainly be made. The limited time spent at school by the children of the poorer classes has hitherto been an insuperable obstacle to any such improvement; but

the great facilities given by the crude form system for acquiring a knowledge of Latin, almost wholly remove the difficulty. I rejoice to see the announcement of a series of Latin classics about to be published at a very moderate price in "Chambers' Educational Course." This is a move in the right direction, and one that may lead to the study of classical literature by many who have never hitherto had the opportunity to enlarge their knowledge and purify their tastes by means of the writings of the great men of antiquity.

omission of many subjects from the school curriculum, which the present state of society renders it needful for every one to know; and secondly, the very unsatisfactory nature of the result thus laboriously obtained. Both these evils flow from the same source—the extremely defective and unphilosophical method commonly pursued; and both may be remedied by boldly casting aside the antiquated systems of the past, and making use of the means which the larger experience and the profounder views of modern learning have placed at our disposal.

JOHN ROBSON.

XXXI.

ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ROME.

PART IV.

THE CAPITOL.

NEXT to the Roman Forum, there is certainly no other locality in the ancient city of as much interest to the scholar, or with which are associated so many exciting recollections, as the Capitol—the seat from the earliest ages of the worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and the heart of the religious life of republican Rome, almost as much as the Forum was that of the political. Until within a very few years it was the standing reproach of Roman topography, that neither of these two important sites was determined with certainty. The one, as we have already seen, may now be looked on as irrevocably fixed; the other unfortunately must be still regarded as a question *sub judice*: for although the opinions of topographical inquirers on this side of the Alps are nearly unanimous upon the subject,¹ the contrary view is still maintained by the whole Italian school,

¹ The exceptions, it appears, are MM. Götting and Zoëga, with whose arguments I am acquainted only through the medium of M. Preller. M. Braun also, the present head of the German

Archæological Institute at Rome, seems to have felt the *local influence*, and is become a zealous convert to the Italian theory.

who, on this, as on some other points, still cling tenaciously to the views of Nardini.

Fortunately the question is one that is at least confined within narrow limits; for the Capitoline hill is so clearly defined by nature, that its features and boundaries—however they may be slightly obscured by the modern palaces and other edifices that crown its summit, and by the broad artificial slope that now gives easy access to it on the north—can be recognized even by the most careless observer. Its configuration is that of an irregular oblong, extending in a direction very nearly from north to south,² and rising near each extremity into a more elevated summit, while the two masses thus constituting the two ends of the hill are separated by a depressed but nearly level space of considerable extent. It is this intervening space, now occupied by the Piazza del Campidoglio, to which the term *Intermontium* is usually applied as its ancient designation, though it appears that the word is not so used by any classical authority. The northern summit—slightly more elevated than the other,³ and also somewhat steeper and more abrupt—is now crowned by the church of *Ara Celi*: the southern is occupied in part by the Palazzo Caffarelli and its gardens, together with other adjacent buildings and streets; all of which, however, are comparatively modern, as we know that the whole of this part of the hill was deserted in the middle ages, and as late as the fifteenth century is still described as “*squalida spinetis vepribusque referta*.”⁴ In ancient writers we find the distinction between the two summits as clearly marked as it is at the present day; the one constituted the *Ara* or Acropolis of ancient Rome, the other was the Capitolium, properly so called, and contained the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with those of his kindred deities, as well as various other sacred edifices. The only question in dispute is, which was which? did the Capitol oc-

² This is certainly the general direction of the hill, but it must be observed that several writers distinguish the two summits as the eastern and western, instead of the northern and southern.

³ The difference, however, it seems, amounts to only ten feet, the pavement of the church of *Ara Celi* being 151 French feet above the level of the Mediterranean; the western angle of the

Monte Tarpeo 141 feet.—Broochi, *Stato di Roma*, p. 211.

⁴ Poggio, *de Varietate Fortunæ*, p. 6, ed. Paris, 1723. It appears to have continued in much the same state, or at least not to have been occupied by any buildings of consequence, down to the middle of the sixteenth century.—See the *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*. vol. III. pt. 1. p. 52.

occupy the site of the Palazzo Caffarelli, and the Arx that of the church of Ara Celi, or *vice versâ*? The former opinion, which was that of the principal earlier topographers down to the time of Donati, has been adopted both by MM. Bunsen and Becker;⁵ while all the modern Italian writers have followed Nardini in maintaining the latter. M. Preller, who, in his review of Becker's work, had stated all the arguments on the Italian side of the question with great force and clearness, has nevertheless adopted that of the German topographers, in an elaborate examination of the whole subject, inserted in the first number of Schneidewin's *Philologus*.⁶ He has, however, apparently from an excess of candour, pronounced his opinion with a degree of diffidence and hesitation, which scarcely appears to be warranted by any of the difficulties or arguments opposed to it.

It must be observed in the first place, that the advocates of this hypothesis labour under one great disadvantage,—the deference so long conceded to the authority of Nardini, and the general reception of his views on this point as well as on so many others, naturally exercises a powerful influence over the minds of men, and throws the whole *onus probandi* upon those who assail what is looked upon as an established point. Whereas if we approach the subject without prejudice, it can hardly be denied that the *primâ facie* presumption is on the other side, and consequently it is on Nardini and his followers that the burden of proof devolves. Of the earlier topographers, both Flavio Biondo and Marliano held without question, that the Capitolium was situated on the southern summit—a conclusion founded apparently, in part at least, on the ecclesiastical tradi-

⁵ In this, as in many other instances, it was Niebuhr who first revived the opinion of the earlier topographers. *Röm. Gesch.* vol. i. p. 527, (558). I confess that I do not clearly understand the modification of this view introduced by M. Bunsen, (*Besch.* vol. III. pt. i. p. 13), who appears to include in the term Arx, all the western or north-western front of the hill, facing the Campus Martius. In this case the Arx in its limited sense, as distinguished from the Capitolium, would have no natural or definite boundaries whatever, and one does not see how the term could

well have come into use. Nor am I aware of any passages in ancient authors that require such an extension of the term.

⁶ To this article of M. Preller's, and to M. Becker's *Handbuch*, vol. i. p. 385–415, I wish to be understood as referring the reader, for those proofs and authorities which I have not thought it necessary to repeat. All that I have attempted in the following pages is to reproduce the arguments in the form in which they appear to my own mind the most convincing.

tion that the name of the church S. Salvatore *in Maximis*, was derived from its position immediately below the temple of Jupiter Maximus.⁷ The name of Monte Tarpeo is still preserved both in those of existing streets and of churches founded early in the middle ages, as connected with the *southern* end of the hill; and it is well known that the Mons Tarpeius was the site of the Capitol, and the name certainly seems to have been confined in ancient times to that portion of the hill, as distinguished from the Arx.

If we come now to the more positive arguments derived from the testimonies of ancient authors, we find it distinctly stated that Herdonius landed on the bank of the Tiber, at the point nearest the Capitol, entered by the Carmental gate, and made himself master *first* of the Capitol, *then* of the Arx; a passage which, to say the least of it, affords a strong presumption that the former was nearer to the river than the latter.⁸ The same thing seems to result (though perhaps less clearly,) from the narrative of the surprise of the Capitol by the Gauls.⁹ Again, the bridge thrown by Caligula from the Palatine to the Capitol—that is clearly the Capitolium in its strictest acceptation, as his object was to reach the temple of Jupiter—is intelligible enough, supposing the latter to have been on the summit im-

⁷ To this tradition—which has been shown by M. Preller (*Philologus*, p. 95, 106,) to be already current and generally received long before the days of Flavio Biondo—may, however, be opposed the name of Sta Maria *de Capitolio*, which appears to have been the original one of the church now known as Sta Maria in Ara Celi. This circumstance, indeed, seems to have been one of the principal reasons that induced Nardini himself to place the Capitolium on that summit, (Nardini, *Roma Antica*, tom. II. p. 318,) though little stress is now laid on it by his followers. The name Capitolium was certainly so generally applied to the whole Capitoline hill in the later ages of the Roman empire and in succeeding times, that it can hardly have meant any thing more definite in this case. Niebuhr and Becker, on the other hand, have at-

tempted to derive the name Ara Celi itself, from a corruption of *Arce*, which appears to me utterly untenable. The real origin of the name is satisfactorily shown by M. Preller, (p. 104,) from Casimiro, the monkish historian of the church itself.

⁸ Dionys. x. 14. The objections that may be made to this inference, are very fully brought together and strongly stated by M. Preller, (p. 83–85, and not. 42); but I cannot agree with him that their force is such as to reduce the value of this authority “to a minimum.”

⁹ Liv. v. 46, 47. At all events, the account of the landing of Cominius—inde, *qua proximum fuit a ripa*, per præruptum, eoque neglectum hostium custodiæ, saxum in Capitolium evadit—is a strong argument in favour of the position of the Capitol at the end of the hill nearest the Tiber.

mediately opposite to the Palatine, while it becomes utterly incredible on the contrary hypothesis. If it be objected to this argument, that Caligula was in fact a madman, yet it is clear that there was a method, at least in his architectural madness, as is proved by the other instance recorded of a similar extravagance—his joining the temple of Castor to the palace, which is easily understood when once the true position of that temple is known. Suetonius also expressly tells us that this bridge passed over the temple of Augustus—had it crossed the Forum itself, as it must have done in order to reach the height of Ara Celi, he could not have omitted to mention it. The well known narrative in Tacitus of the attack of the Capitol by the troops of Vitellius, certainly seems to point to the same conclusion. The assault was clearly directed in that instance against the temple with its immediate appurtenances, and the Vitellians, when repulsed in their first onset, commence separate attacks, “*juxta lucum Asyli et qua Tarpeia rupe centum gradibus aditur.*” Now the Tarpeian rock is placed by common consent in the southern half of the Capitoline hill.¹⁰ But perhaps the most decisive of all passages in regard to the position of the Capitolium on the southern height, is that in which Livy says that a mass of rock fell *from the Capitol into the Vicus Jugarius*,¹¹ a street which, beyond all question, led from the southwestern angle of the Forum round the foot of the Capitoline hill to the Carmental gate. Almost equally conclusive in favour of the position of the Arx on the hill of Ara Celi, is the statement of Ovid, that the temple of Concord (concerning the position of which there is no doubt,) was at the foot of the steps leading up to that of Juno Moneta, for the latter is placed by numerous concurrent testimonies *in Arce*.¹²

¹⁰ See below, p. 442.

¹¹ Liv. xxxv. 21. Saxum ingens, sive imbribus, sive motu terræ levius quam ut aliquid sentiretur, labefactum, in vicum Jugarium ex Capitolio prociuit. The same author also speaks of “substructionem super Æquimælium in Capitolio;” and we learn from another passage that the Æquimælium was near the Vicus Jugarius, and the Porta Carmentalis.

¹² Candida te niveo posuit lux proxima templo,

Qua fert sublimes alta Moneta gradus,

Nunc bene prospicies Latiam Concordia turbam.—OVID. *Fast.* i. 637.

Arce quoque in summa Junoni templa Monetæ

Ex voto memorant facta, Camille, tuo Ante domus Mauli fuerant.—ID. *ib.* vi. 183.

Without attempting to deny that the force of some of the above arguments may be weakened, and the expressions themselves in some degree explained away, it appears to me that the whole taken together, amounts to as conclusive a proof as the nature of the case will admit, in the absence of any *express statement* on the one side or the other. And before we admit the right of the opposite party to evade or explain away the testimonies just adduced, it is certainly incumbent on them to produce some strong evidence or presumption on their side of the question. The arguments by which they have attempted to establish their view are thus summed up by M. Preller.

First, that the position of Ara Celi is the grander and more imposing of the two, and therefore seems naturally the best adapted for such a temple as that of the Capitoline Jove. *Secondly*, that the Arx being designed for purposes of defence, must have been situated on the point where it was of most importance in this respect, and that clearly was the part of the hill nearest to the river. *Thirdly*, that the hill of Ara Celi corresponds much better than the opposite one with the description given by Dionysius, (III. 69.) of the form and character of that on which the Capitolium was situated, and which rendered necessary the great works of that monarch to prepare its foundations. *Fourthly*, that we are expressly told by Dionysius¹³ the temple of Jupiter fronted to the south, while we learn from other accounts that it looked upon the Forum. *Fifthly*, that Vitruvius directs that the temples of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva should be placed "in excelsissimo loco;" and the height of Ara Celi is the highest of the two summits. To these Canina adds an objection, drawn from the course of the Clivus Capitolinus, which, according to him, ascended in the first instance to the Intermontium, so that if the temple had stood on the site of the Palazzo Caffarelli, it could not have been approached from the front by the religious processions which ascended the Clivus.

That the word Arx is here to be taken in its strict acceptation, (always rather doubtful when the word is used by a poet,) is proved by Livy, v. 47, VII. 28; Cic. *de Div.* i. 45; Plut. *Camill.* 36.

The position of the house of Manlius in the Arx, has been used as an argument to prove that the latter was on

the same summit with the temple of Jupiter, because it was clearly from the latter that he repulsed the Gauls, as if Manlius were necessarily in his own house at the time when he heard the alarm.

¹³ IV. 61. *in μὲν τῷ κατὰ πρόσωπον μίχους πρὸς μισηβρίαν βλίωοντες.*

Of these arguments in general, it may be remarked that they bear a somewhat vague and indefinite character, as compared to those brought forward on the other side. The first and second, indeed, tend rather to prove where the Capitol and Arx *ought* to have been than where they actually *were*. The same remark applies to the fifth, for Vitruvius in the passage cited¹⁴ is laying down theoretical rules for the disposition of the edifices in a new city, and how little these rules accorded with, or were derived from, the state of things actually existing at Rome, is evident from abundant instances. The advocates of this view seem indeed rather to forget the history of the matter, and to argue as if the Capitol had formed part of the original city, and its site had been chosen solely with reference to effect. But if the Arx already existed before the time of Tarquin, as there is every reason to suppose that it did, and occupied one summit of the hill, this fact would at once limit that monarch in his choice, and lead him to fix upon the other, even if in some respects less eligible. The most definite and, therefore, the most important of the arguments just adduced, are undoubtedly the third and fourth, supposing them to be as decidedly in their favour as the advocates who bring them forward conceive them to be. But it may be well questioned whether this is the case. It may be admitted that the language of Dionysius¹⁵ would seem at first to require a more abrupt and peaked hill for the site of the Capitol than that of Caffarelli could ever have been; but some laxity of expression may well be allowed for, when we remember that he is describing a state of things that existed only *before* the construction of the temple, and must have been completely altered by the works of subsequent ages, if not by those of the Tarquins themselves.¹⁶ The main point of his

¹⁴ I. 7.—*Ædibus vero sacris, quorum deorum maxime in tutela civitas videtur esse, et Jovi et Junoni et Minervæ in excelssimo loco, unde mœnium maxima pars conspiciatur, arcæ distribuuntur.*—It may well be doubted whether we are required to construe this precept in so strict a sense that the *very highest spot* was necessarily to be selected, even where the difference was so small as ten feet. It may be added, that so far from either of these points being elevated

above the rest of the city, the Capitoline hill is not so high as either the Palatine, Esquiline, or Quirinal.

¹⁵ III. 69.

¹⁶ It is clear from Dionysius himself, that whatever may have been the state of the hill before Tarquin, the summit of it after his time presented a level space of considerable extent; and it is justly urged by M. Becker, (*Röm. Topogr. in Rom.* p. 42,) as an objection to the hill of Ara Celi, that its summit

statement, that enormous substructions were necessary to obtain the level foundation of the temple, is at least as applicable to the southern hill as to the northern, for vast remains of that description, built of massive stones, have been in fact discovered on the site of the Palazzo Caffarelli and its gardens. To this argument Canina and Nibby oppose the fact, that there are also substructions on the hill of Ara Celi; but they have certainly not shown that these are comparable in magnitude or extent to those on the opposite summit, which appear from the description of them left us by Fabretti¹⁷—an eye-witness of their excavation, and unfortunately also of their destruction—to have been well worthy to form part of that structure termed by Livy,¹⁸ “opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum.” It is remarkable that Fabretti cites, in regard to these remains, the very passage of Dionysius now alleged on the other side, and adds, that it agrees so perfectly with the vestiges then discovered, as to be decisive in regard to the question in dispute between Donati and Nardini concerning the site of the Capitoline temple.

The argument derived from the statement of Dionysius, that the temple itself fronted to the south, would certainly be the most cogent of all, if it were certain, as alleged by many writers, that it looked at the same time upon the Forum. But there is, in truth, no evidence whatever of the latter fact beyond the vague expression of Dionysius, that the temple was founded by Tarquin on a hill, overlooking or commanding¹⁹ the Forum, and some other passages equally indefinite, which indicate that it was visible from the Forum.²⁰ In this instance, again, some

is too confined to have afforded space for the numerous temples and other edifices, besides that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which we know to have stood in the Capitol.

¹⁷ *De Columna Trajana*. The whole passage is cited at full by M. Preller, p. 74.

¹⁸ vi. 4. These words are applied, not to the substructions of Tarquin, but to those constructed after the Gallic war, which appear to have far exceeded them in magnificence; and to which undoubtedly the remains discovered by Fabretti belonged. For our present

purpose, the point is immaterial, as both were connected with the Capitolium, in the strict sense of the word.

¹⁹ III. 69. τὸν ὑπερκαμίνον τῆς ἀγορᾶς λίφον,—the very same expression which he elsewhere (vii. 35.), applies to the Tarpeian Rock, and therefore to the southern summit of the hill. In regard to the argument which has been derived strangely enough from a passage of Cicero, (*Or. in Catil.* III. 8.) that certainly appears rather to favour the contrary hypothesis.—See Becker, *Röm. Top.* in *Rom.* p. 42. and Preller, p. 37.

²⁰ Liv. vi. 16.; Plut. *Camill.* 36.

writers appeal to the supposed fitness of things rather than to any evidence of the fact. A temple on the hill of Ara Celi, and turned to the south, say they, would have the most suitable situation possible, looking directly upon the Forum, the Palatine, and the noblest part of the city. All this may well be admitted; but our present purpose is, not to enquire whether the site of the Capitol was well or ill chosen, but simply where it was situated. To the argument of Canina, derived from the course of the Clivus Capitolinus, we may answer, first, that the direction of this Clivus is by no means so clearly made out as he has assumed it to be; but even if it be true that the processions did ascend, in the first instance, to the Intermontium, and thus approached the temple from the side, or almost from the back,—we cannot pronounce this to be absurd or improbable, as the very same thing was notoriously the case in the Acropolis at Athens.

On the whole, then, I cannot but regard the weight of argument, and still more decisively that of testimony, as inclining so strongly in favour of those who place the Capitol on the southern, and the Arx on the northern summit, that if we are not justified in pronouncing the matter to be one fully decided,²¹ it is rather in deference to the authority than the arguments of those who still maintain the opposite view.

In the preceding discussion, I have assumed, that the Capitolium and the Arx were clearly distinguished from one another by ancient writers, and must therefore have been situated on the two summits of the hill so clearly separated by nature. This is admitted by both parties in the controversy, by Nardini, Nibby, and Canina, as well as by Niebuhr, Bunsen, Becker, and Preller. There are, however, some passages which appear to militate against this conclusion, and which have in fact led Donati in former days, and Mr. Burgess in our own, into the

The latter passage proves at least as much for the Tarpeian rock as the temple; yet the former was certainly part of the southern summit.

²¹ M. Becker ventures to assume the question to be "*völlig entschieden*." M. Preller, on the contrary, remarks, that we must renounce all hope of its final decision, until the ancient foundations on the one summit or the other

have been laid open to our view, which, unfortunately, (as he justly adds,) is never likely to be the case. There is certainly little to be hoped from such a source; even if the buildings which now occupy the site were removed, it is probable that very little still remains of the ruins which were visible in the days of Poggio and of Flavio Biondo.

error of placing both the Capitol and the Arx on the *same* summit of the hill, leaving the other both unnamed and unoccupied. Hence, it may be worth our while to enquire rather more closely into the usage of classical writers in regard to these terms—a point of essential importance in estimating the value of our authorities. All the passages bearing upon this point have been so fully collected and examined by MM. Becker and Preller, that little more is necessary than to recapitulate their conclusions.

First, the terms *Arx* and *Capitolium* are continually used by the earlier Roman writers, and especially by Livy—who wrote from the old annalists, and in this, as in many other points, has evidently followed their accurate phraseology—as two distinct, yet closely connected localities, and the two united—*Arx Capitoliumque*,—a phrase of repeated occurrence, evidently designate the whole Capitoline hill.²²

But, secondly, as that hill itself, from its small extent, its insulated position and facility of defence, constituted, in fact, a kind of natural citadel to the whole city of Rome, it might be termed with propriety the *Arx*, in the general and ordinary signification of the word, as opposed to the more strict and accurate one. In this sense it occurs occasionally even in Livy,²³ as well as in other prose writers,—but, as might be expected, more frequently in the poets.

Again, as the Capitolium itself was in great measure insulated by nature, and little, if at all, less defensible than the Arx on the opposite summit, it was in fact converted into a fortress, and occupied by a garrison on occasions of danger. Thus, on

²² It is hardly necessary to multiply quotations in proof of a fact which must be familiar to all readers of Livy. See, however, II. 49; prætereuntibus Capitolium arcemque; III. 18, nuntius de arce capta Capitolioque occupato; IV. 45, ut arcem Capitoliumque armati occuparent, v. 39, &c. So, also, we find, "arcem et Capitolium" in Cicero, in *Catil.* IV. 9. The distinction is much less clearly marked by the Greek writers in general, but both Strabo and Dionysius distinctly place the Asylum of Romulus, μεταξὺ τῆς Ἀρξος καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, Strab. v. 3, p. 230; Dionys. II. 15; and

the latter author, elsewhere, uses the expression, τῆς ε' Ἀρξος καὶ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου, (VIII. 21.) precisely corresponding with the "arcem Capitoliumque" of Livy. Aulus Gellius, also, (v. 12.) places the temple of Vejovis *inter arcem et Capitolium*.

²³ Thus, in v. 40, though he has just before used the terms separately—"in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequerentur," he adds, "magna pars tamen earum in arcem suos prosecutæ sunt," where he evidently means to convey the same idea.

the approach of Hannibal, we find "*præsidia in Arce, in Capitolio, in muris, circa urbem . . . ponuntur*,"²⁴ and on occasion of a nocturnal alarm, "*Nocturnus terror ita repente ex somno civitatem excivit ut Capitolium atque Arx mœniæque et portæ plena armatorum fuerint*."²⁵ There were thus, in fact, two separate fortresses on the Capitoline hill, either of which might with equal propriety have been called *Arx*, had not the term been restricted by early usage to the one only. Hence, we cannot wonder that the Capitolium itself is frequently designated as *Arx Tarpeia*, or *Capitolina*,²⁶ a phrase which has given rise to much of the confusion on this subject. But, in all these cases, the distinctive epithet is applied in order to indicate that it was not *the Arx* in the peculiar sense that was meant.

Lastly, as the increasing importance and reverence attached to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus extended its influence, and the *Arx* had long ceased to be required for purposes of defence, its very name seems to have fallen into disuse, and the term *Capitolium* is applied by later writers to the whole *Mons Capitolinus*; in which sense it is found in the *Notitia*, and continued to be used throughout the middle ages.²⁷

²⁴ Liv. xxvi. 9.

²⁵ Id. viii. 37. See also vii. 68, and Dionys. viii. 21.

²⁶ Thus, in Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 652,—
In summo custos *Tarpeia* Manlius
arceis

Stabat pro templo et *Capitolia* celsa
tenebat.

And Propertius—

Et sua *Tarpeia* residens ita flevit
ab arce

Vulnera vicino non patienda Jovi.

Lib. iv. El. 4. v. 29.

Again, when Ovid says (*Fast.* i. 85),—

Jupiter arce sua totum cum spectet
in orbem,

it is the *citadel of Jupiter*, i. e. the *Capitolium*, not the *Arx*, in its limited and peculiar sense, that is meant. So, also, Tacitus, in his narrative of the attack on the Capitol by the Vitellians, clearly uses the expression *Arx Capitolina*, and even *Arx Capitolii*, (*Hist.* iii. 69, 71,) as equivalent to *Capitolium*. Ernesti, in his note on this passage, has well

pointed out the difference between the usage of Tacitus in this respect, and that of *Livy* and *Cicero*. Even *Livy* has *Arx Capitolina* for the *Capitolium*, (xxviii. 39,) but it is in a case where no ambiguity could result from it.

²⁷ At what time this extension of the name came into use, we cannot precisely determine: but M. Preller asserts with confidence, that no passage can be produced from the writers of the republic or Augustan age, in which *Capitolium* is thus used for the whole *Mons Capitolinus*. In Plutarch, (*Numa*, c. 7.) on the contrary, the confusion is complete; and he uses in succession the words *Καπιτώλιον* and *ἄρξ*, in speaking of the very same summit of the hill, that on which the *Arx* really stood. Servius (*ad Æn.* xii. 120), is equally inaccurate; and when he says (*ad Æn.* viii. 652,) "*Capitolium, quia hoc arcem urbis esse manifestum est*," it is clear that he had quite lost sight of the distinction observed by earlier writers.

It is certainly not strange, that this confusion should have arisen in regard to two localities so closely connected together, at the same time, that they were so markedly separated from all others, more especially as the distinctive appellation of the one was at the same time a term of more common and general import. The wonder is, rather, that the distinction should be so strongly kept up as it is in fact by all the prose writers of the best ages: it is the *restricted* use of the term *Arx*, not the occasional laxity of its application, for which we have to account. This marked distinction between the *Arx* and the *Capitolium*, seems to have been derived not merely from their local separation, but was based in part also upon religious and even national differences. All writers concur in representing the Capitol as founded by an *Etruscan* king, and the national religion, of which it became the centre, as of *Etruscan* origin: on the other hand, many circumstances point to the conclusion, that the *Arx* was the seat of *Sabine* worship, and was originally connected with the *Sabine* city. Thus, we find it expressly mentioned, that *Titus Tatius* had his dwelling in the *Arx*:²⁸ it is here, also, that *Numa* is represented as taking the auspices previous to his inauguration as king;²⁹ and where, in consequence, the "*Auguraculum*" was situated,³⁰—the spot from whence the augurs continued to take the public auspices upon all important occasions, down to the end of the republic, and from whence they issued forth along the *Sacred Way* to discharge their solemn functions elsewhere. The *Arx*, also, and not the Capitol, was the termination of the *Via Sacra*, which began from the *Sacellum Streniæ*, a sanctuary clearly of *Sabine* origin,³¹ and which was closely connected with the temple of *Vesta*, and the adjoining sacred edifices, all of them among those commonly ascribed to *Numa*, the representative of *Sabine* rites and institutions.³²

²⁸ *Tatius in arce ubi nunc est sedes Junonis Monetæ, (habitavit).—Solin. c. 1. § 21. See also, Plut. Rom. 20.*

²⁹ *Liv. i. 18.*

³⁰ *Paul. Diac. p. 18, ed Müll.*

³¹ *See Preller in the Philologus, p. 92.*

³² *Hinc oritur caput Sacræ Viæ ab Streniæ sacello, quæ pertinet in Arcem,*

quæ sacra quotquot mensibus feruntur in Arcem, et per quam Augures ex Arce profecti solent inaugurare. Varr. de L. L. v. 47. Festus also speaks of the Sacra Via as extending "a Regis domo ad sacellum Streniæ, et rursus a Regia usque in Arcem," p. 293, ed. Müll. The monthly rites here alluded to, are probably not the Sacra Idulia, which

All these circumstances concur in giving much probability to the suggestion of Niebuhr—more fully and definitely worked out by Becker, that the northern summit of the Capitoline hill, as that nearest to the Quirinal, (with which, also, it must have been more closely connected previously to the excavation of Trajan's Forum,) constituted the citadel of the ancient Sabine city, the existence of which, upon the Quirinal hill, is one of the best established facts of the early Roman history. Even in the legendary form which represents that settlement merely as an hostile invasion, it is remarkable that we find the Capitoline hill occupied by the Sabines. The same records, whatever they were, which Tacitus thought worthy of credit in regard to the Pomœrium of Romulus, represented the Capitoline hill as added to the city by Titus Tatius.³³ This view of the subject at once explains why Tarquin should have chosen the southern summit of the hill in preference to the northern, even supposing his views on the architectural question to have entirely coincided with those of the Italian antiquaries.

The remaining points connected with the topography of the Capitoline hill may be very briefly despatched. The southern summit, or Capitolium, contained, besides the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and those of his kindred deities, Juno and Minerva, whose cells were under the same roof with his own,³⁴ numerous other temples or sacred edifices. Indeed the multitude of these, as already mentioned, affords a strong presumption against the Capitolium having been placed on the more confined hill of Ara Celi. One of the most celebrated of these was the Temple of Jupiter Feretrius—designated by tradition as the most ancient that existed at Rome (Liv. i. 10.)—which had been placed by the common consent of all topographers from Biondo down to M. Bunsen, on the height of Ara Celi, but without any other authority than tradition.³⁵ M. Becker has

seem to have been celebrated in the Capitol, (see Ambrosch. *Studien u. Andeutungen*, p. 82.) ; but the Nonalia, which we learn from the express testimony of Varro (vi. 28,) to have been held "in Arce."

³³ Tacit. *Ann.* xii. 24. Forumque Romanum et Capitolium non a Romulo sed a Tito Tatio additum.

³⁴ Dionys. iv. 61.

³⁵ Biondo says simply (i. 73): "Arae Coeli fratrum B. Francisci ecclesiam, in Feretrii Jovis fundamentis extractam," but the existence of the tradition even at an earlier period is attested by the curious manuscript document first brought to light by M. Preller, which appears to have been compiled in the year 1409. The author there tells us: "In St. Maria in Ara Coeli fuit templum

justly pointed out that it is always spoken of as "in Capitolio," and especially in the Monumentum Ancyranum, where it is impossible to suppose the term applied in the laxer sense. It appears to have been of very small dimensions—a mere chapel or *ædicula*; ³⁶ and the same was probably the case with many of the other temples which we find mentioned as consecrated in the Capitol: such as those of Fides, Mars, Venus Erycina, Venus Victrix, &c. To these Augustus added an *ædicula* to Mars Ultor on occasion of the recovery of the standards from the Parthians, ³⁷ and a temple to Jupiter Tonans, which seems to have been a more stately edifice. Domitian also erected there a temple to Jupiter Custos, in gratitude for his preservation when the Capitol was burnt by the troops of Vitellius. ³⁸ Besides all these, we find on the same height the Curia Calabra, where the Pontiffs proclaimed on the first day of every month the state of the calendar for that month; and adjoining it the *Casa Romuli*,—a straw-thatched hut, preserved as a memorial of the humble origin of the imperial city. Here also was a Senaculum, ³⁹ probably like that in the Forum, merely an open place,—perhaps a portion of that more extensive space frequently designated as the Area Capitolina, which appears to have been an elevated platform of considerable extent, supporting the Temple of Jupiter and its appurtenances; but leaving also a free space around them sufficient to serve occasionally for assemblies of the people, and even to admit of the passage of chariots around the temple. ⁴⁰ But this Area itself was in great measure occupied by numerous statues and altars of various divinities, so that it is hardly an

Jovis Feretrii, ubi Romulus primus suspendit spolia de triumphis et opima dixit, etideo locus vocatus semper fuit Ferferus, a fero fers, et palatium Octaviani semper fuit in eodem Ferfero semper denominatum. Postea simul juncta ibi fuerunt duo alia templa, i. e. Phoebi et Carmentis, ubi Octavianus vidit visionem adventus Christi per sibyllam Tiburtinam sibi monstratam." I have quoted the passage at full, that the reader may judge for himself of the value of this authority.

³⁶ Dionys. ii. 34. See also the representation of it on the coins of Marcellinus. (Morell. *Claudia*, tab. 1. fig. 1.)

³⁷ This *ædicula* must not be confound-

ed with the great temple to Mars Ultor, dedicated by Augustus in his Forum, as already mentioned. Part III. p. 126.

³⁸ The details and authorities relating to all these buildings are fully collected by M. Becker. (*Handbuch*. i. p. 402—408.)

³⁹ Liv. xli. 27.

⁴⁰ This subject has been fully investigated by M. Preller (p. 80—82 and 107), who has shown that the hypothesis of some writers who would place the Area Capitolina in the interval between the two hills, nearly on the site of the Piazza del Campidoglio, is wholly untenable.

exaggeration when we are told that the images of all the gods were worshipped in the Capitol."⁴¹

The Arx, on the contrary, received few additions to the sanctuaries which it had possessed from a very early period. Besides the Auguraculum and the Temple of Juno Moneta, already mentioned, we find only a temple of Concord, built during the Second Punic War, U. C. 536. Connected with the Temple of Juno was the *Officina Monetæ*, which apparently continued to be the office of the public mint throughout the republican period. At what time it was transferred to the neighbourhood of the Coliseum, where we find it under the later emperors,⁴² is uncertain.

The interval between the two hills, now rendered so conspicuous by the Piazza del Campidoglio, with the three palaces that surround it, was comparatively neglected in ancient times. It was remarkable, however, as the situation assigned by universal tradition to the Asylum of Romulus, the memory of which was preserved in later times by a spot or small space of ground, surrounded by a wall, to prevent its sacred character from affording a refuge to malefactors. The Asylum was placed, as we are told, "*inter duos lucos*,"⁴³ originally the woods that clothed the slopes of the hill on each side of it,

⁴¹ It was probably this multiplicity of statues that gave rise, among the numerous other fables circulated in the middle ages concerning the Capitol, to the curious narration preserved in the *Mirabilia Romæ*; but which appears to have been already current as early as the 8th century, since it is alluded to by Cosmas, a Greek writer of that date, (apud *Mai. Spicilegium Rom.* t. II. p. 221.) M. Preller has also found it in a MS. of the 11th century; and as it may possess the advantages of novelty for some readers, I give it here as published by him in its original form:—"Miraculum primum Capitolium Romæ, tutius quam civitas civium. Et ibi consecratio statuarum omnium gentium quæ scripta nomina in pectore gentis, cujus imaginem tenebant, gestabant, et tintinnabulum in collo uniuscujusque statuæ erat, et sacerdotes die ac nocte semper vidibus vigilantes eas custodie-

bant, et quæ gens in rebellionem surgere conabatur contra Romanum imperium statua illius commovebatur, et tintinnabulum in collo illius resonabat ita, ut scriptum nomen continuo sacerdotes principibus deportarent, et ipsi absque mora exercitum ad reprimendam eandem gentem dirigerent."

⁴² In the *Notitia* we find in the third region "*Monetam, Amphitheatrum*:" and it appears that the existence of the mint in this region under the emperors is farther confirmed by inscriptions. See the valuable commentary annexed by M. Preller to his excellent edition of the *Notitia*, (*Die Regionen der Stadt Rom*. 8vo. Jena 1846,) which has appeared since I wrote the preceding articles on Roman Topography, and has satisfied almost all that we can require in regard to the *Regionarii*.

⁴³ *Liv.* i. 8; *Vell. Pat.* i. 8; *Dionys.* ii. 15.

vestiges of which were preserved down to a late period, as the *Lucus Asyli* is mentioned as something still existing in the reign of *Vitellius*.⁴⁴ In the same situation was also the temple of *Vedius* or *Vejovis*, a deity whose worship appears to have been derived from the oldest Latin religion.⁴⁵

The front of this intervening space towards the Forum was occupied by the only edifice on the Capitoline hill of which any considerable remains have been preserved to our own time—the *Tabularium*, or office in which the records and archives of the state were deposited. The destination of this building—the massive arches of which, and the still more massive substructions that support them, present a most imposing aspect, as viewed from the Forum—would have been wholly unknown to us, had it not been for the inscription recording its dedication, which was still visible from the days of *Poggio* to those of *Nardini*, and from which we learn that it was erected by *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, in U. C. 676, at the same time that he restored the Capitol, after its conflagration under *Sylla*.⁴⁶ It is doubtless to the fortunate circumstance of these remains having been made use of as the foundations of the *Palazzo del Senatore*, (erected by *Pope Boniface IX.* towards the close of the fourteenth century,)⁴⁷ that we are indebted for the preservation of this interesting relic of republican Rome.

The only remaining point of interest connected with the Capitoline hill, is the position of the *Tarpeian rock*, that is to say, of the particular part of the precipitous circuit of the hill, from which criminals were thrown. This was generally placed on the western side of the hill, either towards the *Piazza Montanara*, or above the *Tor de' Specchi*; the latter site, which was adopted by *Donati*, being confirmed by the existence, in the middle ages, of a church named *Sta Caterina sub Tarpeio*, and by the name of *Vicolo di Rupe Tarpea*, still borne by a small

⁴⁴ *Tacit. Hist.* III. 71.

⁴⁵ *Vitruv.* IV. 8. § 4; *A. Gell.* v. 12; *Fast. Prænest.* ap. *Orell. Inscr.* Tom. II. p. 386. *Pliny* (*H. N.* xvi. 79,) less accurately speaks of it as “in arce.” Concerning the worship of *Vedius*, see *Ambrosch. Studien u. Andeutungen*, p. 261, &c. There was another temple of *Vedius* in the *Insula Tiberina*: both are mentioned in the *Fasti Prænestini*.

⁴⁶ The inscription is thus given by *Gruter*, CLXX. 6: Q. LVTATIVS. Q. F. Q. N. CATVLVS. COS. SVBSTRVCTIONEM. ET. TABVLARIUM. EX. S. C. FACIVNDVM. COERAVIT.

⁴⁷ It is singular that *M. Preller* (p. 94, note 71,) appears to have overlooked the express testimony of *Flavio Biondo* to this fact.—(*Roma Instaur.* Lib. I. § 73, p. 234, ed. Basil. 1559.)

street or alley, from whence an overhanging mass of the cliff, under the gardens of the Palazzo Caffarelli, is generally shown to strangers as the Tarpeian rock. But the antiquity of the name, as applied to this little street, is very doubtful; and the name of the church may well have referred to the Tarpeian *hill*, an appellation which was certainly not unknown in the middle ages. On the other hand, the name of the modern Via di Monte Tarpeo, which is on the opposite side of the hill, is certainly of little authority, as the street itself cannot be older than the sixteenth century. But it was justly pointed out by M. Dureau de la Malle, who was the first to call in question the received views on this subject, that the passages in ancient writers, which describe the execution of Manlius and Cassius, clearly point to the place of punishment as *visible from the Forum*; and that we must therefore look for it upon the eastern side of the hill, opposite to the Palatine.⁴⁸ This view, which has been adopted by M. Bunsen, may now be looked on as clearly established. The precipitous cliff beneath the Palazzo Mariscotti (now the place of meeting of the Archæological Institute) has been fixed on as the exact site of the memorable spot; but the natural configuration of the rock has probably undergone so many changes, that it is dangerous to attempt now to determine the locality of the rock with too much precision.⁴⁹

It would be foreign to my purpose to enter upon any detailed history of the Capitol during the middle ages, and of the successive vicissitudes which reduced it again from its state of golden splendour to almost the same condition in which Virgil represents it in the days of Evander: from which it was destined to emerge once more into its present magnificence. The general outlines of this history will be found in the *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom.*: and the documents and authorities of

⁴⁸ The passages cited from Dionysius (vii. 35, viii. 78,) and Plutarch, (*Camill.* 36,) seem to me decisive in favour of this view. M. Becker has, however, in this instance, returned to the old opinion, *Handbuch.* i. p. 411; and see the controversy between him and M. Urlichs on this point,—*Röm. Topogr. in Leipzig*, p. 66-68; *Zur Röm.*

Topogr. p. 54. M. Preller has followed M. Bunsen.

⁴⁹ Thus Flavio Biondo mentions the fall of a part of the rock in his own time,—*Sub saxo rupis Tarpeise cujus pars maxima domus amplæ magnitudinis æquiporanda proximis diebus collapsa est.*—*Rom. Instaur.* ii. 58.

the middle ages have been collected and illustrated with the greatest diligence by M. Preller, who has left but little for future writers to contribute to our knowledge of the Roman Capitol.⁶⁰

E. H. BUNBURY.

(*Will be continued.*)

XXXII.

MISCELLANIES.

1.—ON THE SITE OF THE STATUE OF VERTUMNUS AND THE BASILICA SEMPRONIA.

THE position of these two objects is by no means an unimportant point in Roman topography; especially as it also involves the line described by the Vicus Tuscus. The site assigned to them by M. Becker in his learned and ingenious work (*Handb. der Röm. Alterthümer*, vol. I. p. 308,) appears to me far from unassailable; and as Mr. Bunbury, in his able analysis of Becker's labours, has touched the point but lightly,¹ the following brief remarks may not, perhaps, be deemed altogether superfluous.

The foundation of the Basilica is thus recorded by Livy: "Ti. Sempronius ex ea pecunia quæ ipsi attributa erat, sedes P. Africani *pone Veteres ad Vertumni Signum*, lanienasque et tabernas conjunctas in publicum emit, basilicamque faciendam curavit, quæ postea Sempronia appellata est." (XLIV. 16.) That the statue of Vertumnus here alluded to stood in the Vicus Tuscus (or Turarius) leading from the Velabrum to the Forum, is agreed; the only question being, *at which end?*—and consequently, whether the Basilica was near the Velabrum or near the Forum? M. Becker adopts the former site.

⁶⁰ One of the most important contributions of M. Preller to our knowledge in this respect, is derived from the MS. authority already cited, (see note 35,) which directly connects the name and position of the church of S. Salvator in Maximis with the ruins then still existing on the hill above, which are alluded to by Poggio and Flavio Biondo, and which there is every reason to believe to have been those of the temple of the Capitoline Jove. "In summitate arcis a latere porticus Crinorum fuit templum Jovis Optimi Maximi; i. e.

supra cortem dominæ Mitrinæ, quod adhuc satis de eo apparet, et introitus vocatur Salvator in maximinis" (sic.) Again: "Ubi nunc dicitur Sta Maria de Porticu ibi supra ad ecclesiam Salvatoris in maximis fuit introitus porticus Jovis Ibi erat, ut dicitur, et templum Jovis Optimi Maximi, et vocabulum est corruptum quod hodie dicitur St. Salvatore in maximinis et valde representat vestigia sua."

¹ In the present vol. of the *Classical Museum*, p. 18.

Propertius (iv. 2. 5.) makes the statue speak as follows:—

"Haec² me turba juvat, nec templo laetor eburno :
Romanum satis est posse videre forum."

The most natural inference from these lines is that the statue stood pretty near the Forum, and not at the end of the street, some quarter of a mile off. In the latter case, too, for Vertumnus to have gotten even such a distant peep at the forum, the street must have been *quite straight*: for, notwithstanding the slippery character of the god, M. Becker himself does not contend that he was sharp enough to see round corners. On the contrary, in another part of his work, he infers the straightness of the Vicus Tuscus from this very circumstance: (— von da (the Forum) *eine gerade Strasse* bis an die Grenze des Velabrum führen musste, da die *am Ende des Vicus* stehende Statue des *Vertumnus* auf das Forum schauete,—p. 489.) But we know that, previously at least to Nero's fire, the Roman streets were both narrow and crooked. Thus Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 38.)—"obnoxia urbe artis itineribus, hucque et illuc flexis":—Suetonius (*Nero* 38), "Nam quasi offensus deformitate veterum ædificiorum, et angustis flexurisq; vicorum, incendit urbem."—(Cf. *Liv.* v. 55.). With regard to the Vicus Tuscus in particular, there is a passage in Dionysius from which we may pretty safely infer that it partook in no slight degree of this universal crookedness. That author tells us (v. 36.) that it was about four *stadia* long—τέτταροι μάλιστα μεκυνόμενον σταδίοις.³ Here M. Becker questions the accuracy of Dionysius; because the whole space between the Forum and Aventine was not so long: a *straight* street, therefore, could not have been half that length. Granted; but what if it were *crooked*?

The sole passage on which M. Becker relies for the proof of his position, is the following one from the *Pseudo-Asconius*, (ad *Cic. Verr.* I. 59), "Signum Vertumni in ultimo vico Thurario est (*i. e. Tusco*) sub basilicæ angulo flectentibus se ad postremam dexteram partem." The "*ultimus vicus Tuscus*," he contends, could only have been the end by the Velabrum; its *principium*, like that of the *Jugarius*, as mentioned by Festus, was at the Forum. But common experience shews how loosely people talk about the beginnings and ends of streets. What one man

² The common reading is *Nec*; but Hertzberg well defends *Hæc*, from *ver.* 55.:

"Sed facias, Divom sator, ut Romana
per ævum

Transeat ante meos turba togata
pedes."

Though for my own part, I read;

"Nec me tura juvant," &c.

³ Though Dionysius is here speaking of a *ratine*, (in fact, an ancient channel of the Tiber, *Prop. l. c.*) in which the Vicus Tuscus was built, still it is quite evident from the concluding portion of the sentence, that he considered it as corresponding in length and direction with the street; with which, indeed, he expressly identifies it.

calls the top of Cheapside, another would call the bottom. We can hardly, therefore, attach much importance to this phrase of the *pseudo-Asconius*; but it is rather surprising M. Becker should not have seen that his position is refuted by the very passage he adduces to prove it. For if the street was so straight, and Asconius, as *Cicerone*, was bringing a party of travellers to the statue by a route which M. Becker is not in a condition to question,—viz. *down* the street from the Forum; why, in the name of all that is straight-forward, should he tell them to take *the last turning on the right?* (*flectentibus se ad postremam*⁴ *dexteram partem*) when, if M. Becker's notion be correct, the statue must have stared them in the face directly they entered the street. It is plain that the angle alluded to must have been at *the top* of the street, near the Forum; so that a person going thither from the Velabrum, would, on turning sharp to the right, come in view of the statue and Forum at once. The Basilica, therefore, would be also near the Forum, and such a situation agrees better with Livy's phrase, *pone Veteres*; to which we can hardly concede the latitude of embracing the whole length of the Vicus Tuscus.

THOMAS DYER.

2. THE PARABASIS FROM "THE BIRDS" OF ARISTOPHANES.

[The following is an attempt to imitate the original metre in an English version, according to the principles which I set forth in a paper inserted in a former number of the *Classical Museum*.]

Chorus.

Thou beloved, thou fair one,
Far dearer than other birds,
Thou who joinest in all my hymns,
Com'st thou, nightingale, comrade?
Comest thou, appear'st thou?
Dost thou bring me thy pleasant voice?
Quick now sounding thy tuneful pipe,
Breathe forth music that tells of spring,
Sing thy sweet anapæstics.

Come ye men, who in darkness are doomed to abide, and the race of
the leaves who resemble,
Ye impotent creatures, formations of mud, vain multitude like to the
shadows,

⁴ The text is corrupt in this word; but the sense is obvious, and I adopt M. Becker's own reading.

Ephemeral, care-stricken, featherless men, weak mortals the semblance
of visions,

Come we are immortals, attend to us, whose life endureth for ever,
Who dwell in the air, and are free from age, who have charge over all
things eternal.

Come listen and you will hear the truth, concerning the heavenly
wonders,

The nature of birds, the birth of the gods, of Erebus,¹ chaos, and rivers,
And when you are rightly informed in, our name bid Prodicus weep
with vexation.

Black Erebus, chaos and night were at first, with Tartarus widely
extending,

Of the earth, of the air, of the sky there was nought, when in Erebus'
infinite bosom

Old black-feathered night a beginning made, by laying an egg full of
nothing,

From which, when the seasons had roll'd along, young Eros was
hatch'd, the delightful.

Bright shone his back with his golden wings, and the hurricane swift
he resembled.

From his union with chaos, the winged and the black, in Tartarus'
wide-spreading region,

This race of the birds into being was hatch'd, 'twas thus into light we
were usher'd.

There existed no race of immortals before all things were commingled
by Eros,

But when one thing and t'other together were mixed, then first came
the sky and the ocean,

And the earth, and the race never-fading and blest of the gods. It is
thus we are surely

More ancient by far than the whole of the gods, and to prove us de-
scended from Eros

There are manifold signs, for we all can fly, and we ever are present
with lovers.

* * * * *

By us, by the race of the birds, are bestow'd the greatest of gifts upon
mortals.

In the first place we point out the times of the year, the autumn the
winter and summer.

¹ It will be remembered that the
first syllable of such words as "Erebus"
is considered long, respect being had to
the accent with which we pronounce

them. The first syllable of "Dodona,"
for the same reason, is considered
short.

The period of sowing has come when the crane flies over to Libya
 croaking,
 Thus telling the seaman he now may hang up his rudder and slumber
 at pleasure,
 While a cloak should be woven Orestes to shield, lest he plunder the
 folks when he's chilly ;
 When all this is past, and the kite is in view, he augurs a different season,
 For he says that the spring when the sheep may be shear'd has arriv'd ;
 then the swallow comes after
 When 'tis time to get rid of the winter's cloak, and to purchase a
 lighter apparel.
 Then your Ammon are we, and your Delphi are we, your Dodona, and
 Phœbus Apollo.
 Since first to us birds, you all come for advice, when you set about
 each undertaking ;
 When to market you go, and your victuals you earn, and you make
 preparations for marriage.
 There exists not a thing but you call it a bird, when it gives you a
 view of the future,
 For a word of foreboding to you is a bird, 'tis a bird too if any one
 sneezes,
 And a meeting by chance or a voice is a bird, and a bird is a star or
 a jackass.
 Thus is it not manifest, plain as can be, that we're your prophetic
 Apollo?

If you pay us birds due honour as gods,
 At your will are the muses of prophecy all,
 With the gales, and the seasons, the hot and the cold,
 And the temperate too ; we intend not to go
 From your presence, and give ourselves insolent airs,
 In the region of clouds perch'd high, like Zeus,
 But will ever be present, and ever bestow
 On yourselves and your sons, and the sons of your sons,
 Health and abundance,
 Tranquillity, food, and perpetual luck,
 Youth, laughter, and dancing and feasting besides
 With the pigeon's milk.
 You, truly, shall feel you are surfeited quite
 With the goods we bestow,
 Thus ever in riches abounding.

Muse of the thicket,
 Tio, tio, tio, tio, tio tinx,

Bird of varied song with whom
 In woody valley, on mountain summit,
 Tio, tio, tio, tio, tio, tinx,
 Perch'd on my nest in the leafy-hair'd head of the ash,
 Tio, tio, tio, tio, tio, tinx.
 I warble to Pan from my light-color'd beak,
 Pouring forth hymns in melodious numbers
 Leading the dance for the mount-loving mother
 To, to, to, to, to, to, to, to, to, to, to, tinx,
 Thence the roving bee resembling
 Phrynichus tastes of the fruit, which is borne by my war-
 blings ambrosial,
 His honied song for ever breathing,
 Tio, tio, tio, tio, tio, tinx.

Is there one of you, spectators, who would like with birds to dwell,
 Passing all his future days in pleasure, let him come to us.
 Know, whatever actions here below the law condemns as base,
 All, without exception, stand in high esteem among the birds.
 Here, by law 'tis reckon'd base in any man his sire to beat,
 While we think a worthy deed has been performed, if any one
 Flies upon his sire and beats him crying "Lift your spur and fight."
 If, by chance, among your number, there's a branded runaway,
 He with us shall bear the name of variegated Attagen.
 If there chance to be a Phrygian, such a one as Spintharus;
 Here we'll call him Phrygian finch to low Philemon's race akin;
 Should there be a slave and Carian, such as Excecestides,
 Let him here beget his grandsires—here he'll find his phratores.
 If to outlaw'd foes the son of Pisius would betray the gates,
 Let him now become a partridge, worthy chick of such a sire,
 Since with us 'tis no dishonour, partridge-like, to run away.

Like him the muses sing,
 Tio, tio, tio, tio, tio, tinx,
 When their throats they blend, and flap
 Their wings in honour of great Apollo,
 Tio, tio, tio, tio, tio, tinx,
 Seated aloft on the mountainous banks of the Hebrus,
 Tio, tio, tio, tio, tio, tinx.
 Then what music resounds through the clouds of the sky!
 Tribes of the animals listen in wonder,
 Breathless tranquillity calms ev'ry billow,
 To, to, to, to, to, to, to, to, to, to, to, tinx,
 Loudly echoes all Olympus;

Aw'd by the sound are the rulers of heav'n, as the Graces
 Olympian,
 And Muses, combin'd, with joy are singing,
 Tio, tio, tio, tio, tio, tinx.

Nought is better, nought more pleasant than a feather'd coat to get.
 Thus if one of you spectators chanc'd to wear a pair of wings,
 Did he feel attack'd by hunger, tir'd of hearing tragic songs,
 He at once could fly away, and gladly hasten home to dine.
 Then, when he had staid his hunger, wing his way to us again.

* * * * *

Is not then the pow'r of wearing wings, a pow'r worth any price.
 Thus Diotrephe, with nought, except a pair of willow wings
 First becomes a hipparch, then a phylarch, now, from nothing sprung,
 He's a man of wealth and plunder, struts about a gay cock-horse.³

JOHN OXENFORD.

3. ON ÆSCHYLUS, AGAMEMNON, 838.

IN the Agamemnon of Æschylus, (838) there occurs the following passage :—

εἰ δ' ἦν τεθνηκὼς, ὡς ἐπλήθυνον λόγοι,
 τρισώματος τὰν Γηρυὼν ὁ δεύτερος
 πολλὴν ἄνωθεν, τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω,
 χθονὸς τρίμοιρον χλαῖναν ἐξήνχει λαβών.

Peile translates the three last lines thus,—“truly a second three-bodied Geryon, (three-bodied Geryon the second,) in ample measure above, not to mention that below him, might he have boasted of having received a triple cloak of earth—to wit, having died once in each form ; i. e. three times for any other man's once.”

The above translation appears to me both inelegant and incorrect, particularly the clauses, τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω. I apprehend the different editors of Æschylus, have entirely misunderstood the construction of this clause. For, to what does the article τὴν refer? I suspect that in all instances when the *article* stands for a *noun* or a *pronoun*, that *noun* or *pronoun* must *precede*, not *follow* it. But in the passage above, τὴν must be referred to the noun χλαῖναν in the line following. Thus, Æschyl. *Prom.* 980 : Σέ, τὸν σοφιστήν,—τὸν

³ Is this beautiful compound admissible! It boasts no lower authority than the nursery rhymes.—J. O.

πυρὸς κλέπτῃν λέγω. The following arrangement and construction are similar: εἶσω κομίζου καὶ σύ, Κάσανδρον λέγω, Id. Ag. 1005. I have no doubt that the conjecture of Schütz gave the true reading; τὸν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω, referring τὸν to Γερῶν, for *I do not mean the one* (Geryon) *below*. It is not improbable, that when Clytemnestra employed the word χλαῖναν, she had in view the robe in which she intended to murder Agamemnon.

GEORGE DUNBAR.

4. REMARK ON COMPARING JER. XXIII. 5, 6. AND JER. XXXIII. 15, 16.

A difficulty has arisen, (which even Bp. Pearson (*on the Creed*, Fol. Ed. p. 148,) does not seem quite satisfactorily to have removed,) from a comparison of these passages.

While the Jewish Commentators appear to conclude from them that משיח is a name of the Messiah, the Socinians, on the latter passage, have urged that it is applied to Jerusalem; and a reader of the English version would generally feel that there is some discrepancy.

I apprehend, that attention to the Hebrew idiom will make the Jewish interpretation quite clear. In the former passage, the term under which the Messiah is typically described, is משיח; and the pronominal affix in משיחי of the following verse, referring to the masculine and only noun משיח, is masculine. But in the latter passage, the term used is משיחתי, and the feminine pronoun ה' is required after משיחי, because the reference is to the nearer of these two nouns, (so far as the *form* of the relative is concerned,) according to the Hebrew idiom. משיח in v. 15. may still remain masculine, because the person of the Messiah is here the real nominative, as is shewn by what is predicted of him.

G. & C. C.

26TH NOVEMBER 1846.

XXXIII.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

BABRII FABELLÆ ÆSOPEÆ; Carolus Lachmannus et Amici emendarunt. Ceterorum Poetarum Choliambi ab Augusto Meinekio collecti et emendati. (Berlin: Ge. Reimer, 1845. 8vo.)

BABRII FABELLÆ IAMBICÆ CXXIII. Ex Recensione I. Fr. Boissonadii passim relecta, cum brevi Adnotatione Critica ediderunt I. C. Orellius et I. G. Baierus. (Zürich: Meyer & Zeller, 1845. Sq. 12mo.)

BABRII FABULÆ ÆSOPEÆ, cum Fabularum deperditarum Fragmentis. Recensuit et breviter illustravit Georgius Cornwall Lewis, A.M. (London: John W. Parker, 1846. 8vo.)

IN previous Numbers of this Journal we intimated the discovery, by M. Menas, of a large portion of the Choliambic fables of Babrius, and noticed the publication of this literary treasure by M. Boissonade. The recent discovery of a new planet, "revolving in its orbit on the very verge of creation," has scarcely excited a greater degree of interest among the astronomers of Europe, than was produced among philologists, by the appearance, in a tangible shape, of the result of M. Menas' researches in the vaults of the monastery of St. Laura. What a field for conjecture and critical ingenuity was here presented! A transcript from a manuscript of the tenth century no doubt existed; but could this be supposed to be immaculate? How many errors might safely be ascribed to the effects of the dust which successive ages had accumulated in the cellar of St. Laura? how many to the "incuria" of the copyist? In short, the critics seemed for once to be left to the exercise of their own *discretion*. How Bentley would have exulted at such an opportunity of displaying his unrivalled skill! No MS. venerable for its age, and formidable from its acknowledged accuracy, to check his course of "slashing" innovation;—no stubborn scholiast to cast a doubt on his cherished conjecture. But the world has produced only one Bentley, as it has given birth to one Homer, one Aristotle, and one Newton. We have, however, among us, even in these degenerate days, philologists of no ordinary learning and ingenuity,—men who have been trained in the schools of Bentley, Porson, and Hermann, and are thoroughly skilled in all the niceties of classical diction. The list of editions of Babrius which we have prefixed, gives us no reason to feel ashamed of the attainments and skill of our contemporary philologists.

The first, though edited by Lachmann, is the joint production of himself and his friends, comprising in the number some of the most distinguished scholars of Germany. It is a remarkable proof, besides, of what may be accomplished by a division of labour even in editing an ancient classic. The sheets of the Paris edition of Boissonade, we are informed in the Preface, arrived in Berlin after the middle of November 1844, and on the 22d of the following month, a new edition is completed, with the exception of a short postscript, which is appended to the Preface. How far the necessity of the case justified so great haste, we may perhaps doubt; while at the same time, we cannot but admire the enthusiasm with which our learned neighbours seem to have devoured the delicate morsel. No sooner do the sheets, still wet from the press, reach the learned cloisters of Berlin, than they are carefully perused by Lachmann and Meineke. Presently, Immanuel Bekker recommends (*auctor est*) to his learned friend the Editor, the propriety of presenting the newly discovered fables in a state more worthy of the scholarship of the age (*tempore nostro satis dignum*), and at the same time, lends his valuable assistance in adjusting the sentences, correcting the orthography, and supplying the omissions incident to unusual despatch. Contributions were likewise sent by Meineke, Haupt, and Schneidewin, names well known to the students of Classical Philology, and, though last, not least, from the veteran Gotfried Hermann (*editoris studiorum parente*.)

We have formed so favourable an opinion of the result of Lachmann's labours, that we are unwilling to speak of a man who has so many claims on our respect, in any other terms than those of approbation. His qualifications for the duties which he undertook are ample, and these have been satisfactorily performed: and it was not therefore necessary for him to endeavour to exalt himself by unduly depreciating the merits of Boissonade. He has not, however, hesitated to adopt many of the suggestions of the Paris editor, and, we regret to find, sometimes without acknowledgment. This, we venture to assert, is a graver offence against propriety than the introduction of a complimentary expression (*promptissimum obsequium*) into a dedication to a patron; while such an allegation as that contained in the clause, "*quasi obsequium non modo amicos pareret sed sollertiam*," is, we maintain, a grievous violation of philological etiquette. The allusion to Boissonade's age might also have been spared, and the more especially, as we find, on comparing the corrections and emendations in the Second Paris Edition as given in an *Epilogus* by Orelli and Baiter, that in nine passages at least, these agree exactly with the readings which he, no doubt with the approbation of his friends, has adopted. The emendations appear to us sometimes rash and occasionally unnecessary; but they are often ingenious, and not seldom

happy. The book is printed with care, and evinces not a little of mature and elaborate scholarship.

A valuable appendix to this edition is formed by the collection of the fragments of the other Choliambic poets by Meineke. These consist of 161 pieces, varying from half a line to 24 lines in length, and cannot fail to be highly interesting to the classical scholar. They are, however, generally short; and, as many of our readers are aware, but few of them exceed six lines.

The Swiss professors appear to have been not less active than their German neighbours in preparing their edition. Their preface is prior in date to that of Lachmann, but due allowance must be made for the comparatively short distance which the Paris edition had to travel in reaching them. With that deference to MS. authority which distinguishes all the other works of the learned editors, they have indulged but rarely in conjectural emendation; and that only when an obvious error in the text rendered it necessary. They have, therefore, adhered more closely than Boissonade to the apograph of Menas; and have reserved their valuable suggestions for the "*Adnotatio Critica*" which is added. The book is beautifully printed in a cheap form, and is a choice specimen of the Zürich press.

The London edition has been prepared under more favourable circumstances than either of those which we have already noticed, and may be said to include much of what is most valuable in both. It is, besides, more complete; and, in addition to the suggestions of previous editors, and the various readings, contains, under each fable, references to the works in which the same or cognate fables are found in a prose form. We have also short historical notices of the fables which were formerly known, with references to the works in which they have really appeared.

If we are correct in our reading of the *initials* subjoined to the article in the *Phil. Mus.*, vol. I., to which reference is so often made, Mr. Lewis does not now appear, for the first time, as the editor of Babrius. His contribution in 1832 proved that he possessed the requisites of accurate and elegant scholarship, combined with ingenuity, taste, and judgment; and these have been amply verified in the work before us.

Mr. Lewis commences with a preface replete with learning and good sense, and written in a style at once simple and classical, in which he specifies the resources furnished by his predecessors. He then brings under review the following subjects:—the name and age of Babrius—the metre and dialect which he employed—and what we take the liberty of calling the subject-matter or characteristic of the Esopic fable.

The fables themselves furnish no internal evidence by which the age of the writer can with certainty be fixed. The proœmium pre-

fixed to the second book, or more probably to the second edition, of the collected fables, is addressed to the son of a king Alexander, (*ὁ παῖς βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου*), and 'not a little ingenuity and research have been employed in endeavouring to discover the prince alluded to. Boissonade conjectured that the poet addressed the son of the Emperor Alexander Severus; and Mr. Lewis, after duly considering the objections advanced by Bergk, (*Classical Museum*, vol. iii. p.130.), Schneidewin, Orelli and Baiter, and Lachmann, gives his decision in favour of the French editor. This, however, does not amount to more than conjecture; and he has, therefore, recourse to other means of fixing the age of his author. No Greek or Latin writer before the time of Septimius Severus either mentions Babrius or quotes his fables; he is nowhere mentioned by Plutarch, by Lucian, nor by Athenæus, whose work has preserved to us the names and fragments of so many poets. Had Babrius lived before the time of Augustus, it is highly probable that some of his fables would have been found in Plutarch; and it is a curious fact, that when the ancient moralist introduces any of the fables which have now been given to us, he generally follows a different version. It is, moreover, worthy of remark that Phædrus, who boasts of being the first to introduce the Grecian fable into Latium, mentions Esop alone as furnishing his materials—a strong proof that the fables of Babrius were altogether unknown to him. The most ancient author who quotes the fables of Babrius is Dositheus Magister, a grammarian who seems to have written his *Ἑρμηνεύματα* about the beginning of the third century of our era; and, unless the two fables which are there found were inserted by a later hand, it is certain that Babrius did not live later than the time of Septimius Severus or Caracalla.

The work of Babrius was the first in which the Esopic fable appeared in a metrical form. The verse which he employs is the Choliambic, the laws of which, as well as the liberties which have been taken by Babrius, are stated with great clearness and precision by Mr. Lewis. The dialect is that which was used by all the Choliambic poets from the times of Hipponax and Ananius—the Ionic, but with certain deviations which assimilate it pretty nearly to the common Attic.

In the fourth section of his Preface, Mr. Lewis gives an elaborate analysis of the Esopic Fable, which we regret we have not room even to abridge. After enumerating the animals which appear as actors on the stage, he discusses two points which have been a good deal agitated—the existence of the lion as an original inhabitant of Europe, and of the tiger as a native of Hyrcania. The first he satisfactorily proves, and not less satisfactorily disproves the second. We would

strongly recommend to our readers a careful perusal of this interesting Preface.

We have left to ourselves but little room for examining the philological merits of Mr. Lewis' work; but this is scarcely necessary in a case, the merits of which demand from us a favourable judgment. We had marked a few passages, respecting which we are disposed to differ with him; but we can mention only one or two. The first gives us an opportunity of presenting, at the same time, a specimen of Mr. Lewis' annotation. Fable III. begins thus:—

Αἰγὰς ποτ' εἰς ἔπαυλιν αἰπόλος χρήζων
ἐπὶ σηκὸν ἄγειν θ'.

To the last clause, Mr. Lewis adds the following note. “*Repetitio nominum ἔπαυλιν et σηκὸν, fere synonymorum, et anapæstus in secundo loco, offenderant Boissonadium. Fortasse ἐπισυλλέγειν aut ἐπείσαιεν legendum, vel ἐπισυνάγειν cum Lachmanno.*” For the two reasons here stated, we are disposed to think that a change is necessary, and should have adopted the suggestion of Lachmann. In Fab. V. 4, *ἐκυπτ' ἐγ*, the suggestion of Haupt has been adopted, we think, without necessity. In Fab. VI. 10, where the metre requires an alteration, we prefer *θαλασσαιῶν*, a Pindaric word, to *θαλασσειῶν*, one of inferior authority; and we are inclined to insert the *ρ* in *κέντιζε*, in Fab. XX. 7. *Κέντιζω* is barely recognised as a Greek verb, and as we have another so nearly resembling it, it is perhaps scarcely necessary now to attempt to give it currency. Here we stop. These, we admit, are small matters, and do not, even in our own estimation, diminish the merits of Mr. Lewis' work. We regret that he has not done more as an interpreter—in his abstinence he has identified himself too much with the school of Porson—the few specimens which he has given are excellent.

We take leave of Mr. Lewis by expressing our warmest gratitude for his edition of Babrius, and assuring him that we are not aware of any work which has recently proceeded from the English press, so well calculated to impress foreigners with a favourable opinion of English scholarship.

G. F.

2. DES ÆSCHYLOS ORESTEIA, Griechisch und Deutsch, herausgegeben von Johannes Franz. Leipzig. 1846. Williams & Norgate, London. 8vo.

THE Agamemnon, Orestes, and Eumenides of Æschylus, form the only Trilogies which have reached our times. None of those pieces,

however, is entire. Each of them is marred more or less by gaps, twists, and dislocations. Nor is this surprising, for even the earliest and best MSS. are mutilated and corrupt; and Editors have not always been happy nor judicious in their attempts to restore the *lost*, nor cure the *diseased*. By a skilful appliance of means, however, cures are sometimes performed. The poet has had a fracture healed—a dislocation reduced—and been enabled to walk and trip it with ease and grace. Indeed, failures in this department often arise—as in other departments, from not going to the proper source, but taking up on retail—from unacquaintance with the *business*—and rash speculation.

In the present case we are fortunate in our man. Franz's chief object was a translation of the Trilogy into his native tongue, for reproduction on the stage. With the feelings of a true scholar and a man of honour, he determined to make, by all available means, a sure groundwork. Not satisfied with even the most approved text, because he knew it had been formed without due examination of the oldest and best MSS., he went to Florence, Venice, &c., and made a personal inspection. Thus we now have, what we never had before, the true readings of the Medicean MS., which is generally allowed to be the oldest and best. He examined also the *Cod. Guelpherbytanus*, and *Venet.* 1, 2, and noted their various readings. The *Cod. Florent.* was collated for him by Albanakis, a Greek from Sparta. Of this also he has given the V. R. as well as of the *Cod. Reg. Parisin.* and *Augustanus*. Besides, the V. R. offered by the older editions, the *Aldine*, *Rob.*, *Turn.*, *Vict.*, have been carefully weighed and noted. Emendations resting on his own sole authority or on that of other scholars, have been admitted rarely, and only in desperate cases. We have also an account of the Scholia, and a full and very accurate report of the literature of the Trilogy. For a work of this kind, Franz was peculiarly well qualified. His training had been long in this direction. He had studied Palæography in all its forms and stages;—attained distinguished proficiency in the Greek language,—an intimate acquaintance with the Greek *Mind*,—and had carefully marked the idiosyncrasy of his author—the *peculiar* cast of his thought and diction. He states briefly, modestly, and fairly, what he has to say. There is no straining to be original; no dexterous *appropriation*; no lumbering pointless commentary; no abuse; no petty, paltry nibbling; no magniloquence ending but in noise. There is about him an air of calm and repose, which, however, bespeaks not incapacity, but power and mastery of his weapons. Far more is done than meets the eye. He generally contents himself with giving the bare result. But though this accorded with his feelings and plan, and is so far well, we often cannot help regretting that he has been so brief. We approve his habitual loath-

ness to disturb unnecessarily the received text; and when emendation is necessary, generally approve the reading he adopts, or admire his happy guess. But with all this, we feel heartily sorry, that by getting only the results without the *reasons*, we have lost the masterly discussion which might have satisfied our doubts.

As a test of our remarks, and a gratification to those who may not have seen the book, we subjoin two or three specimens of the mode in which he handles his materials; and our readers may rely that we have taken no special care to select the best.

"*Ag.* 3. ἀγκαθεν, *Manuscr.* (ἔγκαθεν, *Guelph. Ald.*) and received text. The same corruption occurs, *Eum.* 343. A word which was originally FEKAΣ, FEKAΘEN, cannot part with its root-syllable as the form ἀγκαθεν for ἀνέκαθεν must be supposed to do. The two passages, viz. Becker's *Anecd.* i. p. 337, ἀγκαθεν κατὰ ἀποκοπὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνέκαθεν οὕτως Αἰσχύλος; and Hesch. vol. i. p. 67, ἀγρίαθεν, (read ἀγκαθεν), ἀνέκαθεν, Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνονι, prove only that the Grammarians found ἀγκαθεν in the *Agam.* and tried to explain it; compare *Choeph.* 307. To this add from "*Corrections and Additions:*" στέγαις is the dative of place, which is more exactly defined by the addition of ἀνέκαθεν, as in *Niobe Fragm.* 174, οὐρανῷ ἄνω. If any person choose to defend ἀγκαθεν in this passage, he must explain it, with Klausen, *flecto cubitu*, with bended arm.

"*Orest.* 372, ὀλλυμένης; *Med.* ὀλυμένας; *Ald.* ὀλλυμένης; *R.* ὀλλυμένας; *Guelph.*, *Turn.*, *Vict.* φρενὸς θεῖον, *Manuscr.* and received text. Hermann conjectured φρενὸς οἶον; Emperius φρενόθεν γὰρ; H. L. Ahrens φρενὸς ἰόν, comparing *Ag.* 772, *Eum.* 451; and Hesch. ἰωθεις, ὀξυνθείς; ἰώθη, ὠξύνθη, ἐχολώθη. Thus ἰόν would be equivalent to χολός. Indeed the *θε* might originate from the *ο* in φρενὸς being repeated by the transcriber.

"*Eumen.* 216, λείπω, *Manuscr.* and *Vulg.*; corrected λείπω by Porson and Schütz.

"336,—μαυροῦμεν ὑφ' αἵματος νέου; *Med. Guelph.* and *Vulg.* μαυροῦμεν ἐφ' αἵματος νέου, *Flor. Ven.* 1, *Farn. Reg.* 1. μαυροῦμεν νέον αἷμα is a conjecture of Hermann's after the *Schol.* διὰ τὸ νέον αἷμα τοῦ νεωστὶ εἰργασμένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ; which, however, he is inclined to write differently. But in the *Med.* and *Guelph.* the words διὰ τὸ νέον αἷμα are written above ὑφ' αἵματος νέου; while the words τοῦ νεωστὶ εἰργασμένου stand on the margin as a distinct new Scholium relating to the text. The two Scholia, which are joined into one by Victorinus or Stephens, no unfrequent occurrence, explain ὑφ' αἵματος νέου quite correctly; compare 195. I agree with H. L. Ahrens, who reads δύσφρον' in the Antistrophe; and in the Strophe holds μαυροῦμεν to be an interpolation by some scholar. The particip. διόμεναι can be construed with the foregoing εἰλόμαν, without the necessity of altering it to

